"वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्"

INTERNATIONAL SANSKRIT CONFERENCE

Ministry of Education and Social Welfare
Government of India New Delhi

March 26th - 31st, 1972

VOLUME I—PART 1

Contribution of Different Areas and Countries to Sanskrit
Development of Sanskrit Studies in Different Areas and Countries

Edited by
Prof. V. RAGHAVAN
Chairman, Acadamic Sub-Committee

Ministry of Education and Social Welfare
Government of India New Delhi
1975

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PREFACE

The First World Sanskrit Conference was held under the authority and auspices of the Government of India from March 26th to 31st, 1972 in the Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi. I had the honour, as Chairman of the Academic Sub-Committee, of organising the academic work of the Conference. In view of the special character and purpose of the Conference, the wide perspective and the particular focus aimed at, the subjects were framed in four Sections and contributions invited from scholars and participants from all over India and the world. Schedules of subjects were drawn for the four main Sections and invitations issued to chosen scholars who had made significant contributions in those subjects. Because of the enthusiasm that the Conference evoked in the country, it became necessary to accept papers from numerous scholars who sent their voluntary contributions and add a fifth Section of miscellaneous papers on diverse topics of research and also a Session devoted solely to Pandits and their Sanskrit papers.

The Sections and the subjects dealt with at the Conference were:

I. Contribution of Different Areas and Countries to Sanskrit.

Development of Sanskrit Studies in different Areas and Countries.

II. Sanskrit and Other Languages and Literatures of India and the World and their Thought and Culture.

The Heritage of Different Branches of Sanskrit Literature and their National and International Significance.

III. Sanskrit and Archaeology, Arts and Education - Sanskrit and Science and Technology - Sanskrit and World Languages, Literatures, Thought and Culture - Sanskrit and Man, Universalism and Peace - Sanskrit and Western Literature and Criticism - Sanskrit in the Modern World,

IV. Papers on diverse topics of Sanskrit Language, Literature, Thought and Culture.

V. Pandita Parishad

Books of Summaries of the papers of the Sections were prepared in advance and placed in the hands of the participants. It was one of the largest of scholarly Conferences and about 600 papers were presented.

The arrangements for the printing of the Proceedings and the Papers of the Conference could be made only in 1973. Owing to the paucity of Presses which could handle Sanskrit and Indological research material, diacritical marks, Devanāgari matter etc. and to the difficult labour situation in the Presses, the printing could not be speeded up. Printing was arranged concurrently in two different places, Madras and Delhi, and in three different Presses.

Vol. I and Vol. III of the papers were taken up for printing in Madras. As the Volumes are large, it was felt that it would be convenient to bring each Volume in two parts. Of these, Vol. I Part I extending up to 578 Pages is being issued now. Thanks are due to the Bharati Vijayam Press, Madras-5, who printed also two Volumes of the Summaries of Papers of this Conference, for their co-operation in the printing of this Volume.

Volume II of the Papers was taken up by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan of the Ministry for printing in Delhi. Part I of this Volume also of about 500 pages is being issued now.

I must express my thanks to the Hon. Sri D. P. Yadav, Dy. Minister of Education, and to the former and present Directors of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan Dr. R. K. Sharma and Sri P. C. Sharma. I must especially mention Dr. S. S. Janaki, who has been assisting me here, in Madras, in the work of this Conferenee.

V. RAGHAVAN
Chairman, Academic Sub-Committee.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF ANDHRA TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Dr. P. Sriramamurthi, M.A., Ph.D.,
Reader in Sanskrit, Andhra University, Waltair, A.P.

The history of Sanskrit literature in Andhra starts from the *Sūtra*-period. According to Dr. P. V. Kane the *Āpastamba* school had its origin in Andhra. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* testifies to the existence of Sanskrit scholars like Guṇāḍhya and Śarvavarman in the Śātavāhana court. Guṇāḍhya, however, wrote his *Bṛhatkathā* in *Paiśācī* Prākṛt which directly and through translations influenced Sanskrit literature as a source book. The *Kātantra* Vyākaraṇa of Śarvavarman is one of the earliest attempts to simplify the method of teaching the Sanskrit language. It is said to have influenced the *Prākṛt* and *Tamil* grammars. The *Saptaśatī* of Hāla Sātavāhana bears out the spread of Sanskritic culture among the people and the anthology itself influenced Sanskrit literature and criticism. The great Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna is associated with the Andhra region and the Śātavāhana-court according to both the native literary tradition and the Chinese chronicles. There were probably two different personalities by name Nāgārjuna. One of these belonging to the 2nd century A.D. was the *Mahāyāna* philosopher while the other, who belonged to a much later period was an alchemist and a Tantra scholar. Many works of Nāgārjuna are known to us from their Chinese translations. The Prākṛt inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas too speak of the wide prevalence of Sanskritic culture at that time. The Purāṇas like the *Vāyu* have described the kings of this dynasty.

The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of Andhra of the Ikṣvāku-period display considerable literary excellence. It appears that Sanskritic and Buddhistic cultures flourished side by side during this period. Buddhists employed Sanskrit for the purpose of edification. The Gorantla grant of Attivarman of the Sālaṅkāyana-line records a gift to Kottiśarman who was well versed in the *Vedas* and *Āpastamba Sūtra*. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were great patrons of Brahmanic religion and learning. Mādhavavarman Janāśraya is said to be the author of the *Jānāśrayīchandoviciti*. One Gaṇasvāmin is probably a commentator upon the *Sūtra*-portion of this text. This treatise on prosody is important for the different popular metrical forms described and the illustrations culled from varied sources. During this period educational institutions called *Ghaṭikās* came into existence where scholars of different branches of knowledge pursued their studies. In the famous *Ghaṭikā* of Kāñcī there were many scholars of Andhra origin who were well versed in the *Śāstras*.

The donees mentioned in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Eastern Cālukyas are generally scholars in *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas* and the *Śāstras* like *Nyāya*, *Mīmāmsās* and *Vyākaraṇa*. These inscriptions written in Sanskrit are like small Sanskrit *Campūs*. Native metres like the *Kanda* and the *Ragaḍa* find a place here. The characteristics of the Telugu metre, *Prāsa* and *Prāsayati*, are also employed here. The first great Telugu poet Nannayabhaṭṭa is the composer of the Nandampūḍi grant of Rājarājanarendra, which is written in an exquisite literary style. The Amarāvati inscription of Pallava Simhavarman describes the mythological origin of the Pallavas in an elegant style. The Cālukyas of Vemulavāḍa too patronised Sanskrit learning and Somadevasūri, the great Jaina author of the *Yaśastilakacampū* was a protege of Cālukya Arikesari III, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Kavi Bhallaṭa wrote two lexicographical works, *Padamañjari* and *Gaṇamañjari* and he is said to have been patronised by Buddha of the Koṇḍapadumati line. A Telugu grammar in Sanskrit (the *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi*) is also ascribed to Nannaya. His *Āndhramahābhāratamu* begins with a Sanskrit verse :—

śrīvāṇīgirijāścirāya dadhato vakṣomukhāṅgeṣu ye
lokānām sthitimāvahantyavihatām strīpumsayogodbhavām ।
te vedatrayamūrtayastripuruṣāssampūjitā vassuraiḥ
bhūyāsuḥ puruṣottamāmbujabhavaśrīkandharāḥ śreyase ॥

The Kākatīya period marked an epoch in the history of Sanskrit literature in Andhra. Several distsnguished scholars were patronised by the rulers of this dynasty. Acintendra, the author of an inscription at Hanumatkoṇḍa dated 1163 A.D. was an Advaita-Śaiva scholar who propagated the Śaiva faith. His composition is endowed with a remarkable literary quality. The epigraphical poets of this time, both the donees and the authors of the inscriptions, were distinguished by their learning and poetic gifts. Some of them were masters of Pāṇinian grammar and skilled in *Citra-kavitva* of various types, Jāyasenāpati wrote the famous treatise on dance, the

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Nṛttaratnāvali, describing the local and regional dance-forms of that time. Pratāparudra (1296–1323 A.D.) is himself credited with the authorship of a commentary on the *Amaruka* and other works. Many great poets flourished in his court. Vidyānātha immortalised him in his popular Alaṅkāra work, the *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa*, which became a model for a distinctive type of works on literary criticism in Sanskrit. Agastyapaṇḍita was a prolific writer of seventy-two works of which the *Bālabhārata*, *Nalakīrtikaumudī* and the *Kṛṣṇacarita* are available now. Gaṅgādhara is said to have dramatised the story of the *Mahābhārata*. His sons Narasiṁha and Viśvanātha wrote the *Kādambarīkalyāṇnaāṭaka* and the *Saugandhikāharaṇa* respectively. There is a Narasiṁha, the author of the inscriptions at the Warangal fort, who is also described as a great scholar and a commentator of the *Ṛgveda*. He is the author also of the *Kākatīyacarita*, a *Kāvya* of about eight *Sargas* inscribed on stone, the *Malayavatī*, a *Gadyakāvya*, and a work on prosody. He is known as *Rūpakeśa*. A love story of a Siddha couple in sixty-two *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* verses in another inscription is also ascribed to the same Narasiṁha. Śākalyamalla is another poet who wrote the *Udārarāghava* and the *Ākhyātacandrikā* and the *Avyayasaṅgrahanighaṇṭu*.

Kolani Rudradeva was a grammarian who had the title of *Vyākaraṇa-Brahman*. He is the author of *Rājarudrīya*, a commentary on the *Ślokavārttikas*, the metrical dicta of the *Vārttika*-type quoted by Patañjali. The *Pāṇinīyaprapañcavṛtti* may also be ascribed to him. Guṇḍayabhaṭṭa was a distinguished Vedāntin who wrote a commentary on the most difficult Advaita classic of Śrī Harṣa, the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*. Vīrabhallaṭadeśika wrote the *Nāṭyaśekhara*. Ravipāṭi Tripurāntaka's *Premābhirāma* is a Vīthī-type of drama describing the religious and social life of the Kākatīya capital during Pratāparudra's reign. Pālkuriki Somanātha, the famous Vīraśaiva philosopher, wrote the *Somanāthabhāṣya* and the *Rudrabhāṣya*. His minor works are interesting for the new metrical patterns introduced in them. Tikkaṇa's Telugu works have Sanskrit verses and phrases introduced in them and they testify to the great influence of the Sanskrit language and literature on the Telugu writers.

The Reddi and the Velama rulers distinguished themselves in both scholarship and patronage of Sanskrit literature. Kumāragiri wrote the *Vasantarājīya* on dramaturgy, following which Kāṭayavema wrote his commentaries on the three dramas of Kālidāsa and named them *Kumāragirirājīya*. Pedakomaṭivema was known as Sarvajña and wrote *Sāhityacintāmaṇi*, *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi*, commentaries on the Gāthās of Hāla (*Saptaśatīsāra*) and the *Amaruka* called *Bhāvadīpikā* and *Śṛṅgāradīpikā* and other works. Great poets like Vāmanabhaṭṭabāṇa and Śrīnātha were patronised by him. Vāmanabhaṭṭabāṇa was a prolific writter and wrote a prose work celebrating his patron, the *Vemabhūpālacarita*, three poems, four plays and two lexicographical works. His *Haṁsasandeśa* is interesting for the descriptions of South India and the legends alluded to in that connection. His prose work contains vivid descriptions of Drākṣārāma. Śrīnātha was the Vidyādhikārin in Vema's court and composed his inscriptions in Sanskrit. He is a reputed Telugu poet and his compositions show his deep erudition in Sanskrit language and S'āstras. Māmidi Siṅgana is the author of a commentary on the famous *Jyotiṣa* work *Somasiddhānta*. One Śrīnāthapaṇḍita wrote the *Parahitasaṁhitā*, a treatise on Āyurveda.

Sarvajña Singabhūpāla of Rācakoṇḍa was a scholar in *Nāṭya*, *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya*. His *Rasārṇavasudhākara* is a well known treatise on dramaturgy. The *Saṅgītasudhākara* is a commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva. He wrote also a Nāṭikā, the *Kuvalayāvali* or *Ratnapāñcālikā*. His father Anapota is said to have written a play *Abhirāmarāghava*. Nāganātha, a scholar of his father's court, is the author of *Madanavilāsabhāṇa*. Viśveśvara was a famous scholar of Siṅgabhūpāla's court and his *Camatkāracandrikā* is an important work in *Alaṁkāra* devoted to the elucidation of the concept of *Camatkāra* in Sanskrit poetics. Bommakaṇṭi Appayārya wrote a commentary on the *Amarakośa*. Mādanāyaka, the sixth of Sarvajñā Singabhūpāla, commented on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the commentary is known as *Rāghavīya*. Gauraṇa wrote the *Padārthadīpikā* and the *Prabandhadīpikā*. These works deal with the efficacy of letters and Gaṇas and describe compositions like the *Udāharaṇakāvyas*. Passages from Telugu works are also quoted in them.

Sanskrit literature in Andhra reached its zenith during the Vijayanagar period. The illustrious names of Vidyāraṇya, Sāyana and Mādhava are associated with the production and patronage of works of different branches of Sanskrit literature of the period. The identity and nativity of these persons are much confused. Vidyāraṇya is the author of *Vedānta* works like the *Anubhūtiprakāśikā* and also the *Sangītasāra*. The authorship of certain works like the *Pañcadaśī* may be attributed to Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratītīrtha. Mādhavācārya is the author of the *Jīvanmuktiviveka*, the *Dhātuvṛtti* and the *Ekākṣara-ratnamālā* and other works. Sāyana is the commentator of the Vedic texts, besides being the author of works like *Āyurvedasudhānidhi* and *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi*. Bhoganātha, the youngest of the brothers, was a gifted poet who wrote *Rāmollāsa* etc. He was also the composer of the Bitragunta grant of Saṅgama II. Mādhavamantrin wrote *Sūtasamhitāvyākhyā* and is said to have written commentaries on the *Upaniṣads*. Sāyana-Mādhava is the author of *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*. Ahobala's *Virūpākṣavasantotsava-campū* describes the spring festival of Virūpākṣadeva of Hampi in which Harihara and Vidyāraṇya participated. The *Unmattarāghava* of Bhāskara is a *Prekṣaṇaka*. Gaṅgādevī, the queen of Kampana II wrote the historical poem *Madhurāvijaya* celebrating the conquests of her husband. This poem contains references to poets like Agastya and Tikkana. Irugapa Daṇḍanātha is the author of the *Nānārtharatnamālā*, a lexicon of homonymous Sanskrit words. Virūpākṣa, son of Harihara II, wrote two plays *Unmattarāghava* and *Nārāyaṇīvilāsa*. Kolācala Mallinātha, the great commentator of the *Mahākāvyas* flourished at this time. He is also the author of works on *Nyāya*, *Mīmāmsā* and *Alaṅkāra* and had the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. His *Vaiśyavamśasudhākara* is a *Dharma-śāsana* resolving a dispute that arose at the time of Devarāya II. His sons Peddibhaṭṭa and Kumārasvāmin were also great scholars and the latter wrote *Ratnāpaṇa*, a commentary on the *Pratāpa-rudrīya* of Vidyānātha.

Kavirākṣasīya is a collection of a hundred *Subhāṣitas* employing *Śleṣa* and the work may belong to this period. Sāluva Gopa Tippa commented on the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* and the commentary is called *Kāmadhenu*. He wrote the *Tāladīpikā* also. Catura Kallinātha's commentary on the *Sangītaratnākara* is known as *Kalānidhi*. The famous Diṇḍima poets flourished under the patronage of the Vijayanagar rulers. They wrote several historical poems on the lives of their patrons and also other poetical and Śāstraic works. S'rī Kṛṣṇadevarāya is also said to have written works in Sanskrit like the *Jāmbavatīpariṇayanāṭaka*. His Utkala queen is credited with the composition of five verses in a deep pathetic tone

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known as *Tukkāpañcaka.* His famous minister wrote *Manoharā*, a commentary of the *Bālabhārata* of Agastyapaṇḍita. Nāndiṇḍla Gopamantrin commented on the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra. Baṇḍāru Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa was a music writer of his court and the author of the *Saṅgītasūryodaya.* Lolla Lakṣmīdhara is a well known Sanskrit scholar of his time. His famous commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* mentions several works of his on *Mantraśāstra* and *Sāhitya*, besides numerous works of his ancestors. He wrote the inscriptions of his patron also. Keñcam Yellayārya was a scholar in *Jyotiṣa* and *Dharmaśāstra ; Daivajñavilāsa, Jyotiṣadarpaṇa* and *Smṛtikadambaka* are some of his works. Īśvaradīkṣita wrote two commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa* called the *Bṛhadvivaraṇa* and the *Laghuvivaraṇa.* The famous Vaiṣṇava teacher Vallabha is said to have visited the Vijayanagar court at this time. A work on music *Tālamahodadhi* is ascribed to Acyuta, the successor of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. Tirumalāmbā, an accomplished lady of his court, is the author of the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayacampū.* Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara was patronised by Tirumalarāya. He wrote commentaries on *Anargharāghava*, *Prasannarāgahva* and *Gītagovinda.* His *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā* is a grammar of the six Prākṛt dialects. Yajñanārāyaṇa of his family was a great scholar in *Mīmāmsā* and wrote *Prabhāmaṇḍala*, a commentary on the *Śāstradīpikā* and two treatises on *Alankāra-Alaṅkārarāghava* and *Alaṅkārasūryodaya.* His son Veṅkaṭeśa wrote the *Citrabandharāmāyaṇa* which is commented upon by the father. Rāyasa Ahobalamantrin is the author of a play called *Kuvalayavilāsa.* Rāmāmātya patronised by Rāmarāju wrote the *Svaramelakalānidhi* in music.

II

After the downfall of the Vijayanagar empire the history of the Andhra patronage to Sanskrit literature may have to be dealt with under the Southern Telugu kingdoms outside the Andhra region and the smaller principalities within Andhra. Under the Telugu Nayak rulers of Tanjore, Vellore, Madura, etc., flourished famous scholars like Govinda Dīkṣita, Appayya Dīkṣīta and Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita who were well versed in the Śāstras and wrote many works. Raghunātha, the great Tanjore Nayak prince, patronised Govinda Dīkṣita and his sons were well versed in *Śāstras* besides *Sangīta* and *Sāhitya.* Kumāratātācārya was a great Vaiṣṇava teacher of Raghunātha's court. Raghunātha himself is acclaimed as an author in Telugu and Sanskrit. Rāmabhadrāmbā was a talented lady of his court who wrote the *Raghunāthābhyudaya*, a biographical poem on the prince. Another accomplished lady was Madhuravāṇī who translated Raghunātha's Telugu *Rāmāyaṇa* into Sanskrit, with the title *Rāmāyaṇasāra*. The Maratha rulers of Tanjore followed the example of their predecessors in extending patronage to Sanskrit and Telugu. Under their patronage flourished several families of Sanskrit scholars of Telugu origin. S'rīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa alias Ayyāvāl was a great scholar of Advaita who wrote several Stotras and a poem called *Śāhendravilāsa*. Śrīdhara Perubhaṭṭa was well versed in Sanskrit grammar and was known as Navīna Patañjali. He is the author of *Auṇādikapadārṇava*, *Vasumaṅgalanāṭaka* and other works. Nivṛtti Śeṣācalapati wrote a Telugu grammar in Sanskrit and was known as Āndhra Pāṇini. Appayya Dīkṣita, the greatest polymath, was patronised by the Telugu Nayakas of Vellore and Penugoṇḍa. Ratnakheṭa S'rīnivāsa Dīkṣita, an equally versatile scholar, got his title from Śūrappanāyaka of Gingee. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita flourished under the patronage of the Madura Nāyaks. Among the several other Telugu writers of the South belonging to this period we may mention Sadāśivabrahmendrayati, a great Advaita scholar; Nārāyaṇatīrtha, the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī*, a musical opera in Sanskrit; Tyāgarāja, the great Telugu music composer who wrote some songs in Sanskrit also. Nṛsimha was a commander of the Mysore forces and he wrote the *Nañjarāja-yaśobhūsaṇa* eulogising his patron.

III

Benares, the great all-India centre of Sanskrit learning, attracted several scholars from Andhra. Jagannātha Paṇḍita, the famous author of the *Rasagaṅgādhara*, flourished here and in other courts of North India and wrote his works. Annambhaṭṭa was a great scholar in *Vyākaraṇa* and *Nyāya-vaiśesika*. His *Tarkasaṅgraha* is the most popular treatise of the *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika* system. The numerous Tailaṅga scholars of the Northern courts are only domiciled Telugus.

IV

Among the smaller states within Andhra, Vizayanagaram was well known as a seat of Sanskrit learning. Naḍimiṇṭi Sarvamaṅgaleśvara Śāstri, Muḍumbai Narasimhācārya, Bhāgavatula Hari Śāstri, Gummalūri Saṅgameśvara Śāstri, Tāta Subbarāya Śāstri and Peri Veṅkaṭeśvara Śāstri are some of the scholars of the Śāstras who

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flourished under the patronage of the Vizayanagaram chiefs. Paravastu Venkaṭaraṅgācārya of Viśākhapaṭnam was a versatile scholar and composed the Sanskrit encyclopaedia, the *Śabdārtha-sarvasva*. Ānandagajapati, the ruler, also encouraged the publication of Sanskrit works like Tārānātha's *Vācaspatya* and Max Muller's edition of the *Ṛgveda* with Sāyana's country. The Surapuram chiefs extended patronage to a large family of scholars of *Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta*, known as Tirumala Bukkapaṭṭanam family. The Pittapuram chiefs patronised scholars like Avasarāla Padmarāju, the author of the *Bālabhāgavatacampū*. Nuzividu, Gadvāla and Kālahasti were some other states that distinguished themselves in patronising Sanskrit learning and scholarship.

Unconnected with any of the royal courts, there were a good number of Sanskrit scholars and writers in Andhra throughout the ages. We may mention here a few of them. Potabhaṭṭa and Peddibhaṭṭa were two distinguished compilers of anthologies called the *Prasaṅgaratnāvali* and the *Sūktivāridhi* respectively. A Muslim divine of Gulbarga who belonged to the line of teachers of the Nawabs of Golcoṇḍa wrote the *Śṛṅgāramañjarī*, an interesting treatise on the *Nāyakas* and *Nāyīkās* in literature. Vārāṇasi Dharmasudhī was the author of the *Sāhityaratnākara* and *Narakāsuravyāyoga*. He was also a scholar of *Nyāya* and *Vedānta*. He became a Sannyāsin in his later life and wrote the *Ratnaprabhā*, a gloss on the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* of S'aṅkara. Kālahastikavi translated the *Vasucaritramu* of Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa in to Sanskrit. Śāntalūri Kṛṣṇasūri's *Sāhityakalpalatikā* gives information about several generations of Andhra scholars and writers in lexicography who composed several treatises and commentaries. There were prolific writers like Korāḍa Rāmacandra and Bellamkoṇḍa Rāmarāyakavi who wrote, in modern times, numerous works on philosophy and literature.

VI

Sanskrit language and literature are still being cultivated actively in Andhra. Dramas, poems and commentaries are being composed even now. Some writers attempted to write on modern themes adopting modern literary forms like the essay and short story. In this way Sanskrit found a stronghold in Andhradeśa since remote past and is flourishing at the present time too in the several

Institutes of Oriental learning and the three Universities of the State. A popular Sanskrit journal *Gairvāṇī* is also being published here by the Chittore Samskirta Bhāṣā Pracāriṇī Sabhā.

VII

From the linguistic point of view Telugu and Sanskrit influenced each other to a great extent. The abundance of Sanskrit vocabulary in Telugu is a well known fact. Sometimes the influence of Sanskrit syntax is also seen clearly. It is interesting to note that the Sanskrit language as cultivated in Andhra is also marked by its contact with Telugu language and literature. Certain Telugu words and peculiarities of pronunciation have also crept into Andhra Sanskrit. Important works in Telugu literature have also been translated into Sanskrit. The *Vasucarita, Śatakas* of Vemana, dramatisation of the *Varūdhinī*-story, adaptations of *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa*-story of Potana, the descriptions of Drakṣārāma in *Vemabhūpālacarita* resembling those of Śrīnātha in *Bhīmakhaṇḍa* are worth mentioning here.

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CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT BY TIRUPATI AND ENVIRONS - A BRIEF STUDY

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Tirupati, where the temple attracts men and money from all parts of the country, has been not only an important centre of pilgrimage but also of Sanskrit learning and culture. By the beginning of the Christian era it had gained importance and was widely known by the names Tiruveṅgaḍam, Vaḍaveṅgaḍam or Veṅgaḍam in Tamil literature and as Veṅkaṭādri, Bhūvaikuṇṭha, Śeṣācala, etc. in Sanskrit works. There are as much as 13 *Purāṇas* and *Upapurāṇas* giving a descriptive account of the importance of the place in the religious life of India. The great Vaiṣṇava devotees known as Ālvārs sang the praise of the Deity enshrined in the temple and the famous Tamil works of the *Sangam*-period have definite mention of the temple and its importance. The temple has also come under the patronage of very influential kings belonging to several lines which ruled over the region where the temple is situated. These dynasties include the Pallavas, Colas, Pāṇḍyas and the scions of the dynasties of the Vijayanagara kingdom. As these rulers were deeply religious and devoted to learning, it was only natural that several great religious teachers and scholars became attached to the place. Although our knowledge regarding these personages and their life and work in and around Tirupati is not very exact, yet we are able to gather a fairly good account of these from the available literary works and the inscriptions.

It is certain that the great Vaiṣṇavācārya Rāmānuja visited the place at least thrice during his life-time and stayed there for a number of years. It is said that he was studying the subtle meanings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* at the feet of his uncle Tirumalainambi who was staying near the shrine. It is also known that he did not succeed in changing the pattern of the worship in the temple from the traditional *Vaikhānasa* form to the *Pāñcarātra* form which became the normal pattern in most of the Vaiṣṇava temples in South India.

Another religious teacher and scholar of repute attached to the temple was the Madhva saint Vyāsarāya. It is recorded that

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Vyāsarāya stayed at Tirupati for about 12 years when the region was under the Vijayanagara empire. This scholar of great logical acumen contributed very important works like *Tarkatāṇḍava*, *Nyāyāmṛta* and *Sudhāmandāra-mañjarī*. The rule of Sāluva Narasiṃha over this region is marked in the *Saluvābhyudaya*, a kāvya of no mean merit by a poet known as Ḍiṇḍima, the second or Abhinava Kālidāsa.

In the 16th century several successive members of the Tāḷḷapāka family were responsible for the propagation of devotion through musical compositions in Telugu and works writtten in both Telugu and Sanskrit. The Sanskrit work *Sankīrtanalakṣaṇa* of Tāḷḷapāka Annamayya is not available now, though a Telugu translation of the same by his grandson Cinnaṇṇa is available. Around the 18th century Kuravi Rāmakavi belonging to this region wrote commentaries on *Viśvaguṇādarśa campū*, *Campūbhārata* of Ananta Bhaṭṭa (*Lāsya*), *Kuvalayānanda* of Appaya Dīkṣita (*Makarandajharī*) and an independent work on dramaturgy called *Daśarūpaka-paddhati*.

The commentary on the *Śākuntala* by Vaikhānasa Śrīnivāsācārya is very elaborate and helps in appreciating the drama aesthetically. *Śrīnivāsacampū* is another work of the same author. An author of considerable skill was Kumāratātācārya of Śrīśailapūrṇa family whose *Pārijātanāṭaka* is worthy of notice.

Kṛṣṇamūrti Śāstrin of Śiṣṭu or Suṣṭu family was styled Abhinava Kālidāsa and was patronised by Goppūri Nṛsimha of 16th century. His works include *Alaṅkāramuktāvalī* or *Narasabhūpālīya* in praise of his patron, *Kaṅkaṇabandharāmāyaṇa*, a citrakāvya, *Yakṣottara* in two cantos as supplement to the *Meghadūta* and two Bhāṇas *Madanābhyudaya* and *Vallavīpallavollāsa*. The famous grammarian Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita is said to have been born near Kāḷahasti although he was educated and wrote his works in Benares.

In the nineteenth century Tirupati and its suburb Tiruccāṇūr gave an impetus to the study of Śāstras in the traditional way. A scholar named Diggavi Venkaṭaramaṇācārya returned from Kāśī after obtaining excellent training in Śāstras, particularly in Nyāya, and began to attract students. One of his disciples was Vigraham Veṅkaṭācārya. Puriśai S'rīrangācārya, a disciple of Veṅkaṭācārya and his brother Bangārācārya conducted a Pāṭhaśālā at Tirupati for training students in Śāstras. In 1883 the visit of Grant Duff, the Governor of Madras, to Tirupati paved the way for the establishment of a regular Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā under the management of the temple in 1884. The subjects taught in this Pāṭhaśālā were Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāmsā, Vedānta of the three schools, Āyurveda and the Tamil Divyaprabandhas, besides Kṛsṇayajurveda. The first Principal of this College was Kapisthalam Deśikācarya who was a reputed scholar and author of *Siddhāntamārtāṇḍodaya*, a Viśiṣṭādvaita work. His disciple was the renowned scholar-poet Naṭṭipalli Narakaṇṭhīrava Śāstrin. There are many episodes describing the skill of this poet in Āśukavitā. One humorous verse jocularly aimed at Śrīvaiṣṇavas is known to many old people and runs thus :

दोशालेशाशया केचित् केशाकेशि वितन्वते ।
केशवस्य समीपे तु कीशवद् भान्ति खल्वहो ॥

The distribution of the pan cake *dośā* as the *Prasāda* in the temple and the *Markaṭakiśoranyāya* which describes the relationship between God and his devotee according to the Vaḍagalai sect of the Viśiṣṭādvaitins are referred to here.

In 1909 the College added as a subject for study, the Āgamas. The first teacher in this branch was Raghunāthacakravarti Bhaṭṭācārya, whose disciple Pārthasārathi Bhaṭṭācārya has edited some works on Vaikhānasāgama, published by the T. T. Devasthanam and himself is a recipient of the President's Award for Sanskrit scholarship.

In 1880 an association called *Śrīmadhva-siddhāntonnāhinī Sabhā* for training in and propogation of the Dvaita Vedānta of Madhva was established at Tiruccāṇūr near Tirupati, thanks to the organising capacity of Kāñci Subba Rao, Deputy Collector of North Arcot District (Chittoor). Through his brother Kṛiṣṇasvāmi Rao who was Diwan of the Travancore State, he could get a considerable donation from the Mahāraja of Travancore for constructing a building for the Sabhā. This Sabhā is financially in a good position and runs its own Bank named S.M.S.O. Nidhi at Madras. Every year scholars of Dvaita Vedānta from all over the country assemble here and hold discussions, besides conducting examinations and awarding prizes to the successful candidates.

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Because of this Sabhā the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā at Tirupati could obtain the services of the very well known scholars Mm. Subbarāyācārya and his son Mm. Setumādhavācārya whose proficiency in Vyākaraṇa has been well acknowledged. These two scholars have many works on Vyākaraṇa and Dvaita Vedānta to their credit. Some of their works are also published. *Sūtrārthamaṇimañjarī* of Subbarāyācārya is a defence of Mādhava's interpretation of the *Brahmasūtras*, strongly supported by the rules of Pāṇinian Grammar. Among Setumādhavācārya's published works *Vyāsa-Pāṇini-bhāvanirṇaya* and *Tattvakaustubha-kuliśa* are worth mentioning. The former is an attempt to show that if the *Vedāntasūtras* are interpreted in accordance with Pāṇini's rules they will yield the meaning as shown by Mādhavācārya, while the latter is a scathing criticism of the Vedāntic work *Tattvakaustubha* of the grammarian Bhaṭṭoji. In this work Setumādhavācārya tries to show that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita is erroneous not only in understanding the Pāṇinian grammar but also in understanding S'aṅkara's intention. Though the statements of this author may not be aggreeable to an impartial reader, his erudition in Vyākaraṇa is very impressive and his style of Sanskrit prose is quite attractive.

In 1920, the Pāṭhaśālā was recognised by the Madras University as a College under its jurisdiction. This College was very fortunate in securing the services of such great savants of Sanskrit as the late Pandit Cinnasvāmi Śāstrin, an acknowledged authority on Pūrva Mīmāṃsā who had many works to his credit, Mm. N. S. Anantakṛṣṇa Śāstrin who is well known not only through the numerous important works in Advaita which he edited but also through the monumental independent work *Śatabhūṣaṇī* which refutes the criticisms levelled against Advaita by the great Viśiṣṭādvaita teacher Vedānta Deśika; Veṅkateśa Dīkṣitar, an excellent teacher of Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta; Mm. Narasimhācārya, D. T. Tātācārya whose works on Mīmāṃsā, Alaṇkāra and Viśiṣṭādvaita are well known; Uttamoor Vīrarāgavācārya who has numerous works on Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Viśiṣṭādvaita to his credit. It may be mentioned here that Subba Rao was the first Principal of this recognised college and his work, an English translation of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, won the acclamation of scholars.

During the time of the Mahant who was managing the temple before the Devasthanam Board was established, there was an epigra-

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phical department which brought out Reports on the inscriptions at Tirupati. Under the editorship of M. Ramakrishna Kavi, a research journal called "Tirumalai Sri Venkatesa" was being brought out. The Devasthanam brought out also texts and studies by well known scholars like D. T. Tatacarya, Dr. K. C. Varadachari, Pt. T. N. C. Sudarsanacarya and Sri Ramanujaswami, chiefly in the field of Viśiṣṭādvaita.

In 1939, thanks to the initiative of the Devasthanam authorities and the enthusiasm of late Prof. K. V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar, an Oriental Research Institute was started in Tirupati. Rangaswami Ayyangar, who was also the first Director of the Institute, wanted that the Institution must have two-pronged activity, teaching and research. He also wanted that, since the temple has been having Vaiṣṇava predominence, the institution should lay stress on teaching Vaiṣṇava Agamas and doing research in that branch of literature. He could build up a Library of Manuscripts numbering more than 14,000 in Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil, besides a good collection of books pertaining to various branches of Indology. The single largest collection of mss. in this library belonged to M. Ramakrishna Kavi who lived in Tirupati and was well known as a ms. collector. The Institute under the management of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam brought out on the whole about 200 volumes before 1954 in which year the Institute was handed over to the newly established Sri Venkateswara University. The publication of the Institute include the inscriptions found in Tirupati and around, a report about the Inscriptions, *Bharatakośa*, a dictionary of music and dance and allied subjects by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, and its research journal supposed to appear twice in a year. Under the auspices of the Institute and the Devasthanam the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference was held in Tirupati in 1940 and the 4th conference of the Samskṛta Viśvapariṣad in 1956.

In 1959 Sri Venkateswara University opened its Sanskrit Department for Post-Graduate Studies and Research. The Department prepares students for the M. A. Degree examination of the University, besides guiding research for P. G. Degrees. There is provision for specialising in one of the Śastras, Alaṃkāra, Nyāya, Vedānta and Vyākaraṇa in M. A.

In 1961 the Government of India established a Central Institution named Kendriya Samskrita Vidyapeetha with the twin purpose of

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training Sanskrit teachers and carrying out higher research. Sanskrit Teachers from all the states of the country are selected here for training. The Vidyapeetha has a library of mss. and printed books. The research wing has brought out some publications, especially in the *Sāmaveda* and Āgamas, as also works in Sanskrit on modern subjects like Comparative Philosophy, History of India etc. The work on an elaborate *Āgamakośa* undertaken by the Vidyapeetha is expected to be completed in the near future.

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आन्ध्राणां गीर्वाणवाणी-सेवा

Contribution of Andhras to Sanskrit

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वैदिक-लौकिकसंस्कृतवाङ्मये कठोरं परिश्रमं विधाय विविधसंस्कृतविभागेषु ग्रन्थान् विरच्य संस्कृतशारदां स्वरचनालङ्कारैः अलङ्कृतवत्सु नैके आन्ध्राश्च विराजन्त इति सर्वेषां सुविदितम् ।

श्रौतभाष्याणि, शिलालेखाः, दर्शनानि, साहित्यशास्त्रं, नाट्यशास्त्रं, रूपकाणि, महाकाव्यानि, लघुकाव्यानि, चम्पूग्रन्थाः, गद्यानि, व्याख्याग्रन्थाः, स्तोत्राणि, सङ्गीतशास्त्रग्रन्थाः, इत्यादिवाङ्मयशाखासु ग्रन्थान् रचितवन्तः प्रौढाः संस्कृतविद्वांसः आन्ध्रा अपि शताधिकाः सन्ति ।

कल्पसूत्रकर्ता आपस्तम्ब आन्ध्र इति बहूनामभिप्रायः । एवमेव पेंड्याल सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्री खि० १९३० संवत्सरे आन्ध्रपत्रिकायाः वार्षिकसञ्चिकायां आपस्तम्ब आन्ध्र इति वैदिकोदाहरणैः निश्चिकाय । आपस्तम्बः ख्रिस्तोः पूर्वं पञ्चशतकेभ्यः प्राचीन इति अनुसन्धातॄणां मतम् ।

प्रायः ख्रि० १४ - शताब्दीयः आन्ध्रो भट्टभास्करः कृष्णयजुर्वेदीयनमकचमकयोः व्याख्यां निर्ममौ । कृष्णपण्डितः सन्ध्यावन्दनभाष्यं रचयामास । पाल्कुरिकिसोमनाथः १३ शतकीयः रुद्रभाष्यं (नमक-चमकभाष्यं) व्यरचयत् । तत्कालिक एव श्रीपतिः 'श्रीकरभाष्यम्' इति ब्रह्मसूत्राणामेव धर्मपरत्वेन भाष्यम् लिखितवान् । पाल्कुरिकिसोमनाथः 'वीरमाहेश्वरसारोद्धारम्' नाम शैवधर्मपरं ग्रन्थं व्यलिखत् । तस्य 'सोमनाथभाष्यम्' इत्यपि नाम व्यवहारे अस्ति ।

व्याकरणशास्त्रम्

प्रायः १७ - शतकीयो नागेशभट्टः आन्ध्रः माहाराष्ट्रीं कन्यां उदवहत् । स वरिष्ठो महावैयाकरणः १) लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर- २) परिभाषेन्दुशेखर- ३) बृहद्वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषा- ४) लघुवैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषा- ५) परमलघुमञ्जूषा- ६) महाभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत-नामकान् ग्रन्थान् व्यरचयत

तच्छताब्दीय एव पण्डितराजो जगन्नाथः भट्टोजिदीक्षितकृत-प्रौढमनोरमायाः खण्डनपरं 'मनोरमाकुचमर्दन'-नामकं ग्रन्थं, 'शब्दकौस्तुभशाणोत्तेजनं' च विरचितवान् ।

१६ - शतकीयः 'भागवतुल-हरिशास्त्री' 'वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिकां' परिभाषेन्दुशेखरव्याख्यां व्यरचयत् । तस्या अपि व्याख्यां "चित्रप्रभां" २० - शतकीयः म.म. तातासुब्बरायशास्त्री निर्ममौ । शास्त्रिणोऽस्य 'अपरनागेशभट्ट' इति बिरुदमप्यासीत् । कारणं त्वस्य, सुब्बरायशास्त्री वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिकाकारमतस्य खण्डनं कृत्वा नागेशसिद्धान्तमस्थापयत् । स एव विद्वान् 'गुरुप्रसाद' इति ग्रन्थं शब्देन्दुशेखरव्याख्यापरं लिखितवान् । तच्छताब्दीय एव बेलंकोंड-रामरायः 'शरद्रात्रिः' इति ग्रन्थं सिद्धान्तकौमुदीव्याख्यापरं लिखितवान् । इदानीन्तने समये सुब्बरायशास्त्रिशिष्यः पेरिवेङ्कटेश्वरशास्त्री सुब्बरायशास्त्रिणा विसृष्टां शेखरव्याख्यां गुरुप्रसादशेषनाम्नीं व्यरचयत् ।

१२ - शतकीयः 'शाकल्यमल्लदेवः' अव्ययसङ्ग्रहनिघण्टुनामकं पुस्तकं निर्ममौ । १६ - शतकीयः नडिमिंटि-सर्वमङ्गलेश्वरशास्त्री १) समासकुसुमाञ्जलिः २) विभक्तिविलासः ३) शब्दमञ्जरी इति त्रीन् ग्रन्थान् लिलेख ।

ज्योतिषम्

भास्कराचार्यः १२-शतकीयः 'सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि'-नामकं पुस्तकं जग्रन्थ । अयमेव लीलावतीनामकं गणितशास्त्रग्रन्थं च व्यरचयत् ।

धर्मशास्त्रम्

१५-शतकीयः कंचें-एल्लयाजी ए(य)ल्लयाजीयं, १९-शताब्दीयः वेल्लाल-सदाशिवशास्त्री अमासोमव्रतं च कृतवन्तौ । प्रथमो ग्रन्थः आन्ध्रप्रान्ते धर्मानुष्ठानेषु सर्वत्रानुस्रियते ।

न्यायदर्शनम्

सुप्रसिद्धः अन्नंभट्टः 'तर्कसङ्ग्रह' - नामकं ग्रन्थं बालानां सुखबोधाय रचयामास । १६ - शतकीयः सङ्गमेश्वरशास्त्री सुप्रख्यातः न्यायशास्त्रपारङ्गतः 'सङ्गमेश्वरीयम्' इति तर्कशास्त्र-क्रोडपत्र-सङ्कलनानुसन्धानात्मकं ग्रन्थं रचयामास । २० - शतकीयः बुलुसु-अप्पण्णशास्त्री 'सुबोधिनी'-नाम्नीं सिद्धान्तमुक्तावली-

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व्याख्यां निर्ममौ । २०-शताब्दीयः कोल्लूरि-सोमशेखरशास्त्री कुसुमाञ्जलि-व्याख्यां निर्माति स्म ।

पूर्वमीमांसाशास्त्रम्

तर्कसंग्रहकर्ता अन्नभट्टः पूर्वमीमांसीयन्यायसुधाग्रन्थस्य सुबोधिनीनाम्नीं व्याख्यां निर्ममौ । गोदावरीतटस्थ-धर्मपुरीवासी नरसिंहाचार्यः पार्थसारथि-मिश्रविरचितस्य पूर्वमीमांसीयन्यायरत्नमालाग्रन्थस्य 'न्यायरत्न' - नाम्नीं व्याख्यां रचयामास । निठल-सोमनाथदीक्षितः 'शास्त्रदीपिका'-ग्रन्थस्य 'मयूखमालिका' -नाम्नीं व्याख्यां चकार । अस्य व्याख्यानस्य 'सोमनाथीयम्' इति नामान्तरमप्यस्ति ।

वेदान्तशास्त्रम्

२० - शतकीयः बुलुसु-अप्पणशास्त्री शाकंराद्वैतवेदान्तीयं भगवद्गीता-व्याख्यारूपं 'शाङ्कराशाङ्करतत्त्वबोधिनी'-नामकं ग्रन्थं रचयामास । बेलंकोंड-रामरायः शाङ्कराशाङ्करभाष्यम् इति शाङ्कराद्वैतपरं ब्रह्मसूत्रव्याख्यां लिलेख ।

नाट्यशास्त्रम्

१२ - शतकीयो जायपसेनानी 'नृत्तरत्नावलिं', कोटिकलपूडि-नारायणकविः 'नाटयसर्वस्वदीपिकां,' १४ - शतकीयः वेमभूपालः 'संगीत-चिन्तामणिं,' वसन्तराजापरनामा कुमारगिरिः 'बसन्तराजीयं,' सर्वज्ञसिंगभूपालः 'सङ्गीतसुधाकरम्', वीरमल्लदेशिकश्च 'नाट्यशेखरं' च व्यरचयन् । १२ - शतकीयो रघुनाथभूपतिः सङ्गीतुसुधाम्, १५ - शतकीयः अन्नमाचार्यः संकीर्तनलक्षणम्, बंडारू लक्ष्मीनारायणः 'सङ्गीतसूर्योदयं', १६ - शतकीयः रामयामात्यः 'स्वरमेलकलानिधिं' च लिलिखुः ।

आयुर्वेदः

आन्ध्रे बहोः कालात् आयुर्वेदस्यानुसन्धानमभ्युन्नतिश्च समासाते । बहुमूलिकासंवलितः गहनारण्यपरिवृतश्च श्रीशैलः पञ्चमशतकादारभ्य आयुर्वेदस्य केन्द्रं, न केवलमान्ध्राणामपि तु अन्यप्रान्तीयानामप्यासीत् ।

५-शतकीय इति प्रख्यातो नागार्जुनाचार्यः 'कक्षपुटतन्त्रं', १५ - शताब्दीयः 'परहित' - पण्डितः 'परहितसंहितां,' ६-शतकीयः श्रीशैलवासी

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‘ नित्यनाथसिद्धः ’ ‘ रसरत्नाकरं ’ नाम सप्त-खण्डात्मकं ग्रन्थं, १६ - शतकीयः ‘ वसवराजः ’ बसवराजीयं च व्यरचयन्। १९-२० शतकीयः पण्डितः डी. गोपालाचार्यः नैकान् दाक्षिणात्यानौत्तराहांश्च शिष्यानायुर्वेदमध्याप्य परां सेवामकरोत् ग्रन्थांश्च व्यलिखत्।

अलंकारशास्त्रम्

बहव आन्ध्रपण्डिताः अलंकारशास्त्रग्रन्थान् संस्कृते विलिख्य तच्छास्त्रं परिपोषयामासुः। तच्छास्त्रीयग्रन्थानां व्याख्यांश्च चक्रुः।

१३-शताब्दीयाः - पण्डितमूर्धन्य-अमृतानन्दयोगी अलंकारसंग्रहम्, विद्यानाथः प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषणम्, देवरकोंडवासी औभलार्यकृष्णपण्डितः ‘ अलंकारसर्वस्वम् ’, च जग्रन्थुः। १४ - शतकीयाः, नरसिंहशास्त्री काव्यकण्टकोद्धारम् विश्वश्वेरकविः चमत्कारचन्द्रिकाम्, सिङ्गभूपालः रसार्णवसुधाकरम् च व्यरचयन्। १५-शतकीयाः ‘ वाराणसि-धर्मसूरिः साहित्यरत्नाकरम्, गौरनपण्डितः प्रबन्धदीपिकापरनाम्नीं लक्षणदीपिकाम्, वीरनारायण-विरुदाञ्चितः वेमभूपालः साहित्यचिन्तामणिं च रचयामासुः

१७-शतकीयाः-पण्डितराजो जगन्नाथः (१) ‘रसगंगाधरम्’ (२) ‘चित्रमीमासाखण्डनं ’ च, कुरविरामकविः ‘ दशरूपकवर्त्म, ’ शोंठिमारभट्टारकः ‘ रससुधानिधिम् ’, आणिविल्ल - वेंकटशास्त्री (१) ‘ अलंकारसिन्धुम् (२) ‘अप्पराययशश्चन्द्रोदयम् ’, (३) ‘ रसप्रपंचम् ’ च कृतवन्तः।

१८ - शताब्दीया :—आलूरु-नरसिंहकविः ‘ नञ्जराजयशोभूषणम् ’, आणिविल्लनारायणशास्त्री ‘साहित्यकल्पद्रुमम् ’, तिरुमल-बुक्कपट्टणम्-वेंकटाचार्यः ‘ अलंकारकौस्तुभम् ’, तिरुमलबुक्कपट्टणम्-श्रीनिवासाचार्यः ‘ रसमञ्जरीम् ’ च चक्रुः।

१९ - शतकीया :—कोल्लूरि-राजशेखरकविः (१) ‘साहित्यकल्पद्रुमम्’ (२) ‘ अलंकारमरन्दम् ’, चावलि-रामशास्त्री (१) ‘ कुवलयामोदम् ’ (२) अलंकारमुक्तावलीम्, चेर्ल-वेंकटशास्त्री ‘ वेंकटाद्रिगुणरत्नावलीम् ’ च व्यरचयन्।

व्याख्यातारः

नैकशास्त्र-काव्य-नाटकादीनां व्याख्याकाराः आन्ध्राः बहवो विराजमानाः सन्ति। तत्र प्रथमः प्रातःस्मरणीयः सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रः व्याख्यातृसार्वभौमः महामहोपाध्यायः ' मल्लिनाथूरिः ' इति समेषां विश्वसंस्कृतविदुषां सुविदितमेव । अयं च विद्वान् १४ - शतकीयः हैदराबाद-नगर-परिसरवर्तिनि ' कोलचलम् '-ग्रामे अवसदिति मन्यते। अमुना कालिदासरचितकाव्यत्रयस्य, भारवेः, माघस्य, श्रीहर्ष-नैषधीयचरितस्य, भट्टिकाव्यस्य च व्याख्याः कृत्वा, तत्पुरातनानां तत्पुस्तकव्याख्यानां निरासश्च कृतः । सर्वैरपि विश्वविद्वद्भिः आद्रियन्ते चास्य व्याख्याः । अयं ' तरला ' - नाम्नीं एकावल्याः व्याख्यां च विरच्य आलंकारिकग्रन्थव्याख्याकर्तृत्वपपि स्वीयं प्राचीकटत् ।

१४ - शतकीया :—वीरराघवाचार्यः भागवतपुराणस्य ' वीरराघवीयं ' नाम रामानुजधर्मपरम् उत्कृष्टं व्याख्यानं, काट्यवेमभूपः त्रयाणामपि कालिदासनाटकानां व्याख्याः, पेद्कोमटिवेमभूपालः (१) शृङ्गारदीपिकानाम्नीम् अमरुककाव्यव्याख्यां, (२) ' भावदीपिका ' नाम सप्तशतीव्याख्यां च, बोम्मकंटि-अप्पयार्यः नामलिंगानुशासनव्याख्यां, अष्टभाषाचक्रवर्ती श्रीनिवासाचार्यः कालिदासीयशाकुन्तलनाटकस्य व्याख्यां च चक्रुः ।

१५ - शतकीयः कुमारस्वामिसोमपीथी प्रतापरुद्रीयस्य रत्नापणव्याख्यां चकार। १६ - शतकीयाः– विजयनगराधिप-श्रीकृष्णदेवरायास्थानपण्डितः लोल्लुलक्ष्मीधरः सौन्दर्यलहरीव्याख्यां, चेरुकूरि-यज्ञेश्वरपण्डितः ताल्लपाकतिरुमलदीक्षितश्च काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्ये लिलिखतुः। १६ - शतकीयः नरहरि-सरस्वतीतीर्थः ' बालचित्तानुरञ्जनी'-नामिकां, वैयाकरणो नागेशभट्टः ' उद्योत '-नाम्नीं च काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्ये अलिखताम् । १७ - शतकीयः आवंच-रामचन्द्रबुधेन्द्रः भर्तृहरिसुभाषितस्य, भोजकृतचम्पूरामायणस्य च व्याख्ये चकार। १८ - शतकीयः ऊरे-देचयमन्त्री शिवपञ्चस्तवीव्याख्यां चकार ।

१९ - शताब्दीयाः- अम्बालं रामाचार्यः चम्पूभारतस्य, चेर्ल-वेंकशास्त्री ' नौका ' इति, मल्लादि-लक्ष्मणसूरिः- ' मन्दरम् ' इति च साहित्यरत्नाकरस्य व्याख्ये रचयामासुः । १६ - शतकीयः तिम्मरसुः बालभारतस्य ' मनोहरीयं '

व्याख्यां चकार। नादेंड्ल-गोपमन्त्री, प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयव्याख्यां चकार। १७-शतकीयः चिलकमर्ति-तिरुमलाचार्यः ‘रत्नशाण’-नामिकां प्रतापरुद्रीयव्याख्यां चकार।

काव्य-नाटकानि

१४ - शतकीयाः- पाल्कुरिकिसोमनाथः, ‘बसवोदाहरणम्’ ‘अन्तादिरचनाश्च, देवयार्यः प्रसन्नरामायणम्, सर्वज्ञसिंगभूपालः ‘रत्नपाञ्चालिकां’ नाटिकां च चक्रुः। १३ - शतकीयो भास्करः ‘उन्मत्तराघवम्’, अगस्त्यपण्डितः ‘बालभारतं’ च चक्रतुः। तिरुमलबुक्कपट्टणं श्रीनिवासाचार्यः (प्रौढसरस्वती) ‘श्रीनिवासचम्पूं’ चकार।

१४ - शतकीयः शाकल्यमल्लः ‘उदारराघवं’ चकार। १५ - शतकीयः सर्वज्ञसिंगभूपालः ‘वीरनारायणचरितं’ स्वीयेतिहासात्मकं काव्यं निर्ममौ। तच्छकीय एव वामनभट्टबाणः वेमभूपालचरितं (गद्यकाव्यं), नलाभ्युदय-रघुनाथचरित-पार्वतीपरिणय-हंससन्देश-बृहत्कथामञ्जरी- कनकलेखानाटिकाः रचयामास। १६ - शताब्दीयः श्रीकृष्णदेवरायः मदालसाचरितसत्यावधूपरिणय-उषापरिणय-सकलकथासारसंग्रह-जाम्बवतीपरिणयाख्यान् ग्रन्थान् लिलेख।

१४ - शतकीयः काकतिप्रतापरुद्रदेवः उषारागोदय - ययातिचरितनामकौ दृश्यप्रबन्धौ रचयामास। अपरव्यासो गङ्गाधरकविः चन्द्ररेखाविलासराघवाभ्युदयौ चकार। अगस्त्यस्य भागिनेयः नरसिंहकविः ‘कादम्बरीकल्याण’-रूपकं चकार। अस्य सोदरः ‘विश्वनाथकविः’ ‘सौगन्धिकाहरण’-रूपकं निर्ममौ। विजयनगराधिनेतुः कम्परायस्य पत्नी गङ्गादेवी मधुराविजयकाव्यं चकार। इयं विश्वनाथकवेरन्तेवासिनी। वाराणसि-धर्मसूरिः बालभागवतकाव्यं, कंसवध - रूपकं, हंससंदेशं नरकासुरविजयं च रचयामास। रघुनाथभूपालस्य प्रेयसी रामभद्राम्बा रघुनाथाभ्युदयकाव्यं चकार। मधुरवाणी नाम्नी रघुनाथभूपालप्रियगणिका चतुर्दशसर्गात्मकं रामायणसारकाव्यं निर्ममौ।

१५-१६ शतके वल्लभाचार्यः आन्ध्रदेशीयः उत्तरभारतप्रान्तं गत्वा तत्र कृष्णभक्तिपरं कंचन धर्मं संस्थाप्य, ब्रह्मसूत्राणां स्वधर्मानुरोधं भाष्यमपि रचयामास।

स आचार्यः उज्जयिन्याः सविधे कंचन मठं स्थापयित्वा शिष्यान् स्वधर्मं संबोध्य धर्मप्रचारं करोति स्म । वल्लभाचार्यः ‘ प्रेमामृतं, मथुरामाहात्म्यम्’ ‘ इति कृतिद्वयं च रचयामास । स च ‘ काकर्ल ’ - वंशीयः ।

केचन आन्ध्रपण्डिता वाराणस्यां व्यराजन्त । शेषं-गोविन्दकविः ‘ कवितानन्दम् ’ इति व्यायोगं ‘ गोपाललीलार्णवं ’ नाम भाणं च चकार । तद्वंशीय एव चिंतामणिकविः रुक्मिणीपरिणय - नाटकं जग्रन्थ । अन्यश्च तदीयः कृष्णकविः ‘ कंसवध ’-नाटकं ‘ पारिजातापहरणं ’ ‘ चम्पूं च चकार । अनेन उषापरिणय-मुक्ताचरित्र-मुरारिविजय-सत्यभामापरिणय - नाम्न्यः कृतयश्च चक्रिरे । अस्य पुत्रः वीरेश्वरपण्डितः बहूनामान्ध्रविदुषां जगन्नाथादीनां विद्यागुरुरासीत् । अस्यानुजः शेषं-नारायणकविः ‘ सूक्तिरत्नाकरं ’ नाम ग्रन्थं निर्ममौ । पण्डितराजो जगन्नाथः सकलशास्त्रकोविदः सरसकविताधुरन्धरश्चासीदिति विदितमेव समेषाम् । पितुस्सकाशादेवायं सर्वा विद्या जग्राह । अनेन कृताः शास्त्रग्रन्था इतः पूर्वमेवोल्लिखिताः । भामिनीविलास - काव्यं गङ्गालहरी पञ्च लहर्यश्चानेन विरचिताः ।

वेलूरुग्रामवासी आल्लूरु-सूर्यनारायणकविः दिनस्यैकं प्रबन्धं कृतवानास्त । ‘ एकदिनप्रबन्धकर्ता ’ इति विरुदमप्यस्य विराजते । ‘ कृष्णलीलातरङ्गिणी ’-कर्ता नारायणतीर्थः गेय-पद्य-कवितासु कृतहस्त आस्त । अनेन गीतगोविन्दसदृशी गेयकृत्तिः विरचिता । कोल्लूरु-सोमशेखरकविः ‘ भागवतचम्पूं ’ चकार । संकर्षणकविः ‘ सत्यनाथाभ्युदय ’-काव्यं रचयामास । नेल्लूरु-नारायणकविः ‘ विशेषरामायणं ’ काव्यं निर्ममौ । अयं शीघ्र-चाटु-चित्र-कवितासु समर्थः।

चेरुकूरुवंशीयाश्चत्वारः पण्डिताः लक्ष्मीधर-दामोदर-यज्ञेश्व-वेंकटेश्वर-शास्त्रिणः नैकसंस्कृतग्रंथकर्तारो बभुः । एलेश्वर-पेद्दिभट्टः सूक्तिबारिधि - नामकं ग्रन्थं जुगुम्फ ।

मानवल्लिवंशीयाः नरसिंह-गंगाधर-राम-लक्ष्मण-भालचन्द्रशास्त्रिणो विद्वांस आसन् । एषु त्रयो महामहोपाध्यायाः । गङ्गाधरशास्त्री तु सी-आय-इ-(C. I. E.) बिरुदाञ्चितः । सर्वेऽपि ग्रन्थकर्तारः, सुप्रख्याताः सर्वत्र उत्तरभारते । अद्यत्वे साहित्यचार्यः जगन्नाथशास्त्री विराजते ।

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शिष्टु-कृष्णमूर्तिशास्त्री काकिनाडवासी सर्वकामदापरिणय-कंकणबंध-यक्षोल्लास-नीलशैलनाथीयनामिकाः कृतीः रचयामास। अनेन हरिकारिकानामकः आन्ध्रव्याकरणग्रन्थः संस्कृतभाषायां लिखितः। अस्य 'अभिनवकालिदासः' इति बिरुदमप्यास्त।

कोराड-रामचन्द्रशास्त्री कालिदासीयमेघसन्देशानन्तरकथां सर्गद्वयात्मिकां मन्दाक्रांतासु रचयामास। काव्यस्यस्य 'घनवृत्तम्' इति नाम। कामरूपो मेघः स्वयमेव यक्षपत्नीसकाशं गत्वा यक्षसंदेशं श्रावयामास। अयं कविः द्वाविंशतिसंस्कृतकृतीः रचयामासेति ख्यायते। अवसराल-पद्मराजः बालभागवतनाम्नीं भागवत-चम्पूं चकार। अस्याः 'पद्मराज-चम्पूः' इति नामान्तरमस्ति।

१९-शतकीयः हयग्रीवोपासकः बेल्लंकोंडरामरायः सर्वशास्त्रपपाण्डित्यं संपाद्य सरसविद्वत्कविताविशारदः शताधिकग्रन्थानां रचनं विदधौ। केचनास्य ग्रन्था मुद्रिताः। अप्रकाशिता बहवस्सन्ति। १७-शतके वनपर्तिसंस्थानपालकः अष्टभाषाबिरुदाञ्चितः गोपालरायकविः रामचन्द्रोदयनामकं यमककाव्यं निर्माय स्वयमेव तत्काव्यं व्याचख्यौ। अयं कविः शृङ्गारमञ्जरीभाणमपि चकार।

१९-शतकीयः म० म० परवस्तु-रङ्गाचार्यः बृहत्कायं विश्वकोशं (Encyclopaedia) जग्रन्थ। सोऽद्यापि प्रकाशं न गतः। अयं मञ्जुलनैषधकाव्यमपि लिलेख। एतच्छतकीय एव कोक्कोंड-वेंकटरत्नकविः गीतमहानटनम्, अक्षरसांख्यशास्त्रम्, अक्षरसांख्यचर्यामार्गदायिनी इति कृतित्रयं रचयामास। २०-शतकीयेन मल्लादि-सूर्यनारायणशास्त्रिणा संस्कृतसाहित्येतिहासो लिखितः। मेडेपल्लि-वेंकटरमणाचार्यः "गीर्वाणशठकोपसहस्रम्" इति द्राविडप्रबंधचतुस्सहस्रीग्रंथे प्रथमं सहस्रं संस्कृतीचकार। १९-शतकीयः 'काव्यकण्ठगणपतिशास्त्री' उमासहस्रादिकाव्यानां निर्माणं चकार। आदिभट्ट-नारायणदासः हरिकथामृतं लिलेख। वेमूरि-श्रीरामशास्त्री बहूनि शतावधानानि संस्कृते कृत्वा अखिलभारतप्रशस्तिमधिजगाम।

आन्ध्रसाहित्य-व्याकरणग्रन्थाः केचन संस्कृते एव विरचिताः। अनेन ज्ञायते यदान्ध्राणां संस्कृते कियती श्रद्धा अस्तीति ; आन्ध्रभाषा, साहित्यमित्यादयः संस्कृतपदसमासपरिपूर्णाः। आन्ध्रलिपिः केवलं षड्वर्णात्मिका इतरे वर्णाः

संस्कृतीया एव । अतः आन्ध्रभाषायां संस्कृते एव काव्यरचनापद्धतिः अनुसृता ।

संस्कृतपुराण-काव्य-नाटक-शास्त्र-वेद-कथादि-साहित्यं सर्वमपि आन्ध्र-काव्यरूपत्वेन अनूदितम् । अन्यभारतीयभाषाणां संस्कृतेन साकमियान् गरिष्ठः सम्बन्धो नास्तीति उपर्युक्त-विषयैः दृढीकर्तुं सुशकम् ।

एतदन्येऽपि शताधिकाः संस्कृतकृतिकाराः आन्ध्राः सन्ति । परं तु, ग्रन्थगौरवभिया तेषामुल्लेखो न कृतः ।

CONTRIBUTION OF ASSAM TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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Assam today comprises the modern districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur and Dibrugarh of the Brahmaputra valley and the two hill districts of North Cachar and the Mikir Hills and the district of Cachar of the Surama Valley. Till recently the whole of the Meghalaya also formed a part of Assam. Upto the time of the partition of India in 1947, the Sylhet district of the Bangladesh also belonged to Assam and formed a part of the cultural map of Assam. In the ancient and medieval periods the modern districts of Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri also were integral parts of ancient Assam and as such the contributions of these parts to Sanskrit literature also deserve considerations in the present context, as far as practicable.

The name 'Assam' is of recent origin in comparison to the long history of Sanskrit literature. It has come to be known as *Asama*, (the Anglicised form of which is Assam) since the days of the Shan invaders, who entered the Brahmaputra valley in the 13th century A. D. The Shans are called Ahoms. The tradition current amongst the Ahoms themselves is that the name *Asama* implies 'unequalled' or 'peerless'. The local tribes who have been conquered by the Ahoms, called the gallant conqueror *Asama* out of admiration and hence the kingdom ruled by them also came to be known as *Asama*.[1]

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[1] B. K. Kakati suggests that the term *asama* is actually derived from the Tai root *cham* (to be defeated) joined with the Assamese prefix *a* in the sense of 'a negation'. Thus we have *a+cham=a cham* in the sense of 'undefeated'. *Asama* is its later Sanskritised form (Kakati, *Origin and Development of the Assamese Language*, pp. 1–3. See also B. K. Barua, 'A note on the word Asama', *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. II (1935). pp. 102–4). Suniti Kumar Chatterjee suggests that the word *Asama* is derived from the word *Ahom*, the name of the Shan invaders, said to be of a Siamese Chinese group by Dr. Chatterjee (*Kirāta-jana-kṛti*, p. 30)

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The Ahoms ruled over Assam till its annexation to the British India in 1826. They had their capital at Rangpur, the modern Sibsagar. The Ahoms adopted Hindu religion and identified themselves with the local Assamese people and their culture and patronised Sanskrit literature. The Ahom power reached its zenith during the reign of king Rudrasiṁha (1696–1714). He and his successor Śivasiṁha extended patronage to poets, scholars and artists. It will be seen that their patronage to Sanskrit literature had very good results.

Earlier than this, Assam and particularly the western part of it, enjoyed the warmth of political supremacy and cultural patronage of the Koch dynasty. With Viśvasiṁha's accession to the throne in 1515 A. D. the Koch Kingdom came into existence with its capital at modern Cooch Behar. Viśvasiṁha imported several families of Brāhmaṇas from Kanauj and other places of Northern India and sent his sons Malladeva and Śukladhvaja for study in Benaras.[2] The Koch monarchs were great patrons of Assamese and Sanskrit literature. The cultural and literary activities reached their zenith when Malladeva became the King assuming the name Naranārāyaṇa (1540–1584) and appointed his brother Śukladhvaja as his Prime Minister and Commander-in-chief. The political supremacy of the Koch rulers, who introduced themselves as the rulers of Kāmarūpa extended even upto Nārāyanpur of Lakhimpur, the eastern-most district of Assam. From the ancient times upto the time of the Koch rulers, Assam was known as Kāmarūpa and still earlier in the ancientmost times, the country was known as Prāgjyotiṣa.[3] The ancient country of Kāmarūpa had its capital mostly at Prāgjyotiṣapura, the modern Gauhati. Thus there were three main centres of Sanskrit culture, viz., Prāgjyotiṣapura, Cooch Behar and Rangpur. Ancient Kāmarūpa and Prāgyotiṣa comprised whole of the modern Assam, Meghalaya and parts of North Bengal and East Bengal. In the Sabhāparva of *Mahābhārata* it is suggested that the country extend upto the sea in the south and included the hills inhabited by the Sino-Tibetan races in the north.

The people :—The ancient people of Assam were known as Kirātas and Cīnas. There were other primitive tribes commonly

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[2] K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 192.

[3] In certain classical works both the names Kāmarūpa and Prāgjyotiṣa for the country occur side by side. Cf. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 81, 83 ; VII. 17.

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called Mlecchas aud Asuras. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee proposes the term Indo-Mongoloid as an equivalent of the term Kirāta[4]. All the ancient inhabitants like the Bodos, Nagas, Kuki Cinas and the Austric-speaking Khasis belonged to this Indo-Mongoloid group.[5] The Bodos who built strong kingdoms with various fortunes under various tribal names—the Chutiyas, the Kacharis, the Koch, etc. held sway over one or the other part of Assam during different historical times.[6] The Khasis, Jayantiyās and Garos, who still have a very prominent matriarchal society, contribute largely to the development of the Mother Goddess cult of Kāmākhyā.[7] Obviously, this mixed mass of population was outside the mass of the Aryan Indians. Samudragupta's Stone Pillar Inscription of Allahabad refers to Kāmarūpa as *Pratyantadeśa* along with Nepāla[8] and clearly suggests that till then Kāmarūpa was outside the sphere of the Aryan Indian culture characterised by its rich Sanskrit literature. But there was a slow but sure process of Assam's affiliation to the Sanskrit culture of India, which is termed by Suniti Kumar Chatterjee as *Sanskritisation.* This process of Assam's affiliation to the cultural life of the main land of India took place in different ways as evidenced by the following—

(i) *Through invasion:*—The *Kālikā Purāṇa* speaks of the first mythical ancestor of the Assamese rulers of Kāmarūpa as Naraka, a prince of the dynasty of Janaka Videha of Mithilā, who settled in Kāmarūpa by an all-over conquest of the Kirāta population, whose leader named Ghaṭaka was killed in battle and his hosts driven towards the sea-coast.

(ii) *Import of Brāhmaṇas:*—As recorded symbolically in the *Kālikā Purāṇa,* "in the Gupta age, there was an infiltration of Vaiṣṇava worship, since it is stated that having driven the Kirātas, Viṣṇu invited a number of Brāhmaṇas who were well versed in Vedic

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4. *Kirāta–jana–kṛti*, p. 23.
5. *Ibid.* p. 30.
6. B. K. Barua, *A Cultural History af Assam*, p. 7.
7. See B. K. Kakati, *The Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā.*
8. Cf. *samataṭa-ḍavākā-kāmarūpa-nepāla-kartṛpurādi-pratyantanṛpatibhiḥ* (line 22)

sa kirātaiśca cīnaiśca vṛtaḥ prāgjyotiṣo'bhavat |
anyaiśca bahubhiryodhais sāgarānupavāsibhiḥ ||
(*Sabhā*, 23, 19)

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and Śāstraic traditions to settle down in Kāmarūpa, so that the new culture of Vedic studies and charities was introduced under colonising the land.[9] ”

(iii) *Taking part in all-Indian affairs* :—It is severally recorded in the *Mahābhārata* that King Bhagadatta of Kāmarūpa, who was the son of Naraka, took part in the battle of Kurukṣetra and fought a gallant fight for the Kauravas.

(iv) *Political alliance* :—King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa established a political alliance with king Harṣavardhana of Thāneswara (vide Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, VII).

(v) *Matrimonial relation* :—Kāmarūpa princess Amṛtaprabhā got married to the Kashmirian King Meghavāhana (vide Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Book II. pp. 148-50).

(vi) *Settlement of Brāhmaṇas* :—The Nidhanpur Copper Plate Grant records that King Bhūtivarman (6th century A.D.) granted special *agrahāra* settlements to more than two hundred Brāhmaṇas of various *gotras* and *Vedaśākhās* for promotion of Vedic religion and culture.

(vii) *Pilgrimage* :—Assamese saints and savants like the greatest Vaiṣṇava saint Śaṅkaradeva, travelled extensively in the rest of India for pilgrimage to holy places and centres of culture and kept the process of cultural intercourse unabated. Because of the contact with the Aryan population of the rest of India, the diverse tribes of Assam were moulded into one homogeneous cultural community and in this matter Sanskrit played the most significant part. B.K. Barua observes—“ But the greatest cultural influence of the Aryans which also brought unity among the diverse tribes and races of the province, however, was the language. Sanskrit not only became the language of the court, it also became the medium of expression for poets, philosophers and preachers".[10] Thus, it is obvious that Assam, through the ages, made its own contributions to Sanskrit literature.

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[9] V. S. Agrawala, *Presidential Address, XXII, All-India Oriental Conference. cf.*

tasmāt kirātānutsārya vedaśāstrātigān bahūn ।
dvijātīn vāsayāmāsa tatra varṇān sanātanān ॥
vedādhyayanadānāni satataṃ vartate yathā ।
tathā cakāra bhagavān munibhirvāsayan vibhuḥ ॥
vedavādaratās sarve dānadharmaparāyaṇāḥ ।
naciradabhavaddeśaḥ kāmarūpāhvayastadā ॥

(*Kālikā Purāṇa*, 39. 131-4)

Pālakāpya:—The story of Assam's contribution to Sanskrit literature dates back to Pālakāpya muni, the author of a well known treatise on the ailments peculiar to elephants entitled *Hastyāyurveda* or *Gajacikitsā*.[11] This treatise on elephant-science is an extensive compilation in 160 chapters, divided into four *sthānas* or sections, viz., Mahāroga (principal diseases, 18 chapters), Kṣudraroga (minor diseases, 72 chapters), S'alya (surgery, 34 chapters) and Uttara (therapy, 36 chapters). It is recorded in the *Hastyāyurveda* itself that it was composed in the hilly slopes of the Himalayas at the proximity of (i.e., on the bank of) Lauhityā.[12] The region referred to was presumably within the boundary of ancient Kāmarūpa. The author Pālakāpya was himself associated with the rearing of elephants.

> *pālanād gajayūthasya kāpyo gotreṇa·eva ca |*
> *pālakāpya iti śrīmān nāmadheyaṁ cakāra saḥ ||*
> (*Hastyāyurveda*, 1. 1. 56)

Lauhitya is another name of the river Brahmaputrā. A few pieces of evidence will suffice to show that Lauhitya was invariably associated with Kamarūpa and that Kāmārūpa abounded in elephants. Kālidāsa says that when Raghu, in the course of his expedition, crossed the river Lauhitya, the King ot Kāmarūpa began to tremble. The defeated King of Kāmarūpa presented his most powerful elephants to p. 29 the victorious King Raghu :

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10. *A Cultural History of Assam*, p. 9.

11. Published in Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 26.

12. " *Śailarājasānudeśe lauhityaṁ sāgaraṁ prati* " (*Hastyāyurveda*, 1.1.39). Here the river Lauhitya itself is called a *sāgara* in the manner of its being called *vāridhi* and *sindhu* in the Copper Plate Grants of Valavarmā (latter part of 9th century A.D.) and Indrapāla (11th century) respectively. Hence the translation "in the region where the river Lauhitya flows from the Himalayas to the sea" (as in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, Pt. III. p. 311) need not be followed.

tamīśaḥ kāmarūpāṇām atyākhaṇḍalavikramam |
bheje bhinnakaṭair nāgairanyānuparurodha yaiḥ || (*RV*. IV. 83)
cakampe tīrṇalauhitye tasmin prāgjyotiṣeśvaraḥ |
tadgajālānatāṁ prāptaissaha kālāguru-drumaiḥ ||
(*RV.* IV. 81)

It is recorded in the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* that some time about 642 A. D., Bhāskaravarmā proceeded with his army of elephants 20,000 in number to meet Harṣavardhana at Kājaṅgala near Rājmahal and his 30,000 ships passed along the Ganges to the same destination.[13] The head of the elephant was used as the royal insignia by the Kings of Kāmarūpa for several centuries as evidenced by the seals accompanying most of the Copper Plate Grants discovered so far. These evidences tend to show that the *Hastyāyurveda* was a contribution of ancient Assam. While M. M. Haraprasad Sastri places the *Hastyāyurveda* in the 5th or the 6th century A. D. Biswanarayan Sastri maintains that it was composed earlier than the 2nd century A. D. on the strength of Kālidāsa's several references to elephants, showing his knowledge of the *Gajasūtra* and of a reference to a *śāstra* on *gaja* in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyaṇa: *tathāśvārohā gajārohāścāśvān gajāṁścānadhigata-śāstrā api vinayante.*[14] The interest in the Veterinary science remained unabated in Assam till later times. Apart from a number of works in Assamese on the treatment of elephants and horses known as *hāti-puthi* and *ghorā-puthi*,[15] we have an Assamese version of the *Gaja-sūtra* with the title *Hastividyārṇava*, which was prepared in 1734 under the order of the Ahom King Śivasiṁha. The ms. of the *Hastividyārṇava* now preserved in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati, is celebrated for its very lively and profuse illustrations.

Āyurveda: – A Nāgārjuna, Buddhist, is considered by local tradition to have hailed from Kāmarūpa in the 10th-11th

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13. *The Life of Hiuen Tsang* by Shaman Hwui Li, translated by S. Beal, London, 1911.
14. *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XIX (1960), p. 88.
15. Maheswar Neog, *Technical Sciences and Fine Arts Section-Presidential Address*, XXIII, All India Oriental Conference, 1966, p. 5

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century. He was a great authority on Āyurveda and was the author of the *Yogaśataka*, a Tantric Āyurvedic treatise found in the Nepal Durbar Library.[16] There are many other names of such authorities connected with Kāmarūpa. But we are on surer ground in respect of some works like *Prayogasāra* of Keyadeva, *Rājavallabha* of Nārāyaṇa and *Vaidyakalpadruma* of Kāmadeva, which are even now available in ms. form.[17] Anaṅga Kavirāja, enjoying the patronage of the Ahom monarch Lakṣmīsiṁha (1769–80), composed a voluminous work named *Vaidya-kalpataru.*

The tradition has been carried on till as late as 1850 when Vrajanāth Sarmā wrote his treatise *Vaidyaka-sāroddhāra*, based on the authority of Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa. The last-named work has recently been published by the Government of Assam's Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati (edited by Dharmanatha Tarkatīrtha and Dr. P. C. Choudhury, 1964). *Jyotiṣa* :—*Kālikā Purāṇa* explains the name *Prāgjyotiṣa* thus: "taking his seat here, Brahmā created the stars and so the city was called *Prāgjyotiṣa*[18]. There is also a temple dedicated to the nine planets, the Navagraha temple on the top of a hill called Citrācala on the immediate east of Prāgjyotiṣapura. There are nine aniconic symbols of the nine grahas fixed to the floor in a special

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[16] Maheswar Neog, *Ibid*, p. 4

[17] Biswanarayan Sastri, *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XIV (1960). p. 98.

[18] There are two readings (1) *asya madhye sthito brahmā prāṅnakṣatrāṇyasarjayat* (2) *asya madhye sthito brahmā prāṅnakṣatraṁ sasarja ha* | *tatah prāgjyotiṣākhyeyaṁ purī śakrapurisamā* || (*KP*. 39. 126, 7). V. S. Agarwala does not accept this explanation. According to him, in analogy with *uttarajyotika* (the northern path) of *Mahābhārata*, Sabhā, 29. 10, there was the word *Prāgjyotika* in the sense of the eastern path, wherefrom the word *Prāgjyotiṣa* is derived to mean a country with the eastern path, referring thereby to the mountainous passage in the north-eastern corner of Assam (*Presidential Address*, XXIInd All-India Oriental Conference).

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arrangement so as to have the Sun at the centre.[19] This temple is known to the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (82. 119. ff. Venkateswara edn.). Even upto this date the Navagraha temple is a seat of astrological calculations. Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭācārya, himself a practitioner of Kāmarūpa Jyotiṣa, shows that there was a distinct school of astronomy for calculating the almanac in Kāmarūpa, called the *Kāmarūpīya-nibandhanīya-khaṇḍasādhya.*[20] Mss. of this astronomical work are available in large numbers with the professional astrologers of Kāmarūpa. It is maintained that the *Kāmarūpiya-nibandhanīya-khaṇḍa-sādhya* was composed in the 7th century A. D.[21] Many other well known writers of Kāmarūpa wrote on *Jyotiṣa.* For example, we have Dāmodara Miśra's (14th c.) *Jyotiṣasārasaṁgraha*, Pitāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa's (16th c.) *Grahaṇakaumudī* and *Saṃkrānti-kaumudī*, Mathurānātha Vidyālaṁkāra's *Samayāmṛta* and *Adbhuta*, Vaṁśīvadana Śarmā's *Jyotirmuktāvalī*, Kṛṣṇadeva Miśra's *Samvat-saragaṇanā* and Laṣkmīpati Sarmā's *Jyotirmālā* (1691 A. D.).[22] These works may be found amongst the 84 mss. on astronomy and astrology preserved in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, Gauhati. The Department has recently published the *Grahaṇakaumudi* and the *Jyotirmālā* along with Damodara Miśra's *Smṛtisāgarasāra* in one volume under the common title *Smṛti-jyotiṣa-sārasṁgraha* (edited by Manoranjan Shastri and Dr. P. C. Choudhury, Gauhati, 1964).

Grammar :—Puruṣottama Vidyāvāgīśa, a scholar of the court of Naranārāyaṇa of Cooch Behar, wrote a lucid Sanskrit grammar, namely, *Prayogaratnamālā Vyākaraṇa.* This is a remarkable contribution of Assam to Sanskrit literature. This work is very popular in the *Pāṭhaśālās* of Assam and Bengal. All the *sūtras* along with illustrations are presented in verse-form and it has its own system of

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19. See Dharmeswar Chutia, 'Some observations on the Aniconic symbols of the Navagraha Temple of Gauhati', *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XVI, 1968, for a detailed account of the temple and a very illuminating interpretation of the symbols.

20. *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. X, 1943. pp. 73ff.

21. *Ibid.* p. 74

22. See Maheswar Neog, Technical Sciences and Fine Arts Section-*Presidential Address*, XXIIIrd AIOC. 1966. p. 3.

technical terms. The work was composed in 1568 A. D.[23] The mere text of this work was first published in 1802 śakābda. Then in 1816 śaka the text was published along with two commentaries, viz., *Prabhāprakāśikā* of Jayakṛṣṇa Śarmā and *Gūḍhaprakāśīkā* of Siddhanātha Vidyāvāgīśa. The mere text was again published in 1854 śaka. Since then it has been long out of print and happily it is going to be published again before long by the Assam Sanskrit Board, Gauhati. We find mss. of two more commentaries. One of them was written by Jīveśvara Bhaṭṭācārya (17th c.) of which only the Taddhita section is available. Another entitled *Tātparya-dīpikā* was composed by Sarvānanda Bhaṭṭācārya in 1800 A. D.

Purāṇas and Tantras :—The most important Purāṇa work composed in ancient Assam is the *Kālikā Purāṇa.* It is one of the eighteen Upapurāṇas of the traditional lists given in some of the Purāṇas themselves.[24] This Purāṇa is devoted to the glorification of the cult of Devī-worship with special reference to the goddess Kāmākhyā.[25] R. C. Hazra, however, shows that the *Kālikā Purāṇa* or the *Kālīpurāṇa* included in the traditional lists and known to the Nibandha-writers like Nānyadeva, Lakṣmīdhara, Vallālasena and Caṇḍeśvara is an earlier work composed in about 7th C. A. D. and is different from the printed *Kālikā Purāṇa.* V. Raghavan[26] has shown that there were three texts of the name *Kālikā Purāṇa* represented by (1) Aufrecht's *Catalagus Catalogorum* I. pp. 98-9, L. 370, styled *Caṇḍī Purāṇa* (2) Eggeling's *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1193, 3344 (No. 2488) styled *Kālikā Purāṇa, Kālyā* (*Kālī-purāṇa* ?) and *Satī Purāṇa* and (3) the same pp. 1189 ff, 3339 (No. 2943). The last one is represented by the three printed editions: (1) The two Press (Bombay) editions of 1891 and 1907, (2) The Vaṅgavāsī (Bengali) edition of 1909 (1316 B. S.) by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and

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[23] Cf. *gagaṇa-grahamanuśāke*
nākendrācāryavāsare———śabdavidyeyaṁ sāmāptā.

[24] R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 4-13.

[25] V. S. Agrawala calls it a Sthala-māhātmya (*Presidential Address* XXIInd. A. I. O. C.). The Purāṇa is of immense importance for the reconstruction of the cultural history of ancient Assam.

[26] V. Raghavan, 'The Kālikā(Upa) Purāṇa', *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XII, 1938, pp. 331-360.

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(3) The Calcutta edn. of 1910 edited by Hrishikesh Shastri. It is now more convincingly maintained that the *Kālikā Purāṇa* of the printed editions was composed in the earlier part of the first half of the 9th century A. D.[27]

Next we must name the *Svalpamatsyapurāṇa*, which is presumed to have been composed somewhere in Kāmarūpa earlier than the 11th century A. D.[28]. The Nibandhakāras of later dates have quoted extensively from this Upapurāṇa. This work is being published serially by Dr. Raghavan in the *Purāṇa*, Banaras. Mss. are available also of three other Purāṇas, viz., *Viṣṇudharma*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Dharmapurāṇa*, presumably composed in Kāmarūpa in the 13th century A. D. *Vṛhadgavākṣa* is taken to be a Tantra work composed in Kāmarūpa earlier than the more celebrated *Yoginī Tantra*. *Vṛhadgavākṣa* divides Kāmarūpa into four regions viz., Ratnapīṭha, Svarṇapīṭha, Kāmapīṭha and Saumārapīṭha. *Yoginī Tantra* refers to Viśvasiṁha (1515–1534), the founder of the Koch dynasty referred to above. This Purāṇa is placed in the 16th century A.D.[29]

Smṛti Literature :—Assam has made a large and important contribution to Sanskrit literature in the field of Smṛti and Dharmaśāstra. It is not possible to give a detailed account of all the works published or lying in mss. form in hundreds. Manoranjana Sastri, in a very helpful survey-article, refers to as many as fifty-four authors.[30] Let me mention here only the few most important writers.

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[27] Dharmeswar Chutia who has recently got his Ph. D. for a dissertation on the *Kālikā Purāṇa* prepared under my guidance, has suggested this date after duly examining the views of all the earlier scholars.

[28] For details see Manoranjan Sastri's paper in *The Journal of the Gangānāth Jha Research Institute*, Vol. IX. 1952 (Parts 1, 2, 3) issued in 1953.

[29] Biswanarayan Sastri, *The Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XIV.

[30] See *Prācyabhāratī*, Vol. 1, 1965 (ed. by Dr. Mukunda Madhava Sharma).

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Nīlāmbarācarya (13th century)[31] wrote *Śrāddhaprakāśa*, a commentary on *Kātyāyanasūtras*. Other available Smṛti works of this writer are *Kālākaumudī* and *Candraprabhā*.

Vedācārya (earlier than the 15th century) wrote his massive *Smṛtiratnākara* referred to by Mm. P. V. Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Vol. I. pp. 671. ff.). Śrīdharabhaṭṭa (15th century) wrote *Varṣapradīpa* quoted as an authority by several later writers.

Kavibhāratī (earlier than 15th century) wrote *Makhapradīpa*. *Dāmdodara Miśra*[32] (1400 to 1460) wrote (1) *Gaṅgājala* (published), (2) *Smṛtisāgarasāra* (published) (3) an unabridged *Smṛtisāgara* referred to by later writers, (4) *Tantraṭīkā* found in ms. form and (5) *Daśakarmadīpikā* referred to by the author himself.

Pītāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa[33] (1530 to 1620) received patronage of the Koch Ruler Naranārāyaṇa and was the author of as many as thirty works. Some works are known only from references while others are available in ms. form and so far six works have been published. The published works are : 1. *Dāyakaumudī* (being the last part of his larger *Vivādakaumudī*). 2. *Sambandhakaumudī* 3. *Daśakarmakaumudī* 4. *Pretakṛtyakaumudī* 5. *Śrāddhakaumudī* and 6. *Śuddhikaumudī*. The large number of Kaumudis written by this authority has earned 'Kaumudī' as the distinguishing designation for any Smṛti work belonging to the Kāmarūpa school.

Mahādeva Śarmā (17th/18th century) known also as Anantācārya, is noted not only for his already published *Adbhutasāra* concerned with *adbhutaśānti* but particularly for his *Puṣpapradīpa*, which is an interesting work dealing with varieties of flowers which may or may not be used in religious rites. The process of writing works on Smṛti and Dharma has continued unabated even upto the first half of the present century.

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[31] See Manoranjan Sastri's article in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII. No. 2, June 1957.

[32] See *J. of the Gauhati University*, XV. i. 1965.

[33] See also Ghanakanta Sarma's article on Pītāmbara Siddhānta Vāgīśa in *The Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. X, Nos. 3 & 4, 1943.

A survey of the collection of mss. in the three main Ms. Libraries, viz. (1) Kāmarūpa Samskrita Sañjivanī Sabhā, Nalbari, (2) Department of Historical & Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati and (3) the Ms. Department of the Gauhati University, would show that we have the largest number of Sanskrit works written in the Assam region on the topic of Smṛti. This preponderance of Smṛti may be accounted for thus ;—

(1) Smṛti or Dharmaśāstra covers all the aspects of our life viz., religious, social and economic. It is concerned with the day to day *ācāras* and also with all the important *saṁskāras* of life like *jātakarma*, *vivāha* and *śrāddha*. It is also concerned with fairs and festivals of social life and also the legal and the economic affairs as in the case of *dāyabhāga*.

(2) Only in the case of Smṛti is a region found to have its own precisely distinguished school. Because of this, local pandits had to take greater interest in Smṛti literature.

(3) Smṛti has a greater practical and professional utility. Pandits of Assam also must have preferred to write something on Smṛti which is of greater applicability to practical life, instead of or in addition to writing something on other topics like philosophy.

Philosophical works :—In the Nidhanpur Copper Plate of King Bhāskaravarman (7th century A.D.) it is said that one of his ancestors, Nārāyaṇavarmā was similar to Janaka in his knowledge of Sāṁkhya (*Janakam ivādhigatasāmkhyārtham*, verse, 13). In the next following verse the knowledge of Sāṁkhya is further betrayed by making a reference to *prakṛti*, *puruṣa*, *sthira-guṇas* and *mahābhūtas*.[34] Scattered evidences like these confirm that in ancient Assam, different schools of Indian philosophy were duly studied; but regular treatises on philosophical themes are few and far between.

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[34] Prakṛtiriva tasya puṁso devavatī sthiraguṇānubandhaye ṣaṣṭham iva mahābhūtam dadhau mahābhūtavarmāṇam (v. 14). See also Mukunda Madhava Sharma, 'Some observations on the Nidhanpur Copper Plate of King Bhāskaravarman,' *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1961.

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The *Kālikā Purāṇa* is, however, a veritable mine of speculations on Sāṁkhya, Vedānta and Yoga darśanas. It is maintained that the philosophical content of the *Kālikā Purāṇa* is in agreement with the philosophy propagated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and it is essentially the Advaita system of Indian philosophy.[35] Nīlāmbarācārya, already noted as an authority on Smṛti, wrote a commentary *Aṁśaprakāśikā* on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, which shows that the author of this philosophical work was a follower of Vaiṣṇavism or Bhāgavata-dharma, based on the Advaita philosophy.[36] Another similar work of philosophical nature is Pītāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa's *Gūḍhārthaprkāśikā*, a commentary on Lakṣmaṇācārya's *Śāradātilaka*, a celebrated Tantra work. The author of the *Gūḍhārthaprakāśikā* leaves ample evidence to show that he was a follower of the Advaita philosophy recognised in Samayācāra of Tāntricism which was expounded by Śaṅkarācārya in his *Saundaryalaharī* and was followed by Padmapādācārya in *Prapañcasāra* and by Lakṣmaṇācārya in *Śāradātilaka.*[37] In this context two works of Dāmodara Miśra (15th century) viz. *Suvyakta-pañjikā*, a commentary on the *Hastāmalakastotra* of S'aṅkarācārya also deserves mention.

Kāvya Literature :—The *Bharatavākya* of Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa*, in certain editions like that of Dhruva based on certain mss., names the patron-king as Avantivarmā instead of Candragupta. It also refers to the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu and an agitation of the Earth by the Mlecchas. When King Bhāskaravarmā of Kāmarūpa died in about 650 A.D., there was a chaos in the country for some five or six years. There was the political revolt from the side of the Mlecchas and, as informed by the C. P. grant of Ratnapāla,[38] the throne was finally occupied by

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[35] Manoranjan Sastri, 'Advaitavāda or Philosophy of Non-dualism in Kāmarūpa' *Prof. Birinchi Kumar Barua Commemoration Volume* (ed. by Dr. Maheswar Neog and Dr. Mukunda Madhava Sharma), p. 119.

[36] *Ibid.* p. 120.

[37] *Ibid*, p. 125.

[38] *evaṁ vaṁśakrameṇa kṣitimatha nikhilāṁ bhuñjatāṁ nārakāṇāṁ rājñāṁ mlecchādhinātho vidhicalanavaśād eva jagrāha rājyam* (V. 9)

Śālastambha, the leader of the Mlecchas in about 655 A. D. It is presumed that during the five years of chaos immediately preceding the occupation of the throne by Śālastambha, Kāmarūpa was ruled by a King named Avantivarmā, who has similarity of name with Bhāskaravarmā and his predecessors. Avantivarmā being a king of the dynasty of Naraka, a son of Viṣṇu in the Boar-incarnation and Pṛthivī, it is quite in the fitness of things to make a reference to the Boar-incarnation and also to the distress of the Earth (Pṛthivī) in the *Bharatavākya.*[39] During the short reign of Avantivarmā the country was constantly tormented by the Mlecchas (*mlecchairudvejyamānā*). While the country was passing through a political uncertainty and chaos, the people and the patron-king became more interested in a political theme like that of the *Mudrārākṣāṣa*. The danger from the Mlecchas which was feared by the author of *Mudrārākṣasa* actually materialised within a few years. Viśākhadatta, with his surname Datta, has similarity with some of the Brāhmaṇas settled by Bhūtivarman and Bhāskaravarman in the Candrapurīviṣaya. On the strength of these evidences it is suggested that the *Mudrārākṣasa* has been composed by a poet of Kāmarūpa, Viśākhadatta by name, under the patronage of Avantivarman, the immediate successor of Bhāskaravarman between c. 650 and c. 655 A. D.[40]

It has also been suggested that King Harṣa, the author of *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda* was actually the King Śrī Harṣa or Srī Hariṣa of Kāmarūpa, who was a very powerful king of Kāmarūpa in the second part of the eighth century.[41] Rājyamatī, a daughter of Śrī Harṣa of Kāmarūpa was married to King Jayadeva

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[39] *vārāhīmātmayonestanum avanavidhāvāsthitasyānurūpām*
yasya prāg dantakoṭīm pralayaparigatā śiśriye bhūtadhātrī |
mlecchairudvejyamānā bhujayugamadhunā saṁśritā rājamūrteḥ
sa śrimadbandhubhṛtyaściramavatu mahīm pārthīvo' vantivarmā || (*Mudrārākṣasa*, VII. 19)

[40] See also K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, pp. 68ff. and J. C. Ghosh, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXVI. No. 1, pp. 241–245.

[41] B. N. Sastri, 'Contribution of Assam to Sanskrit', *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XIV, 1960, p. 91.

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of Nepal. In a stone-slab placed opposite the western door of the Nepalese temple of Paśupati, this Śrī Harṣa of Kāmarūpa is described as the lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kośala also.[42]

Kīcākavadha (quoted by Puruṣottama Vidyāvāgīśa in his *Prayogaratnamālā*), a Yamaka Kāvya composed by the poet Nītivarman.

Lokānanda, another Yamaka Kāvya by an unknown author. Dāmodara Miśra, already referred to in the context of Smṛti, wrote a commentary on *Kirātārjunīya*. Mss. of the following commentaries are available in the library of the Kāmarūpa Samskrita Sañjivanī Sabhā, Nalbari :—

1. Commentary on *Kirātārjunīya* by Ratnagarbhācārya. This is older than the *Ghaṇṭāpatha* of Mallinātha.

2. Commentary on *Kirātārjunīya* by Gadasiṁha, brother of Siddhasiṁha.

3. Commentary on *Śiśupālavadha* by Bhavadatta, son of Devadatta.

4. Commentary on *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin by Śaurī Śarmā, son of Rāma Śarmā.

5. Commentary on *Ānandalaharī Stotra* of Śaṅkarācārya by Janamejaya.

Another important commentary, which is being edited and prepared for publication by Dr. Satyendra Nath Sarma of the Gauhatī University is a commentary on Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, named *Sāravatī* by Śukladhvaja, the celebrated brother of King Naranārāyaṇa of Cooch Behar.[43] Śaṅkaradeva (1449-1578) and his greatest disciple Mādhavadeva (1490-1596) composed six one-act plays, each

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[42] mādyaddanti-samūhadantamusala-kṣunnāri-bhūbhṛcchiro -
gauḍoḍrādi-kaliṅga-kośala - pati - Śriharṣadevātmajā |
devī rājyamatī kulocita-guṇairyuktā prabhūtākulair-
yenoḍhā bhagadattarājakulajā lakṣmīriva kṣmābhujā ||

[43] *Cf.* vispaṣṭāṁ jayadevasatkavi-girāṁ guḍhāśayodbhāvinīṁ
ṭīkāṁ sāravatīm imāṁ vitanute s'ukladhvajo bhūpatiḥ
(Introductory verse No. 2)

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called Aṅkīyā Nāṭas in Brajabuli language. The bare frame-work of these plays is modelled on the Sanskrit drama and though Brajabuli is the normal medium of expression, Sanskrit verses in *Śloka* metre are found spread over the entire play, side by side with their Brajabuli versions. On the model of these Aṅkīyā Nāṭas three very interesting Sanskrit plays were written in the 18th century and early 19th century under Ahom patronage. These plays are: (1) *Kāmakumāraharaṇa* by Kavicandra Dvija, who enjoyed the patronage of the Ahom King Śivasiṁha (1714–1744) and his ruling consorts Pramatheśvarī and Ambikā Devī, (2) The *Vighneśa-janmodaya* of 'Kavisūrya' Gaurīkānta Dvija written in 1721 śaka/1799 A. D. when Kamaleśvara Siṁha (1795–1811) was in the Ahom throne and (3) *Śaṅkhacūḍavadha* of Dīna Dvija composed in 1724 śaka/1802 A. D. All these plays are published under the title *Rūpakatrayam* by the Assam Sāhitya Sabhā.[44] Two other Sanskrit plays, *Śrīkṛṣṇaprayāṇa* of Vidyāpañcānana and *Dharmodaya* of Dharmadeva-gosvāmin were also written about the same period in Assam. Vidyāpañcānana received the patronage of Gadādhar Duwarā Barphukan, when Pramattasiṁha (1744–51) was the Ahom King. Materials for the *Śrīkṛṣṇaprayāṇa* were taken from the Udyogaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. *Dharmodaya* was written during the reigon of the Ahom King Lakṣmīsiṁha (1769–80) and it presents a picture of the contemporary Vaiṣṇava revolt against the Ahom regime.[45]

Inscriptional Poetry:—Beginning with the Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarman (identified as Mahendra Varman) of the 5th century A. D.[46] upto the Kānāi Baraśi Bowā Rock Inscription of 1127 Śaka[47] we have some twenty inscriptions in the

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[44] Edited by Dr. Satyendra Nath Sarma, 1962

[45] See Dr. Maheswar Neog, Preface to *Rūpakatrayam*, published by Assam Sahitya Sabha, Jorhat, 1962.

[46] *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXX. Pt. 2. April 1955.

[47] See Mukunda Madhava Sharma, 'Some Observations on the Chronogram of the Kānāi Baraśi Bowā Rock Inscription of North Gauhati', *The Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (Arts)

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form of C.P grants and rock inscriptions. Twelve out of these are already compiled in the *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī* of Mm. Padmanābha Vidyāvinoda. An enlarged edition of the same is going to be published by the Assam Publication Board very soon. Beginning from the Kānāi Baraśi Bowā Rock Inscription up to the grants and records of the East India Company rule at Gauhati, we have more than a hundred C. P. land-grants and temple-inscriptions including those of the Jayantia Kings. These Inscriptions have been edited and compiled by Dr. Maheswar Neog with the title *Prācyā Śāsanāvalī* and are going to be published shortly by the Publication Board, Assam. Most of these inscriptions, beginning from the Dubi and Nidhanpur C. P. grants of Bhāskaravarman[48] betray a superb standard of poetical craftmanship which compares well with any literary inscription of any part of India or of Greater India like those of Kambuja. That first class poets were patronised by the donor-kings is obvious. King Dharmapāla himself composed the first 8 verses of his Puṣpabhadrā Grants. It has been suggested that the King Dharmapāla from whom the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* quotes ten verses, is the same as this Kāmarūpa King[49]. The authors of these were highly influenced by the classical authors like Kālidāsa and Bāṇabhaṭṭa and in the Nowgong Grant of Balavarman, a verse from the *Raghuvaṁśa* is found as it is. But taken as a whole, the corpus of the Inscriptions of Assam must be considered a rich contribution to Sanskrit poetry of the typical Kāvya-style.

The Modern Period:—The modern period of the history of Assam's contribution to Sanskrit literature starts with the beginning of the East India Company's Rule in Assam in 1926. In this period we must first of all mention Anundoram Borooah (1850 to 1889), the first member of the I. C. S. and the first Barrister-at-law from Assam, for his *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya* on Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita*, besides many other masterly critical works in various fields of Sanskrit research. The *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya* in the typical classical Sanskrit style from an I.C.S. officer of those days, was first published in 1877. The second edition has been brought out by the

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48. Mukunda Madhava Sharma, 'Some Observations of the Nidhanpur Copper Plate of Bhāskaravarman', *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. XII. No. 1, 1961.

49. N. N. Basu, 'King Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa as Poet', *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. IV, pp. 56-57.

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Publication Board of Assam in 1969. Then we have Mm. Dhīreśvarācārya (1849-1919) who was responsible for popularising the Pāṇinīan system of grammar in the Pāṭhaśālās of Assam. He wrote a work on metrics styled *Vṛttamañjarī* with his own verses as illustrations. The second edition of this work has been brought out by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in 1961. In this period also we have a large number of works on Smṛti. Thus we have *Udvāharatna* of Śrīkṛṣṇa Miśra, who belonged to Golaghat in the early part of the 19th century A.D., *Vyavasthāsārasamuccaya* of Govindadeva S'armā of Nalbari, *Kāmarūpayātrāpaddhati* of Halirāma S'armā and *Āśaucalatikā* of Bheludatta Śarmā. In the 20th century we have Lakṣmīkānta-kaviratna's *Śrāddha-paddhati-saṁgraha*, Rūpeśvara Smṛtiratna's *Daśakarmadarpaṇa*, Mahīrāma Bhaṭṭācārya's *Vyavahāradarpaṇa*, Gopālacandra Tarkasmṛtitīrtha's commentaries on *Pretakṛtyakaumudī*, *Saṁskārakaumudī* and *Sambandhakaumudī* and so on. Mention must be made also of *Jātakapradīpa* of Ādyanātha Bhaṭṭācārya, *Jyotiṣajātakagaṇanā* of Ghanas'yāma Śarmā and *Dravyaguṇa-taraṅgiṇī* of Jogeśvara S'armā and *Śabdamañjarī*, a masterly treatise on *Śabda-pramāṇa* of Navyanyāya by Candrakānta Vidyālaṁkāra (1846 s'aka).

This survey will not be complete unless we mention some of the living writers engaged in original Sanskrit composition :—

Manoranjan Sastri :—(1) *Prakāmakāmarūpa*, a Kāvya, the first canto of which is published in the *Samskrita Pratibhā*. (2) *Patākāmnāya* in Sanskrit verses explaining the philosophical significance of the national flag and the national emblem. (3) *Ketakī Kāvya* (1964), Sanskrit translation of Raghunāth Chaudhari's Assamese poem. The Kāvya is full of *padalālitya*. There are several critical articles of his written in Sanskrit and published in standard journals.

Cakreśvara Bhaṭṭācārya :—*Śāktadarśana*, a philosophical treatise on the principal tenets of the Śākta cult (1970).

Bhavadeva Bhāgavatī—(1) *Satījayamatī*, a Khaṇḍa-kāvya on the life of the celebrated Ahom heroine Jayamatī (1933); (2) *Ślokamālā*, a collection of Sanskrit poems mainly of patriotic nature and containing some humorous lyrics like the one on tea (*Tāmraparṇī*) (1957).

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Vaikuṇṭhaṇātha Tarkatīrtha :—*Śrīkrṣṇalīlāmṛta*, a poetical work in nine cantos containing lucid verses in the *Toṭaka* metre on the theme of Kṛṣṇa (published by the Publication Board, Assam, Gauhati, 1961).

Bipiṇcandra Gosvāmi :—*Navamallikā*, translation of some Assamese short stories in prose by Raghunāth Chaudhari.

Kāmini Kumār Adhikāri (of Silchar)—(1) *Gītāñjalī*, translation of Tagore's *Gitāñjalī* and (2) *Urvaśī*, translation of the poem of Tagore of the same name.

Brajendra Nāth Ācārya - *Lekhagaṇita*, a small treatise in Sanskrit on the theme of modern Co-ordinate Geometry (1951).

Mukunda Mādhava Śarmā, the present author is engaged in using Sanskrit as a medium for results of modern research as in his D. Litt. dissertation *Vyañjanāprapañcasamīkṣā* (Calcutta University, 1970) and the critical articles like *Ṛtusaṁhārasamīkṣā* (*Mañjūṣā*, Calcutta, 1958); *Kālidāsīyakāvyeṣu karmayogasya ādarśaḥ* (*Vikram*, Ujjayini, 1967); *Māghe santi trayo guṇāh* (*Prācyabhāratī*, 1965) and *Yā sṛṣṭiḥ sraṣṭurādyā* (*Sāgarikā*, 1965)[50].

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[50] For further material, see P. C. Choudhury's 'The Royal Patronage of Sanskrit Learning in Assam', *Professor Suryya Kumar Bhuyan Commemoration Volume*,

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प्राचीन-कामरूपराज्यम् (असमराज्यम्)

तत्र संस्कृत-चर्चा च

ASSAM AND SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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कामरूपराज्यमतीव प्राचीनमित्यत्र कोऽपि सन्देहलेशो नास्ति। अस्य कामरूपस्य प्राचीनं नाम प्राग्ज्योतिषमासीत्। महाभारते विष्णुपुराणे हरिवंशे ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे रामायणे तथा रघुवंशादौ च प्राग्ज्योतिषपुरस्य नाम विद्यते। योगिनीतन्त्रे कालिकापुराणे च कामरूपस्य विषये वाहुल्येन वर्णना विद्यते। तद्यथा योगिनीतन्त्रे-

करतोयां समाश्रित्य यावद्दिक् करवासिनीम् ।
उत्तरस्यां कुञ्जगिरिः करतोयात्तु पश्चिमे ।
तीर्थश्रेष्ठादिक्षुनदी पूर्वस्यां गिरिकन्दके ॥
दक्षिणे ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य लाक्षायाः सङ्गमावधि ।
कामरूप इति ख्यातः सर्वशास्त्रेषु निश्चितः ॥
त्रिंशद्योजनविस्तीर्णं दैर्घ्येण शतयोजनम् ।
कामरूपं विजानीहि त्रिकोणाकारमुत्तमम् ॥

कालिकापुराणे च-

अस्य मध्ये स्थितो ब्रह्मा प्राङ्नक्षत्रं ससर्ज ह ।
ततः प्राग्ज्योतिषाख्येयं पुरी शक्रपुरीसमा ॥
शम्भु-नेत्राग्नि-निर्दग्धः कामः शम्भोरनुग्रहात् ।
तत्र रूपं यतः प्राप कामरूपं ततोऽभवत् ॥

इति श्लोकाभ्यां कालिकापुराणे प्राग्ज्योतिषस्य तथा कामरूपस्य च नाम दृश्यते। महाकवि-कालिदासविरचित-रघुवंशेऽपि प्राग्ज्योतिषस्य तथा कामरूपस्य च नाम समुपलभ्यते। तद्यथा—

चकम्पे तीर्णलौहित्ये तस्मिन् प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरः ।
तमीशः कामरूपाणामत्याखण्डलविक्रमम् ॥ इति ॥

तथा च योगिनीतन्त्रे—

आयोनिमहिपर्यन्तमाविप्सागन्धमादनम् ।
पञ्चक्रोशमिदं देवि सर्वेषामेव दुर्लभम् ॥
ब्रह्म-विष्णु-सुरेशाद्यैः सेवितं परमाद्भुतम् ।
देवा मरणमिच्छन्ति का कथा मानुषेषु च ॥

प्राचीनकामरूपे (असमराज्ये) कामाख्याप्रभृतीनि बहूनि तीर्थस्थानानि सन्ति । तथा हि योगिनीतन्त्रे—

कामाख्यायाश्च माहात्म्यं सर्ववेदार्थसम्मतम् ।
ब्रह्मत्वं ब्रह्मणा प्राप्तं विष्णुत्वं च मया पुनः ॥
शिवत्वं च शिवेनैव कामाख्यायाः प्रसादतः ॥
प्राग्ज्योतिषपुरं ख्यातं कामाख्यायोनिमण्डलम् ।
नरकासुरनामा तु विष्णुवीर्यसमुद्भवः ।
पृथिवीगर्भसम्भूतो दानवानामधीश्वरः ॥
तस्मै विष्णुर्ददौ राज्यं कामरूपं महाफलम् ॥ इति ॥

रामायण-महाभारतादिग्रन्थानां समालोचनया तथा पूर्वोक्तैः प्रमाणैश्च प्राग्ज्योतिषपुरविषये मतभेदस्य कथा न दृश्यते ।
तथा च रामायणे—

योजनानि चतुःषष्टिर्वराहो नाम पर्वतः ।
सुवर्णशृङ्गः सुमहान् अगाधे वरुणालये ।
तत्र प्राग्ज्योतिषं नाम जातरूपमयं पुरम् ॥ इत्यादि ॥

प्राचीने काले कामरूपराज्यं चीनदेशस्य कियदंशेन सह हिमालयस्योत्तरांशपर्यन्तं विस्तृतमासीदिति महाभारतस्याधोलिखितप्रमाणेन ज्ञातुं शक्यते । तद्यथा—

“ स किरातैश्च चीनैश्च कृतः प्राग्ज्योतिषोऽभवत् ॥ ” इति ।

अस्मिन् कामरूपे (असमराज्ये) भास्करवर्मणस्ताम्रशासनात् तथान्येषां राज्ञां ताम्रशासनेभ्यः शिलालिखितेभ्योऽन्येभ्यः प्रमाणेभ्यश्च संस्कृतस्य चर्चाविषये संस्कृतस्यावदानविषये च सम्यग् ज्ञातुं शक्यते । असमराज्यस्य प्राचीना राजानो देवेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च यद्भूमिदानादिकं कृतवन्तस्तद्विषये लेखनजातं संस्कृतभाषया वर्त्तते । अनेनापि राज्यस्यास्य संस्कृतचर्चायाः प्रमाण लभ्यते । प्राचीनकालादारभ्य वर्तमानसमयपर्यन्तं बहवो विद्वांसः संस्कृतभाषया काव्य-व्याकरण-धर्मशास्त्र-ज्योतिष-च्छन्दःशास्त्रादिविषयेषु विविधान् ग्रन्थान् विलिखितवन्तस्तथा लिखन्ति च साम्प्रतमपि ।

कामरूपं हि तन्त्रशास्त्रस्योत्पत्तिस्थानम् । योगिनीतन्त्रादीनामध्ययनेनैतत् सर्वं स्पष्टीभवति । रत्नमालाव्याकरणम् असमदेशीय-पण्डितप्रवरेण श्रीपुरुषोत्तमेण विलिखितमिति सर्वैः ज्ञायते । कामरूपीयस्मृतिनाम्ना स्मृतिग्रन्थो वर्त्ततेऽसमदेशीयानां कृते । महापुरुषशङ्करदेवः, भट्टदेवः, तथान्ये च महापुरुषाः संस्कृतग्रन्थानां गीता-भागवतादिशास्त्राणाम् असमीय-भाषया कवितारूपेण गद्यरूपेण चानुवादं कृतवन्तः, येषां नामानि चिरस्मरणीयरूपेणाद्यापि वर्त्तन्ते । गौहाटी-नगर्यां समितिद्वयं, तथा नल्बारी-नामके स्थाने कामरूप-संस्कृतसञ्जीवनीसभानाम्नी चैका समितिः समावर्त्तते, यत्राद्यापि बहवो हस्तलिखिताः संस्कृतग्रन्था अमुद्रितावस्थायामेव वर्त्तन्ते । केषांचिद् ग्रन्थानां मुद्रणमपि सञ्जातम् । असमराज्यस्य नानास्थानेषु प्रतिग्रामं प्रतिगृहं चासमराज्यस्य विद्वद्विलिखिता नानाविषयका बहवो हस्तलिखिताः संस्कृतग्रन्थाः लिख्यन्ते । तेषां संग्रहोऽद्यापि न जातः । महामहोपाध्याय-धीरेश्वरभट्टाचार्यमहोदयेन वृत्तमञ्जरीति नाम्ना विलिखितः छन्दोग्रन्थो मुद्रितो वर्त्तते । तस्य ग्रन्थस्यावलोकनेनासमराज्यस्य संस्कृतपण्डितानां संस्कृतं प्रति कीदृशमवदानमिति ज्ञातुं

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शक्यते । अनेन पण्डितवर्येण स्वकीयजीवने स्वोपार्जितं सर्वं धनं स्वभूमिभिः सह संस्कृतस्य प्रचाराय संस्कृत-विद्यालयस्य गृहनिर्माणाय विद्यालयस्य संरक्षणाय च प्रदत्तम् । तद्धनेनाद्यापि वेद-पाणिनि-प्रभृति-शास्त्राणामध्ययनार्थं विद्यालय एकः प्रचलति । असमराज्ये बहवः संस्कृतविद्यालयाः महाविद्यालयाश्च सन्ति । तेषु संस्कृतस्याध्यापनं भवति । अनेनापि राज्यस्य संस्कृतशिक्षायाः प्रमाणं महामहोपाध्याय-पद्मनाभभट्टाचार्य-विद्याविनोदः कामरूपशासनावलीति नाम्ना यो महान् ग्रन्थः सङ्कलितस्तत्र कामरूपस्य (असमराज्यस्य) संस्कृत-शिक्षाविषये तथान्येषु विषयेषु च बहूनि प्रमाणानि समुपलभ्यन्ते । असमराज्यस्य स्थाने स्थाने ग्रामे ग्रामे गृहे गृहे तथा समितिप्रभृतिषु च ये हस्तलिखिताः संस्कृतग्रन्था विद्यन्ते, तेषां संग्रहं कृत्वा यदि मुद्रणव्यवस्था स्यात् तर्हि जनानां समाजस्य देशस्य च महान् उपकारो भवेत् । अतस्तत्कार्यसम्पादनाय केन्द्रीयसर्वकारः यत्नं कुर्यादिति वयमाशास्महे ।

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A MILLENARY OF SANSKRIT CULTURE IN BENGAL

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Introduction

Here 'Bengal' does not stand for the present-day politically truncated province. By 'Bengal' we mean a wider geographical area which was culturally integrated. Broadly speaking, it comprised Vaṅga, Suhma, Puṇḍra, Samataṭa, Harikela, Karṇasuvarṇa, Gauḍa, Varendra and Rāḍhā.

Within the space and time at our disposal we can only have a glimpse of the glittering panorma of the Samskrit literature of Bengal spread over a thousand years. This paper is like a capsule carrying the reader across the literary firmament of Bengal so that he can scan the horizon dimmed by the lapse of centuries and threatened to be obliterated by the impact of modern life and culture.

The references to *Gauḍī Riti* by Bāṇabhaṭṭa (7th cent. A. D.) and Daṇḍin (8th cent. A. D.) are positive evidences of the fact that Bengal established a distinctive position in literature considerably earlier than the seventh century A. D.

Political and Social background :

As a political entity, Bengal did not play any significant role before the sixth century. After the fall of the Guptas, Gauḍa became a powerful kingdom under Śaśāṅka (6th. cent.). In the period that followed, Bengal was divided into petty principalities, each under a potentate. Anarchy and confusion prevailed till the election in the eighth century by the people of one Gopāla as their King. He founded the Pāla kingdom which was supplanted by the Senas about the first half of the twelfth century. The Sena regime was overthrown by the Muslims in 1197 A. D. In the mid-eighteenth century, Bengal passed into the hands of the British.

The social fabric of Bengal presents a complex texture of Brāhmanism, Buddhism, Tāntrism, and Vaiṣṇavism. Buddhism got an impetus under the Buddhist Pāla rulers. The Senas revived Brāhmanism which suffered a great set-back under the Muslims. The devotional emotionalism and the catholicity of Caitanya in the 15th-16th cent. broke the narrow barriers of casteism and social aparthied. The great reformer and his religion inspired quite a number of literary and philosophical works. Tāntrism, which prevailed in this region from hoary antiquity, flooded it in its dual garb of Brahmanical and Buddhist Tantras. The Tāntric Sahajīyā cult exercised powerful control on the masses and the intelligentsia alike.

Navya-nyāya :

The acute logical acumen of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (15th-16th cent.), as evidenced in his scholia called *Dīdhiti* on Gaṅgeśa's *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, raised Bengal to an exalted position in the field of neo-logic. He was followed by a long line of illustrious successors whose meticulous analysis and interpretation are well known.

Navya-smṛti :

Bengal distinguished itself in this realm as early as the eleventh century or even earlier. It was Raghunandana who, in the 15th-16th cent., produced his encyclopaedic *Aṣṭāviṃśati-tattva* which testifies to his immense learning, zeal as a social reformer and independent interpretative skill. The Bengali Jīmūtavāhana, a pre-Raghunandana writer, succeeded in setting up the *Dāyabhāga*-school for Bengal while the rest of India was guided by the *Mitākṣarā*. Kullūka (c. 13th cent.), the famous commentator of the *Manu Smṛti*, introduced himself as a Bengali.

Tantra :

Bengal may not have been the originator of Tantra, as some prominent Indologists have claimed, yet she carved out a niche for herself in the shrine of Tāntric literature. Atīśa Dīpaṅkara (b. 980 A.D.) is the most famous of the Bengali Buddhists who wrote Tāntric works in Sanskrit. Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa (b. 1500 A.D.) set the seal of his deep erudition and estoeric knowledge in his *Tantrasāra*.

Other systems of Philosophy :

Leaving aside Gauḍapāda, author of the *Gauḍapādakārikā*, whose Bengal origin is not universally accepted, we have such stal-

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warts in philosophy as Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa (c. 10th cent.) and Vijñānabhikṣu (16th-17th. cent.), authors respectively of *Nyāyakandalī* (on Nyāya-Vais'eṣika), the *Advaitasiddhi* (on Vedānta) and the *Vijñānāmṛta-bhāṣya* (on the *Brahma-sūtra*).

Poems and Prose compositions :

Bengal's contribution to poetical literature is varied and valuable. Of the extant anthologies of Sanskrit poems, the earliest entitled *Subhāṣitaratnakośa*, compiled by Vidyākara (*c.* first quarter of the 12th cent. A. D.), was of Bengal provenance. The *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* and the *Padyāvalī*, the two noted *Kośa-kāvyas*, were compiled by the Bengali S'rīdharadāsa (12th-13th cent. A.D.) and Rūpa Gosvāmin (15th-16th cent.) respectively.

The earliest available *Padya-kāvya* composed by a Bengali poet is the *Rāmacarita* of Gauḍa Abhinanda (*c.* 9th cent.) The *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva, a court-poet of King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, is perhaps the most famous of Sanskrit lyrics. The *Āryāsaptaśatī* of Govardhana, a contemporary of Jayadeva, is also a noted work of this type. The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin, through *double entendre*, praises Dāśarathi Rāma and extols the Pāla King Rāmapāla (accession *c.* 1077 A.D.). To the same class belong the *Vīrabhadradevacampū* (1578 A.D.) dealing with the llfe of the Ayodhyā king Vīrabhadra, the *Sūrjanacarita*, an account of Akbar's friend Sūrjana, and the *Padyamuktāvalī*, an eulogy of Shajahan's minister Asaf Khan, respectively by Padmanābha, Candraśekhara (16th-17th cent.,) and Govinda (16th cent.). Bengal produced an array of *Dūta-kāvyas* of which the most well known is the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyi, a fellow-jewel of Jayadeva adorning the court of Lakṣmaṇasena.

The *Ānandalatikā Campū* by Kṛṣṇanātha (17th. cent.), the *Vidvanmoda-taraṅgiṇī* and the *Mādhava-campū* by Cirañjīva (17th-18th cent.) and the *Citra-campū* by Bāṇeśvara (I7th cent.) are the noteworthy Campū-kāvyas of Bengal.

Of the Vaiṣṇava poetical works there are plenty in Bengal. The most noteworthy of them are Jīva Gosvāmin's *Mādhavamahotsava*, *Gopāla-campū*, Caturbhuja's *Haricarita* (1493 A.D.), Murārigupta's (contemporary of Caitanya) *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Kavi Karṇapūra's *Ānandavṛndāvana-campū* and Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Govinda-līlāmṛta*.

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The *Hitopadeśa*, the well-known version of the *Pañcatantra*, is generally believed to have originated in Bengal.

Drama :

It is the Vaiṣṇavas who contributed substantially to the dramatic literature of Bengal. The noteworthy dramas are the *Dānakelīkaumudī*, *Lalita-mādhava* and *Vidagdha-mādhava* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, the *Caitanyacandrodaya* of Kavi Karṇapūra. The *Kautuka-sarvasva* of Gopīnātha is a comic drama.

Vaiṣṇava Philosophy, Theology and Devotional Literature :

The *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin is a monument to the author's erudition and devotional fervour. The *Haribhaktivilāsa*, claimed by Bengal, is a marvel of scholarship and devotionalism. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (18th cent.), perhaps born in Orissa, was a prominent figure in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. His *Govindabhāṣya* is a masterly commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*.

Poetics, Dramaturgy, Prosody and Vaiṣṇava Rasaśāstra :

The *Kāvyavilāsa* of Cirañjīva is a noteworthy work on Poetics. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Nāṭakacandrikā* is a work on Dramaturgy. Among the Bengal works on Prosody, mention may be made of the *Vṛttamālā* by Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī (12th–13th cent.).

The *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, both by Rūpa Gosvāmin, proclaim the profound erudition of the author in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra.

Miscellaneous literary works :

Bengal left the impress of originality not only in Law and Logic but also in the domain of Literature. We have distinct Bengal recensions of such literary monuments as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*. Some of the inscriptions are also witnesses to the literary skill of their authors. Bharatamallika (*c.* 17th cent) is one of the prominent Bengali commentators on Mahākāvyas. Vaijayantī and Priyaṃvadā are the two prominent female poets of Bengal; their stray compositions still exist.

Purāṇic literature :

In the realm of Purāṇic literature, the *Devī Purāṇa*, *Bṛhannandikeśvara*, *Nandikeśvara*, *Kriyāyogasāra* (a part of the *Padma Purāṇa*),

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Mahābhāgavata, *Devībhāgavata*, the *Bṛhaddharma* and the *Brahmavaivarta* are supposed, on good evidence, to have originated in Bengal.

Grammar :

In Grammar the Bengal origin of the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* and the *Saṁkṣiptasāra* respectively of Candragomin and Kramadīśvara is not free from doubt. But the sectarian *Harināmāmṛta* arose in this province. According to some, Jinendrabuddhi, Maitreyerakṣita and Puruṣottamdeva, authors respectively of the *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā*, the *Dhātupradīpa* and the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (commentary on Pāṇini) were Bengalis. Śaraṇa, author of the *Durghaṭavṛtti*, was probably the scholar of this name who was among those who adorned the court of Lakṣmaṇasena.

Lexical literature :

In the Lexical literature, noteworthy are the *Ekvarṇārtha-saṅgraha* and *Dvirūpa-dhvani-saṁgraha* of Bharatamallika, mentioned above. Sarvānanda and Rāyamukuṭa are the authors respectively of the *Ṭīkāsarvasva* (1159-60 A.D.) and *Padacandrikā* (1431–32 A.D.), both commentaries on the *Amarakośa*; commentaries on this lexicon were written by other Bengali scholars too.

Vaidyaka-śāstra :

Among the technical sciences, Vaidyaka-śāstra was considerably enriched by contributions of Bengali authors. The works of Mādhava (*c*. 8th cent), son of Indukara, and Cakrapāṇidatta (11th-12th cent.) are well known ; the question of the homeland of the former has not yet been finally settled. The *Rugviniścaya*, popularly called *Nidāna*, and the *Cikitsāsāra-saṁgraha* are famous among the works respectively of Mādhava and Cakrapāni. Gaṇanātha, Vaṅgasena and other Bengalis followed then in this field.

Conclusion :

The torch of Sanskrit learning that was lit in Bengal in antiquity is still burning in this region. Poems, dramas and other classes of Sanskrit literature are still being composed by the Bengali scholars. The chill penury of most of the Sanskrit scholars of Bengal has not been able to dampen their enthusiasm in preserving the light lit by their glorious forbears. Of the living traditional Sanskrit

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writters of Bengal, the most prominent are Mm. Dr. Kālipada Tarkācārya and Dr. S'rījīva Nyāyatīrtha, both octogenarians. Their Mahākāvyas, entitled *Satyānubhāva* and *Pāṇḍavavikrama* respectively, testify to the continuance of the devout worship of the Goddess of learning in the traditional way. With proper patronage the orthodox Sanskrīt scholars of Bengal are sure to emerge to full view.

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CONTRIBUTION OF BENGAL TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE - ŚĀSTRAS

DR. BISWANATH BANERJEE, SANTINIKETAN

Bengal was aryanised comparatively later. We have no certain evidence of the literary activities of Bengalis before the Guptas and the political history of the land before the Gupta dynasty is also shrouded in obscurity. This lack of materials might have prompted the ancient writers to show contempt and disregard for Bengal.[1] A visit to Bengal except on pilgrimage was even considered by them a sin requiring the visitor to undergo *saṁskāra* for its expiation.[2]

Inscriptional records of the Guptas, accounts of Chinese travellers etc. furnish evidence of the literary activities of the Bengalis and the existence of Sanskrit learning and culture in Bengal. We are unable to assign a definite date to the spread of Buddhism in Bengal but we have materials to support that Bengal was a good centre of Buddhism as early as the third century A. D. That Buddhism was prevalent in Bengal during the time of Aśoka or at least immediately after him can be seen from literary and inscriptional records.[3]

Bengal possesses a fair amount of literature of high merit and importance in almost all branches of Sanskrit learning but Navya-nyāya, Navya-smṛti, and Tantra are the three main fields on which rests the literary fame of Bengal. The subtleties of logic developed at Navadvīpa and a new form of dialectics was established by scholars like Raghunātha, Mathurānātha and others. A succession of brilliant scholars produced authoritative works on neo-smṛti and Tantra. In the field of Philosophy also Bengali intellectuals made notable contributions. The contributions of Vijñānabhikṣu, Viśveśvara Sarasvatī, and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī are of permanent value. The tradition of Grammar set up by Candragomin was ably maintained by his successors. Buddhist stalwarts like Śīlabhadra, Śāntarakṣita

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1. N. Ray, *Bāṅgālir Itihās*, 681 ff.
2. aṅgabaṅgakaliṅgeṣu saurāṣṭramagadheṣu ca ।
   tīrthayātrāṃ vinā gacchan punaḥ saṃskāramarhati ॥
3. N. Dasgupta, *Bāṅglāya Bauddhadharma*, 36–40.

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and Śāntideva who produced some of the gems of Buddhist philosophy and religion in Sanskrit carried the fame of Bengal's scholarship beyond the boundaries of India. An independent style of literary composition was developed by Bengali writers before the 7th century A. D. Bengal distinguised herself in the field of Sāhitya, Lexicography, Medicine etc. and we have a number of Purāṇic works supposed to have originated in Bengal. The intellectual pursuits of the scholars of Bengal under the Muslim rule brought about a great social change and re-orientation of religious outlook. The Vaiṣṇava movement in the country received a great impetus through the Vaiṣṇavite works on theology and devotion.

The contributions of Bengali scholars have illumined almost all the branches of Sanskrit literature and may be broadly classified in the following way :—

I. Navya-nyāya, II. Navya-smṛti, III. Tantra-Hindu, Buddhist, IV. Philosophy, V. Theology, Devotion, VI. Grammar, Lexicography, Prosody, VII. Dramaturgy, Poetics, Rasaśāstra. VIII. Kāvya-Dṛśya, S'ravya, IX. Purāṇa, X. Medicine.

In our discussion we will follow this classification to have an idea of Bengal's contributions to various branches of Sanskrit S'āstra literature.

Any attempt to present a history of the Navya-nyāya or the neo-logic school will be incomplete if the names of the pioneers like Udayanācārya and Gaṅgeśa, the redoubtable scholars of Mithilā, are not mentioned along with their contributions. The neo-logic school which develped round the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* had perhaps its origin in the works of Udayana. In this respect Udayana may be considered the father of the new school of Indian Logic. His *Nyayakusumāñjali*, *Kirṇaāvalī* etc. are in fact the earliest source-books on neo-logic. If Udayana set out the principles of the new school, it was Gaṅgeśa who brought in a *new* life to the school and with whose contribution it developed into a very important branch of learning. His *Tattvacintāmaṇi* is a land-mark in the history of Indian Logic. We do not know any other name that could win such fame and glory on a single work as done by Gaṅgeśa. In the opinion of some scholars, the era of neo-logic begins with Gaṅgeśa[4].

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[4] D. C. Bhaṭṭācārya, *Bāṅgālir Sārasvat Avadān*, I. 15.

The history of neo-logic in Bengal is practically the history of the intelligentsia of Navadvīpa. Outside Navadvīpa there was hardly any author on the subject worth mentioning, although the study of Navya-nyāya was in vogue everywhere. Even Vārāṇasī was considered a branch of Navadvīpa in this field of study.[5] This fame of Navadvīpa was firmly established from the time of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. We may divide the history of Navya-nyāya into three phases, pre-Śiromaṇi, Śiromaṇi and post-Śiromaṇi.

Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, the *guru* of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, was perhaps the great scholar on the subject during the pre-Śiromaṇi period. There is a tradition that he was a student of Pakṣadhara Miśra of Mithilā and credit is given to him as the founder of the first *catuṣpāṭhi* on Nyāya in Navadvīpa. It is told that he learnt by heart the great *Cintāmaṇi* and the Kārikās of *Kusumāñjali* and came to Navadvīpa to introduce the study of Navya-nyāya. These accounts have no historical basis and the study of the subject was introduced in Navadvīpa long beforeVāsudeva.[6] We know of only two works of Vāsudeva,—one, the commentary on the *Anumāna-khaṇḍa* of the *Cintāmaṇi* and the other on the Vedānta philosophy. In the opinion of scholars, Vāsudeva learnt Navya-nyāya from his father Narahari Viśārada and did not go to Mithilā to study the subject. He is acclaimed as the founder of the Navya-nyāya school in Bengal.

During the centuries after Gaṅgeśa wrote his monumental work, only two persons, Pakṣadhara Miśra and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, could develop new schools of thought. The Miśra-school has declined long ago but the Śiromaṇi-school is still very much there. We can hardly name any other Bengal logician who can merit a place equal to Raghunātha. Not only did he establish a new form of dialecties but inspired a host of brilliant scholars to keep the name and fame of the *guru* burning. We come across as many as *eleven* works by Śiromaṇi. These are: *Pratyakṣamaṇidīdhiti*, *Anumānadīdhiti*, *Śabdamaṇidīdhiti*, *Ākhyātavāda*, *Nañvāda*, *Padārthakhaṇḍana*, *Dravyakiraṇāvali-prakāśa-dīdhiti*, *Guṇakiraṇāvalīprakāśa-didhiti*, *Ātmatattvavivekadīdhiti*, *Nyāyalīlāvatīprakāśa-dīdhiti* and *Malimlucaviveka*.

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[5] *Ibid.*, 31. [6] *Ibid.*, 33-35.

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Two other commentators of the *Cintāmaṇi* contemporaneous with Raghunātha worth mentioning were Jānakīnātha, the author of the *Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī*, and Kaṇāda who wrote a commentary on the *Anumāna-khaṇḍa*.

The system of Raghunātha and his writings attracted the attention of Bengal's best intellectuals and a good number of commentaries and sub-commentaries thereon were produced within a short period. These bear the stamp of the best Bengali genius of the mediaeval period. We know of as many as 52 scholars who wrote a commentary each on the *Śiromaṇi* treatises.[7]

Haridāsa Nyāyālaṃkāra was perhaps the earliest commentator on the *Anumāna-dīdhiti*, but the four principal commentators on *Śiromaṇi* were: Bhavānanda, Mathurānātha, Jagadīśa and Gadādhara. The name of the great logician Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma who preceded all of them should also be recalled. He was the author of many treatises and perhaps commented on as many as eight works of Śiromaṇı. He was the teacher of Bhavānanda.

At one time the works of Bhavānanda were read with interest all over India but now we do not remember this great logician of Bengal of the 16th century. The four great logicians of Bengal are mentioned in the verse[8]:

guṇopari Guṇānandī Bhāvānandī ca dīdhitau |
sarvatra Mathurānāthī Jāgadīśī kvacit kvacit ||

Bhavānanda is given here the best place among the commentators on *dīdhiti* and he is said to have commented on eight works of Raghunātha. Besides these commentaries he is said to have written several other independent treatises like *Śabdārthasāramañjarī* and *Kārakacakra*. His sons S'rīkṛṣṇa Nyāyavāgīśa and Rāma Tarkālaṁkāra were also well-known writers in Logic.

Mm. Mathurānatha Tarkavāgīśa was one of the foremost scholars who contributed much to the reputation of the *Navadvīpa* school. His '*Māthurī*' on the *Cintāmaṇi* was studied all

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7. *Ibid.* 112. Quotation from an old report. 8. *Ibid.* 134.

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over India and this made him immortal. The verse quoted above goes to show that Mathurānātha wrote commentaries on all original texts of Navya-nyāya. The works ascribed to Mathurānātha exhibit the extent of Nyāya-studies in Bengal and his critical acumen, intellect and learning.

His *Tattvacintāmaṇi-rahasya* is a commentary on Gaṅgeśa and it is possible that he wrote this 'rahasya' on all the four parts of the *Cintamaṇi*, but we have not yet been able to discover its part on the *Upamānakhaṇḍa*. We can reasonably believe that Mathurānātha wrote commentaries entitled 'rahasya' on all the eight extant works of S'iromaṇi even though the *Māthurī* on *Pratyakṣa-dīdhiti*, *Padārthakhaṇḍana* and *Nañvāda* have not been discovered so far. He also wrote a sub-commentary on the *Āloka* of Pakṣadhara Miśra. His other treatises which are commentaries on earlier texts like those of Udayana, Vardhamāna, and Vallabhācārya include *Guṇadīdhiti-māthurī*, *Dravyakiraṇāvalī-ṭīkā*, and *Līlāvatīmāthuri*. The *magnum opus* of Mathurānātha is his *Siddhānta-rahasya*, which is not a commentary of any text but an original one bearing the stamp of his genius, This text has been referred to in many places in his commentaries which speaks of the confidence of the author himself on this great work. Both Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma and Mathurānātha are said to have written works with the same title of *Siddhānta-rahasya* but the *rahasya* of Rāmabhadra has not been discovered so far. The works of Mathurānātha draw our most respectful attention. The extent of Mathurānātha's work may be upto three to four hundred thousand verses. His contribution to the system of Navya-nyāya stands second to none both in extent and contents. He was a senior contemporary of Jagadīśa Tarkālaṁkāra who has quoted from the *Māthurī* without naming him.[9]

The study of the *Anumānakhaṇḍa* of Śiromaṇi's *Dīdhiti* soon spread over Navadvīpa and in course of time it attracted the attention of scholars all over India. It introduced a system of Neo-logic. Jagadīśa Tarmkālaṁkāra wrote a commentary on the *Dīdhiti* wherein he boasted that the intricacies of the *Dīdhiti*, having remained obscure so long in spite of the best attempts of great logicians, have now been unfolded by the efforts of Jagadīśa[10].

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[9] *Ibid.*, 163. [10] *Ibid.*, 165.

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There is really some truth in this proud assertion. He was the author of many important commentaries but excepting his comments on the *Anumāna-dīdhiti* all the other notes from him are not available now. *Mayūkha* is the name of his commentary on all the four parts of the *Cintāmaṇi*. Besides the commentaries, Jagadīśa wrote a number of original texts and disputations. His *Śabdaśakti-prakāśikā* is an important work received by scholars with much appreciation. *Tarkāmṛta* and *Nyāyādarśa* are the two other works of Jagadīśa which deserve mention. Owing to his merits as a scholar and a writer, he was adorned with the highest title of *Jagad-guru* that could be given to a teacher.[11]

The author of the most detailed commentary on the *Anumāna-dīdhiti* was Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya. He was practically the last great author of the *Dīdhiti*-school. So far as we know there was only one scholar after Gadādhara who had the courage of commenting on the whole of the *Anumāna-dīdhiti* and he was Rudra Tarkavāgīśa, the grandson of Bhavānanda and a contemporary of Gadādhara. The history of Navya-nyāya supposedly closes its third phase with Gadādhara who is considered the last prolific writer on the subject. By his brilliance he put to shade the earlier commentaries on the *Dīdhiti* excepting only those of Jagadīśa and Bhavānanda. He had also a spiritual life and was a *Mantrasiddha*. His works include commentaries on the *Śabda* and *Anumāṇakhaṇḍas* of the *Cintāmaṇi*, *Śabdamaṇyālokoṭīkā*, *Pratyakṣālokaṭīkā*, *Anumānāloka-ṭīkā*, *Kusumāñjali-ṭīkā*, *Pratyakṣadīdhiti-ṭīkā*, *Anumāṇadīdhiti-ṭīkā* and *Nañvāda-vyākhyā*. About 64 works on dialectics have been ascribed to Gadādhara.[12] Other authors of importance belonging to the Siromaṇi-school were: Haridāsa Nyāyālaṃkāra, Śrīrāmā Tarkālaṁkāra, Guṇānanda Vidyāvāgīśa, Gopīkānta, Govinda Bhaṭṭācārya, Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, Rāmacandra Nyāyavāgīśa, Rāmagopāla Siddhāntapañcānana and Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa.

It is generally believed that original thinking in the field of Navya-nyāya terminated with Gadādhara and the post-Gadādhara logicians were generally interested in writing short dialectical tracts on a particular topic introduced by an earlier scholar.

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[11] *Ibid.*, 170.

[12] *Ibid.*, 179.

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These short treatises were known as *Kroḍapatra* or *pattrikā*. These works have their own value no doubt, but they are surely not examples of sustained scholarship. But it would not be proper to say that these *pattrikās* were the best that could be produced by the post-Gadādhara logicians of Bengal. Recent researches have proved that the post-Gadādhara period was no less important and rich in producing original and valuable treatises on this branch of study.[13]

Jayadeva Tarkālaṃkāra was an important figure in the post-Gadādhara period which may be called the fourth phase of the history of Navya-nyāya in Bengal. A disciple of Gadādhara and acclaimed as the foremost scholar of his time, Jayadeva commented on the *Kevalānvayin* of the *Cintāmaṇi*. Śrīkṛṣṇa Sārvabhauma, the author of the Sanskrit lyric *Padāṅka-dūta*, was the most renowned *Naiyāyika* after Jayadeva. His *Nyāya-makarandapadamādhurī* was written on the lines of the Udayana to criticize the Buddhist view on Self and God. The work is in the form of *kārikā* and *vṛtti* followed by an explanatory note in prose. In his *Siddhānta-cintāmaṇi* are discussed the different types of *pramāṇa* and the existence and eternality of God as the supreme creator is proved. Viśvanātha Nyāyālaṁkāra was another eminent disciple of Jayadeva. He distinguished himself as a writer of *pattrikās* and his writings were mainly commentaries on the works of Jagadīśa, Gadādhara, and Harirāma, the teacher of Gadādhara. Śivarāma Vācaspati commented on Gadādhara's *Muktivādá*. His scholarship and knowledge of the early *Naiyāyikās* are commendable. Jayakṛṣṇa Tarkācārya, another notable scholar of the period, discussed grammatical problems from the *nyāya*-point of view. His commentaries on the *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* of Jagadīśa and *Śabdārthasāramañjarī* of Bhavānanda are important. Śaṅkara Tarkavāgīśa, a descendent of the illustrious Raghunātha, had an admirable mastery over the *Anumāṇa-khaṇḍa*. Other scholars of the period who deserve a place in history were Kṛṣṇakānta Vidyāvāgīśa, Mādhavacandra Tarkasiddhānta, Golakanātha Nyāyaratna, Harinātha Tarkasiddhānta and Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana. The last-named scholar was the son of Rudra Tarkavāgīsa and read Nyāya with Raghunandana Vācaspati. The period of Navya-nyāya has been taken as extending from Gaṅgeśa to Jagannātha.[14] A logician of the first grade, Jagannātha's *magnum opus* was *Vivādabhaṅgārṇava*, a work on Smṛti, which made him immortal.

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[13] *Ibid.*, 192 ff. [14] *Ibid.*, 230.

It has been the belief of many that Navya-smṛti-literature of Bengal means the works of Raghunandana. The extraordinary genius of Raghunandana and the large number of his works are responsible for such a belief. Raghunandana was undoubtedly the brightest star but Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa was the earliest writer of Bengal in this field. It was mainly due to the contributions made by Jimūtavāhanā, Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana that the study of Navya-smṛti in Bengal was enriched. Some hold the view that it was S'ūlapāṇi who introduced the Navya-smṛti in Bengal towards the end of the fifth century A.D.[15]

From a study of the available works in this field we can broadly divide the history of Navya-smṛti in Bengal into three periods: pre-Raghunandana period; Raghunandana and Govindānanda; minor writers.

We have already mentioned the name of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa who belonged to the pre-Raghunandana period. He was a minister of King Harivarman and his work include among others—*Vyavahāra-tilaka*, *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* and *Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati*. Jīmūtavāhana has given ample evidence of his great genius in the *Dāyabhāga*. Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa was the preceptor of King Ballālasena and his two works *Hāralatā* and *Pitṛdayitā* are of much importance. King Ballālasena was also a good authority on the Dharma-śāstra. He was both a scholar and a social reformer. His works include: *Dānasāgara*, *Adbhutasāgara*, *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara* and *Ācāra-sāgara*. Halāyudha, author of the famous *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, was a judge in the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. A commentary on the *Pāraskara-gṛhyaṣūtra* has been ascribed to Halāyudha. S'ūlapāṇi was a famous Smṛti-writer of the pre-Raghunandana period and wrote many books on various topics. The name of S'rinātha Cūḍāmani will remain ever fresh in the field of of Dharmaśāstra studies in Bengal as the preceptor of Raghunandana. Śrīnātha was a writer of much importance and his works included both commentaries and original works. Among the original works mention may be made of *Kṛtyatattvārṇava*, *Śrāddha-*

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[15] D. C. Bhaṭṭacārya, *Bhāratbarṣa*, māgha 1348 B. S., p. 190,

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dīpikā, *Dānacandrikā* aad *Śuddhiviveka*. The history of Dharmaśāstra in Bengal in the pre-Raghunandana period cannot be complete without mentioning the name of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa. He is well known as the commentator of the *Manu*.

The brilliant genius of Raghunandana put to shade all other Bengali authorities on the Dharma Śāstra. The twenty-eight 'tattvas' of Raghunandana are well-known authorities among scholars. In these treatises he has discussed all problems of this śāstra and set forth his own views. He was a prolific writer and one is struck with wonder to see that Raghunandana could write so much in his life-span. In Raghunandana Dharma Śāstra could find a new form and life. His 'tattvas' gave the much needed protection to the confused and shattered Hindu community of the time. He was not only an authority on the Dharma Śāstra but also a social reformer. Govindānanda, who might have been a contemporary of Raghunandana, was the author of *Dānakriyākaumudī*, *Śuddhikaumudī*, *Arthakaumudī* etc.

Among minor writers in the field of Dharma S'āstra we may mention Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa who undoubtedly belonged to the pre-Raghunandana period. Raghunandana has quoted him in some of his 'tattvas'. He was the author *Smṛtiratnahāra* and *Rāyamukuṭapaddhati*. We know of about eighteen works of Gopāla Nyāyapañcānana in the field. The name of Rādhāmohana Gosvāmi is also worth mentioning.

The topics discussed in the Smṛti-works of Bengal may be grouped under three heads: *ācāra*, *prāyaścitta*, *vyavahāra*. The Bengali writers on Smṛti had much originality and they always tried to have an independent line of thinking. When the whole of Hindu India accepted the *Mitākṣarā* as the authority to guide them, the independent spirit of Bengali mind formulated the *Dāyabhāga* to lead them in matters of family-life.

Bengal has always been a famous seat of Tāntric learning. The history of the origin of Tāntrism is shrouded in obscurity and so also is the time as to when it was known in Bengal. As a matter of fact Tantras are studied all over India but in the opinion of some authorities the original home of the Tantras 'seems to have been

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Bengal, whence they spread throughout Assam and Nepal and even beyond India.........![16] It may be a matter of controversy if Bengal could be accepted as the original home of the Tantras but there is no doubt that the study of the Tantras was very much in vogue in Bengal. Bengali writers have enriched the Tāntric literature. Raghunandana for the first time gave the Śāstraic sanction to the study of the Tantras in Bengal.[17] Bengal's contribution to this field of study may be grouped under two heads: Hindu and Buddhist. Hindu Tantras are of three types: Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava, of which Śaiva and Śakta Tantras are more in number. Among the Hindu Tāntriks there were many *Sādhakas* as well as *Siddhapuruṣas* like Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa and Bāmākhyāpā. Among the writers of Hindu Tantras we may mention the names of Mm. Paribrājakācarya; Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, the author of the famous *Tantrasāra*; Sarvānanda; Brahmānanda Giri, author of *Syāmārahasya*, *Śrītattva-cintāmaṇi* etc.; Śaṅkara, author of the *Tārārahasyavṛtti*; and Gopāla Pañcānana, author of the *Tantradīpikā.*

Bengal's contribution to the later phase of Buddhism and particularly to Buddhist Tāntrik Literature is of great importance. It also helped Buddhism to flourish in Tibet, Central Asia and to some extent in the East and South-East Asian countries. The Pāla kings of Bengal were great patrons of Buddhism and during their time Buddhist writers made notable contributions to enrich Buddhist Studies. Unfortunately many of these texts are now available only in their Tibetan translations. The Buddhist masters who brought fame and recognition to Bengal's scholarship in this field include such great names as Śīlabhadra, Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, S'āntideva and Atīśa.

Śīlabhadra was the chief of Nālandā when Hiuen Tsang visited India. He was a master of many sciences and wrote many authoritative books which are not available now. Śāntarakṣita was the famous author of the *Tattvasaṁgraha.* He also wrote some Tāntrik treatises which seem to be lost now. Kamalaśīla was the disciple of Śāntarakṣita and commented on the *Tattvasaṁgraha.* Śāntideva is well known as the author of the two great works, *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and *Śikṣāsamuccaya.* Both these works are held in the

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16. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I. 592.
17. S. C. Banerji, *Saṁskrita Sāhitye Baṅgālir dān*, 317.

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highest esteem by the Buddhists and others as well. From Tibetan sources we learn of the contributions made by Kumāravajra and Divākaracandra. There were two Bengali Buddhist scholars with the name Jetāri. The senior Jetāri was the guru of Atīśa Dīpaṁkara and is said to have written three treatises on logic and about eleven books on Vajrayānic *sādhanā*. The name of Atīśa Dīpaṁkara is intimately connected with the history of Buddhism in Tibet. One of the brightest luminaries in contemporary India, he was a prolific writer on Buddhism and some two hundred works are attributed to him. Many of his works which are now lost in their Sanskrit originals are available in their Tibetan translations. Most of his works are on the *sādhanā* of the Vajrayāna. Ratnākaraśānti, Jñānaśrīmitra, Vibhūticandra, Dānaśīla, Prajñāvarman, Kumāracandra, Nāgabodhi, Putali and Bodhibhadra were the other Buddhist scholars who made their mark in the study of Buddhism through their works. Abhayākaragupta was a great *Kālacakra*-master and is credited with about twenty works on Vajrayāna. His *Kālacakrāvatāra* is an important work on Astronomy according to the *Kālacakra*-system. Most of the works on *Kālacakra*-system that we now know of either in original Samskrit or in their Tibetan translations were from Bengal. We may also mention about the Siddhācāryas and the names of Kukkuri-pā, Lui-pā, Śabari, Matsyendranātha, Jālandharī-pā, Tilo-pā, Saraha, Naro-pā and others who contributed much to the growth of Buddhist Tāntrism and Tāntrik literature. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* of Matsyendranātha is an important original work widely studied by the Buddhists.

The contribution of Bengal in other branches of philosophical studies has not been so unique as it was in the field of Navyanyāya. This of course does not mean that philosophical studies did not find favour with Bengali scholars. We may review the works of Bengali scholars in other systems of Indian Philosophy to get an idea of Bengal's contribution to Indian Philosophy.

Among the Mīmāṁsakas of Bengal we may mention the name of Śālikanātha who commented on the *Bṛhatī* and *Laghvī* of Prabhākara. He flourished some time in the 7th century A.D. and he was a Bengali in the opinion of Udayana and Varadarāja. Though Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa distinguished himself more as a scholar on Navyasmṛti, he was also an authority on the Mīmāṁsā. We have a text by him entitled *Tautātitamata-tilaka* which contains a study on the Jaiminīya Pūrva mīmāṁsā. Gaṅgeśa in his *Tattvacintāmaṇi* has referred to the opinion of the Mīmāṃsakas of Bengal. Mm. Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, author of *Adhikaraṇakaumudiī*; Candraśekhara Vācaspati, author of *Tattvasambodhinī* and *Dharma-dīpikā*; Raghunātha Vidyālaṁkāra, author of the *Mīmāṁsāratna*, were the other distinguished Bengali scholars in Mīmāṁsā.

It is said that Kapila, the originator of the Sāṁkhya system, stayed in the region of the confluence of the ocean and the Ganges i.e. in Bengal. The study of the Sāṁkhya system found some good scholars in Bengal. The *Sāmkhyatattva-kaumudīprabhā* was written by Svapneśvara, a grandson of the famous logician Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma. We know of two commentaries on the *Sāṁkhya-Kārikā* written by Bengali scholars, *Sāmkhyakaumudi* of Rāmakṛṣṇa and *Sāṁkhyavṛttiprakāśa* by Tarkavāgīśa. Rāmakṛṣṇa was also the author of the *Sāṁkhyasāra*. But among the Bengali authorities on the Sāṁkhya system Vijñānabhikṣu holds the most important position. His *Sāṁkhyapravacanabhāṣya* is noteworthy for his original views on Sāṁkhya.

Vijñānabhikṣu was the author of a 'nibandha' *Sāmkhyasāra*. *Yogavārttika* is his work on the Yoga philosophy. Gaṅgādhara Kavirāja wrote 'bhāṣyas' on the *Sāṁkhyasūtra* and the *Pātañjalasūtra*.

In the field of Vedānta philosophy Bengal may be proud of her scholars like Gauḍapāda, Vijñānabhikṣu, Viśveśvara Sarasvatī and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. Gauḍapāda was the *parama-guru* of the great S'aṅkarācārya. His best known work is the *Gauḍapādakārikā*, a commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya*, wherein he is also referred to as Gauḍācārya. *Vijñānāmṛtabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtra* is an attempt to make a synthesis of the Sāṁkhya and the Vedānta. Viśveśvara Sarasvatī, author of the *Śaṁkarasūryodayaprakaraṇa*, was the *guru* of the more famous Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. Madhusūdana wrote many treatises in Vedānta including *Advaitasiddhi*, *Advaitamañjarī*, *Vedāntakalpalatikā* and *Siddhāntatattvabindu*. Among others we may mention Gauḍa Brahmānanda, the commentator of *Advaitasiddhi* and *Siddhāntabindu*; Rāmānanda Vācaspati, author of *Advaitaprakāśa*, *Adhyātmasarvasva* etc.; Nṛsiṁhāśramamuni, author of *Advaitānusandhāna*; Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and Gaṅgādhara Kavirāja.

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In the field of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Bengal could name S'rīdhara-bhaṭṭa, author of *Nyāyakandalī*, Jagadīśa Tarkālaṁkāra, author of the commentary *Dravyasūkti* on the *Praśastapādabhāṣya*.

The Vaiṣṇavite works on Theology and Devotion produced in Bengal helped the Vaiṣṇava movement to obtain better dimension. The principal Vaiṣṇava works on Theology, Devotion and Philosophy are: *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* of Sanātana, *Saṁkṣepabhāgavatāmṛta* of Rūpa Gosvāmin and *Ṣaṭsandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin. *Śrīkṛṣṇa-sandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin is considered the chief work on Theology of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. Besides the six 'Sandarbhas' Jīva wrote many other works on the subject including commentaries on the *Brahmasaṁhitā*, *Padma Purāṇa*, *Agni Purāṇa*, and *Bhāgavata*. Viśvanātha Cakravartin, Kavikarṇapūra, Rūpa Kavirāja and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa were other prominent authors on the subject. The controversial *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa is considered the best authoritative work on Vaiṣṇavite 'ācāra' and rituals.

The system of Kātantra and Kalāpa are favoured in Bengal at the present time. But that Pāṇini was studied with great zeal and interest in him in the ancient and mediaeval times is proved by the existence of many grammatical treatises and numerous commentaries based on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. We are not certain if Śaraṇadeva, author of *Durghaṭavṛtti* hailed from Bengal but there is no doubt about the Bengali origin of the grammarian Candragomin and Bengal could take pride in this field of study. A special feature of Bengal's school of Grammar is that most of the grammarians were Buddhists and so they did not deal with the *Vaidikaprakaraṇa* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Kramadīśvara, author of the *Saṁkṣiptasāra*, was one of the chief exponents on Pāṇini but we are not sure as yet if he was from Bengal. The work of Candragomin is known as the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*. His purpose was to give a simpler and smaller shape to Pāṇini's grammar. Jinendra-buddhi's commentary on the *Kāśikā* is well known to scholars as the *Nyāsa*. Maitreyarakṣita's *Tantrapradīpa* is a commentary on the work of Jinendra. Maitreya was also the author of *Dhātupradīpa* based on the *Dhātupāṭha* of Pāṇini. Puruṣottamadeva, Rūpa Gosvāmin, Jīva Gosvāmin, Puṇḍarīkākṣa Vidyāsāgara and many others wrote grammatical works.

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Among the prominent lexicographers of Bengal we may mention the grammarian Puruṣottamadeva, the author of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, *Hārāvali*, *Varṇadeśanā*, *Dvirūpakoṣa*, etc. and Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa, author of *Padacandrikā*, a commentary on the *Amara*, as the most prominent. Others in this field were Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda, the author of the commentary *Ṭīkāsarvasva* on the *Amara*, Bharatamallika, Jaṭādhara and Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati. There were a number of commentaries on the *Amara* written by Bengali scholars.

Gaṅgādāsa is the best known among Bengali writers on Prosody. His *Chandomañjarī* is a digest of different earlier works on the subject. Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī, author of *Vṛttamālā*, was another Bengali writer on Prosody.

Bengal has only the *Nāṭakacandrikā* of Rūpa Gosvāmin as the work on Dramaturgy to her credit. Most of the examples of the text are taken from Vaiṣṇava works.

We know of some good works on Poetics by Bengali authors. *Alaṁkāra-kaustubha* of Kavikarṇapūra, *Kāvyacandrikā* of Kavicandra and *Kāvyaratnāvalī* of Rāmanātha are some of these. The study of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa was much favoured by Bengal's scholars and we find a number of good commentaries on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* written in Bengal. The commentaries by Paramānanda Cakravartin, Maheśvara Nyāyālamkāra, Jagadīśa Tarkālaṁkāra and S'rīkṛṣṇaśarman are worth mentioning. Commentaries on other earlier texts were also written, such as Tribhuvanadeva's commentary on the *Kāvyādarśa*, Puṇḍarīkākṣa's on the *Kāvyādarśa* and Vāmana's work.

Although the Vaiṣṇava works on Rasaśāstra are ordinarily works on Poetics, they differ much from the earlier and orthodox works on Sanskrit Poetics. *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* of Rūpa Goṣvāmin are the two most important and best known works on the Rasaśāstra. Jīva Gosvāmin also wrote the *Rasāmṛtaśeṣa* which is mainly based on the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.

The history of poetic compositions in Bengal can claim antiquity. We learn on the authority of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin that an independent style of literary compostion, the *Gauḍī-rīti*, was developed by Bengali writers before the 7th century A.D.

The poetical works produced in Bengal are based on the Epics, Purāṇas and Vaiṣṇavite themes. The works may be classified under Lyric, Historical, Anthology, Dūtakāvya, Hymns and Drama.

Abhinanda's *Rāmacarita* and the *Kīcakavadha* of Nītivarman are based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* respectively. Lakṣmīdhara's mahākāvya *Cakrapāṇivijaya* deals with the marriage-episode of Uṣā, the daughter of the demon Bāṇa. Vaiṣṇavite poems deal with the legends of Kṛṣṇa or with the biography of S'rī Caitanya. The *Āryāsaptaśatī* of Govardhana and the *Gīta Govinda* of Jayadeva are well-known lyrical poems. The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin is an interesting *śleṣakāvya* which, by means of *double entendre*, describes Rāma of Ayodhyā and King Rāmapāla of Bengal. *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* of Vidyākara compiled in the 12th century is perpaps the earliest known Anthology. Other Bengali Anthologies of importance are the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa and *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin. The *dūtakāvyas* composed by Bengali poets are imitations of the *Meghadūta*. Best known among these is the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyi, a court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena. The *Manodūta* of Viṣṇudāsa and the *Padāṅkadūta* by the logician S'rīkṛṣṇa Sārvabhauma are also notable works. Many hymns with Vaiṣṇavite ideas were composed in Bengal of which we may mention the *Caitanyacandrāmṛta* of Prabodhānanda, *Caitanyaśloka* and *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* of Raghunāthadāsa. Several *Campūkāvyas* were also produced in Bengal like the *Gopālacampū* of Jīva Gosvāmin, *Ānandavṛndāvana-campū* of Kavikarṇapūra and *Gaurāṅga-campū* of Raghunandana Gosvāmin. As compared with this, the record of Bengal in the field of dramatic literature is less noteworthy. *Caitanyacandrodaya* by Kavikarṇapūra and *Dānakelīkaumudī* by Rūpa Gosvāmin may be mentioned as two good dramatic compositions. S'rīharṣa, author of the *Naiṣadhacarita* is regarded as a Bengali by some sources but we have no conclusive evidence in this regard. The *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja is a widely read *kāvya* which is popular not only among the Vaiṣṇavites but among all lovers of *kāvya*. The *Sūrjanacarita*, a historical poem, was composed by Candraśekhara, a contemporary of Emperor Akbar. Bengali poets enriched *Kāvya* in all its branches.

Purāṇa has been regarded as one of the fourteen *vidyās*. The attention of Bengali scholars turn to this field of learning at a

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very early time. Some of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas were written in Bengal. The *Devīpurāṇa* is an Upapurāṇa of the *śakti*-cult produced in Bengal. *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* is a thirteenth century-work of Bengal. The *Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Devī-Bhāgavata* and the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* are some of the important Purāṇas of Bengal.

The study of Āyurveda in Bengal was long prevalent in Bengal. Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa and Śūlapāṇi, referred to above, were masters of this science. Bengal's scientists in this branch produced some important original works on medicine. The names of Mādhavakara (*Rugviniścaya*), Cakrapāṇidatta (*Cikitsāsārasaṁgraha*) and Sureś-vara (*Śabdapradīpa*) may be mentioned in this connection.

The Vedic studies did not flourish so much in Bengal during the early period. In the 8th century Ādiśūra had to bring over five brahmins from Kanauj who were experts in the Vedas. There was a brahmanical revival under the Senas and it was mainly during the time of the Sena Kings of Bengal that the Vedic studies found some foothold here. Guṇaviṣṇu who wrote *Chāndogyamantra-bhāṣya*, *Mantrabrāhmaṇabhāṣya* etc. and Halāyudha, author of *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, are the two Bengali experts on the Vedas who may be mentioned in this connection. Many geneological accounts (*kulapañjīs*) and inscriptions were also written in Bengal. There were also some women-poets in Bengal like Priyaṁvadā, who composed the *Śyāmārahasya*. During the Muslim rule scholars of Bengal engaged themselves not only in intellectual pursuits but also in such activities as brought about a great social change and re-orientation of religious outlook. Caitanya's *bhakti* cult swept away the narrow barriers of the conservative society.

During the last hundred years Bengal produced some brilliant scholars and original thinkers who kept up the tradition and reputation created by the earlier masters. Sanskrit works of various kinds were produced and learned commentaries on earlier originals including works on Āyurveda were written. Texts covering all branches of Sanskrit literature have been produced by brilliant authors during the modern period. The names of a few stalwarts of Bengal of modern times could be mentioned : Pandit Candrakānta Tarkālaṁkāra, Pt. Rakhaldas Nyāyaratna, Pt. Pañcānana Tarkaratna, Pt. Pramathanātha Tarkabhūṣaṇa, Pt. Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīśa

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Pt. Kāśīcandra Vidyāratna and Pt. Gopinatha Kaviraj. The achievement of Pt. Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara who simplified the Pāṇinian Grammar in the form of a *Vyākaraṇa-kaumudī*, has kept alive the study of Pāṇini in Bengal even among those who do not belong to the school of Sanskrit learning.

These all-round activities of the scholars of Bengal from very ancient times may permit us to believe that there was some substance in the proud assertion that Bengal was equally at ease in Logic and Literature, Religion and Rhetoric :

> " kāvye'pi komaladhiyo vayameva nānye
> tarke'pi karkaśadhiyo vayameva nānye
> dṛśye'pi saṁyatadhiyo vayameva nānye
> tantre'pi yantritadhiyo vayameva nānye. "

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NAVADVIPA's CONTRIBUTION TO NAVYA-NYĀYA

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Logical speculation in India reached its consummation in the emergence of a new school of Logic (*Navyanyāya*) during the 14th century. It originated in Mithilā in Bihar and in course of time, spread over different centres, Navadvīpa in Bengal, Banaras and South India. In contents and methodology *Navyanyāya* differs from *Prācīnanyāya*. It is an epistemological and linguistically oriented system. Love for precision and exactitude was its primary concern. All epistemological and logical concepts came to be analysed in terms of definition. Some concepts exclusively peculiar to Navyanyāya, like *avacchedakatva*, *pratiyogitva* etc. made their appearance in Udayana himself who enjoyed the highest esteem as *ācārya*. But truly speaking Udayana (*c.* 930–990 A.D.) stood at a period when *Prācīnanyāya* still had its sway, although at the same time it was gradually making room for the emergence of a more rigorous system of Logic which ultimately took shape as a full-fledged system with Gaṅgeśa (*c.* 1300–1360 A. D.) of Mithilā. His epoch-making work *Tattvacintāmaṇi* introduced a new methodology. Traditional language in Philosophy was superseded by a new set of vocabulary to keep pace with the emergence of new concepts. All branches of Sanskrit literature, viz., Grammar, Aesthetics, Law etc., adopted in course of time this new method of expression to avoid ambiguity and confusion. Gaṅgeśa's *TC* deals with Nyāya under the heads of the four *pramāṇas*: perception, inference, comparison and verbal testimony. This work evoked spontaneous admiration to such an extent that the development of this school for the next 500 years was based only on the commentaries and sub-commentaries on this work. But Gaṅgeśa's contribution lay more in marshalling the definitions and arguments of the earlier authors than in original thinking and in that task he gave evidence of superb ingenuity.

In Mithilā Gaṅgeśa's tradition was continued by his son Vardhamāna (who however did not write any commentary on his father's work), Yajñapati Upādhyāya (*c.* 1410–1470 A. D.), his pupil Jayadeva Miśra (c. 1430–1490 A. D.) and Rucidatta

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Upādhyāya (*c.* 1450–1510 A. D.) etc. But at the same time a parallel school of Navyanyāya was started in Navadvīpa (in Bengal). Sir William Jones once described Navadvīpa as "the most frequented as well as the most learned University in the East. It has been and in this day, peculiarly celebrated as a school of philosophy". Unfortunately little record about the early period of this school is available till Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (c. 1460–1520 A. D.) occupied the field. The commentators of Mithilā refer to a 'Gauḍa' school of Navyanyāya and their views have been criticised by Madhusūdana Vāsudeva Miśra and Gopinātha Ṭhakkura of Mithilā. In the pre-Rahgunātha period only one work of Navyanyāya, i.e. the commentary on *TC* (*anumāna* part only) [1] by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma (*c.* 1430–1540 A. D.) has come down to us. The views ascribed to Gauḍa by the Mithilā writers do not occur in the ms. of *TC-ṭīkā* of Vāsudeva. Moreover Vāsudeva always refers to the earlier writers as *kaścit*, *apare*, *eke*, *uttānāḥ* etc, This shows that the tradition which looks upon Vāsudeva as the pioneer of the Navadvīpa school should be taken with reservation.

Vāsudeva in his *Anumānamaṇiparīkṣā* quotes the viewpoints of *guravaḥ* 15 times and sometimes differs from him. D. C. Bhattacharya in his pioneer work *Vaṅge Navyanyāyacarcā*[2] proves that here Vāsudeva refers to his father Narahari Viśārada, who was the source of his inspiration in academic pursuit. Unfortunately no work of Viśārada has yet been discovered. Excerpts from this hitherto lost work of Viśārada have been quoted by Jayadeva and Narahari, son of Yajñapati of Mithilā. Viśārada might have been a senior contemporary of Yajñapati. It is interesting that Jayadeva, to whom goes the credit of initiating a new school of Navyanyāya, criticises the opinion of Viśārada. This shows that already in his time the logicians of the Navadvīpa school left their stamp on the Nyāya circle of Mithilā, so that an invincible dialectician like Jayadeva could not totally ignore Viśārada and had to incorporate and criticise his viewpoints.

Viśārada's son Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, in fact placed the Navadvīpa school on a strong footing. No doubt he had his training in

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[1] Ms. in Sarasvati Bhavan Library, Varanasi.

[2] Pub. Vaṅgīya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.

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the dialectical method under the tutelege of his father and was brought up in the Nyāya tradition where his uncle Śrināthа Cakravartin also commented on *TC* of Gaṅgeśa, but his talents developed through his conflict with the Mithilā School, and particularly its doyen Yajñapati Upādhyāya. It is most likely that Vāsudeva in his early life was conscious of the impact made by the Mithilā School on Navadvīpa circle and hence his primary task was to cause trouble to Yajñapati's School. Almost at the same time Jayadeva in Mithilā launched a vehement attack against his teacher Yajñapati. At the same time Vāsudeva in Navadvīpa, in his commentary on *TC*, mercilessly attacked Yajñapati's definitions and arguments. He has cited Yajñapati on almost every issue and about 52 times. In fact with Vāsudeva the whole intelligentsia in Mithilā and Bengal came to be sharply divided into two rival camps. Yajñapati's son Narahari defended his father and Vāsudeva took up the challenge and showed the inadequacy of Narahari's defence and through this keen and acute debate between two opposing schools Vāsudeva's genius flourished—a colourful legacy so creditably inherited by his pupil, the great Raghunātha Śiromaṇi.

Of all the commentaries on *TC*, Vāsudeva's is by far the best. It is not merely an elucidation of the text of Gaṅgeśa, but an independent work, so to say, in his own inimitable style. That formidable cryptic style of later scholasticism is yet to develop. Mere methodology had not yet become the main concern. Vāsudeva cared for the earlier doctrines and their sources and represented them with an accuracy and ingenuity which evoked spontaneous admiration. He was more conscious of the matter than of form, and dived deep into the heart of each problem. He was aware of the theories current in his time and made best use of them. Unfortunately the *pratyakṣa* and *śabda*-sections of the work are yet to be discovered and only then the history of philosophical thought of this period could be properly reconstructed.

Vāsudeva could not found a school of his own. He is known only as a teacher of Raghunātha, although at the same time Jayadeva, in Mithilā, founded a Seminary, which produced a number of logicians like Bhagīratha Ṭhakkura and Rucidatta. The reason seems to be that during this time a love for cryptic language had already gained ground in philosophical circles and Vāsudeva to the contrary, was fond of lucidity and keenly interested in elucidation of concepts,

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rather than taking pleasure in formal niceties. Another reason may be that Vāsudeva was converted into monistic Vedāntism and left Bengal as a court-philosopher of the King Pratāparudra of Orissa, where ultimately he turned into a follower of Lord Caitanya. His inclination for Vedānta started already during his stay at Navadvīpa ; he inherited it from his father who had been referred to as *Vedāntavidyāmaya*. Moreover, the overwhelming popularity of his pupil Raghunātha Śiromaṇi cast his work into oblivion and it was gradually forgotten with the result that Vāsudeva[3] could not initiate a tradition. Not a single commentary on his work was written by any scholar of later period. Naiyāyikas of Bengal commented on *Āloka* of Jayadeva of Mithilā, demonstrated their genius by dilating on one single definition of *Dīdhiti* of Raghunātha, but never cared to appreciate the value of the contribution made by Vāsudeva. His pupil Raghunātha came to monopolize the attention of later students and commentators. With Raghunātha is marked the most glorious period of Navyanyāya in Navadvīpa. He is the product of the healthy controversy between Yajñapati of Mithilā and Vāsudeva in Navadvīpa. Raghunātha's *Dīdhiti* commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi* found a galaxy of commentators. This is the result of the intricate and formidable style of his writing which took shape in Gaṅgeśa and further developed in Jayadeva of Mithilā. But Raghunātha completely overshadowed Jayadeva, although in bulk Raghunātha's *Dīdhiti* is less than that of all earlier commentaries on *TC*. In style Raghunātha is nearer to Jayadeva than to his own teacher Vāsudeva. On every point he refers to his predecessors, without naming any of them, sometimes takes them to task, but seldom expresses categorically his own opinion. He likes to remain in the background. He frequently refers to the views of Upādhyāya, Miśra and Sārvabhauma, but presents their views in such a manner that sometimes it becomes difficult to identify them in the available works preserved in the ms. of those authors. Of his *Dīdhiti* on *TC anumāna*-part only is available in print. Only an insignificant portion of the *pratyakṣa* was published long ago. And this is the case with most of the later commentators. From this period onwards the study of *TC* was confined to the *anumāna*-part only and the commentators amused themselves in formulation of definitions only. Although by conviction a Naiyāyika he was alive to other systems. He commented on *Ātmatattvaviveka* of Udayana (which evinces his deep acquaintance with the latest phase of Buddhist metaphysics and logic), on *Nyāya-līlāvatī* of S'rīvallabha and a sub-commentary on Vardhamāna's *Prakāśa* on *Kiraṇāvalī*. In these works he interprets the prevalent concepts and terms in Buddhist and Vais'eṣika systems in Navyanyāya terminology. This shows that he tried to reinstate the study of earlier classics of Udayana, Śrīvallabha and Vardhamāna, the study of which had considerably declined during this period.

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[3] Some of the peculiar doctrines introuced by Vāsudeva are : (a) qualified is something more than non-qualified (Viśiṣṭasyātiriktatvāt, *Jag*. p. 92), (Viśiṣṭañca kevalād anyat. *Tcd*. p. 222. (b) bothness is one qualified by the other (ubhayatvam ekaviśiṣṭāparatvam. *Tcd*. p. 222, 1–2 ; *Jag*. p. 159, 9 ; *Jag*. p. 153, 18–19, *Jag*. p. 22, 15–16).

Raghunātha's originality is evinced more in two monographs-*Ākhyātavāda* and *Nañvāda*, the former on the meaning of verbs and the latter on negative expressions. The most important is the *Padārthatattva-nirūpaṇa* which is a reworking on the Vais'eṣika categories. Thus contrary to the accepted doctrine in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school he says : " Space, time and *ākāśa* are identical with God ; God is not of gross magnitude ; atoms and diads as separate from triad are unproved; triads are the ultimate parts of a substance ; mind is identical with triad ; *pṛthaktva* (separateness), proximity and remoteness are not qualities but identical with the substance in which they are said to inhere. *Viśeṣa* (particular) is rejected ; *Sattā* (Being), *guṇatva* (qualityhood) etc. are not universals. *Samavāya* (Inherence) is not one, but many. He adds a series of new categories : moment (*kṣaṇa*), *svatva*, power (*śakti*), number (*saṁkhyā*), *vaiśiṣṭya*, *viṣayatā*, *tattva*, *pratiyogitva*, *adhikaraṇatva*, *sambandhatva*. And the most daring is his attack on the concept of Sāmānyalakṣaṇa, a method adopted in Navyanyāya school for the determination of universal concomitance (*Vyāpti*).

Raghunātha's credit lies in initiating a school of his own. Even during his life-time he was regarded by his contemporaries as the founder of this new school (*navyāḥ*) : by Jānakīnātha (author of *Maṇimarīci*, undiscovered) and Kaṇāda Tarkavāgīśa (comm. on *TC.*, unpublished) who have referred to his views on several occasions. His another contemporary Haridāsa Nyāyālṁkāra perhaps wrote a commentary on *Tcd.* (undiscovered). Later development of this school had its nucleus in the *Dīdhiti* commentary of Raghunātha. In course of time Navyanyāya had its sway in South India, in Mahārāṣṭra and in Banaras and the texts current in these parts of the country were commentaries on *Dīdhiti*. Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīs'a's commentary on *Dīdhiti* was popular in South and West India. A large number of ms. copies of this commentary are to be found in Poona, Madras, Kashmir, Tanjore etc. The comm. of Rāmakṛṣna Cakravarttin was popular in Banaras. A report on Navadvīpa Seminary published in Calcutta Monthly Register 1791 shows that "about 52 pundits of considerable note in the republic of letters have written each a commentary on S'iromaṇi's treatise of philosophy".

Navyanyāya in Navadvīpa rose to the height of glory in thought and expression during the period of the commentators of Raghunātha. Considering the style we may reasonably draw a line between the earlier and later commentaries. The former are marked by lucidity and are more helpful in understanding the exact viewpoint of the original text. In this category may be included: (a) *Prasāriṇī* commentary of Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma (*c.* 1500-1560), the earliest commentary so far discovered on *Dīdhiti* (*Dī*), (b) comm. of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa (*c.* 1520-1580) which was accepted as a standard comm. on *Dīdhiti* in all parts of India. Bhavānanda wrote commentaries on all the works of Raghunātha. These two writers carried on the study of *Dīdhiti*, but were completely eclipsed by Jagadīśa (*c.* 1550-1610) and Gadādhara (*c.* 1610-1710) representing the period of later commentators of *Dīdhiti*. To this period also belongs Mathurānātha whose commentary on *Dī*. is yet unpublished, but his commentary on *TC* has been a standard work of the school for the last 400 years.

At least sixteen commentaries are known to have been written by Mathurānātha (*c.* 1590-1600) apart from an independent work *Siddhāntarahasya* (unpublished). Mathurānātha's commentary on *TC* shows that before him he had a number of commentators on *Dīdhiti* and to whom he refers to as *prāñcaḥ*, *navyāḥ* etc. Raghunātha's *Dīdhiti* is difficult in style and not straightforward in presentation. As a result two quite different kinds of commentary were produced on his *Dīdhiti*: thc commentaries of Kṛṣṇadāsa and Bhavānanda, which are a welcome series of simple explanation of

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Dīdhiti's texts and advanced commentaries of Mathurānātha, Jagadīs'a and Gadādhara, which are less of commentaries in the strict sense of the term, and more of the nature of further philosophical discussions arising from different knotty points in the text. In this task Mathurānātha often departs from Raghunātha's school. The available standard commentaries on *Dīdhiti* are those of Jagadīśa and Gadādhara. Of them Gadādhara was more conversant with the prevalent theories in the school and could raise important philosophical problems. He is the most original of all the commentators of Raghunātha and his work is till to-day the source of displaying academic feats in logical debates.

Jagadīśa (*c*. 1550-1610) was in his time at the helm of the Naiyāyikas in Navadvīpa adorning the title of *Jagadguru*. He wrote the *Mayūkha* commentary on all parts of *TC*. which are still unpublished. His commentary on *Dīdhiti* of which *anumāna*-part alone is available in print, is widely read in all Nyāya Seminaries. As a commentator he is faithful. He attempted to revive the study of Vaiśeṣika philosophy and formulate definitions of Vaiśeṣika concepts in Navyanyāya terminology through his *Sūkti* commentary on Dravya and Guṇa sections of Praśastapāda's *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha*. This was practically the last attempt to expound the Vaiśeṣika doctrine and adapt it to the dialect of the Navyanyāya. Jagadīśa achieved great popularity with an independent and most original work *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* apart from a large number of short monographs like *Tarkāmṛta* and *Nyāyādarśa*. His *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* is the most important work on verbal cognition. This work gradually superseded all previous works on Semantics in Navyanyāya school e.g. *Śabdakhaṇḍa* of *TC* or the short manuals of Raghunātha like *Nañvāda* and *Ākhyātavāda*. It contains dialectics of sentence-meaning in all its ramifications and provides ample evidence of the author's deep study of Mīmāṁsā and Grammar, the systems which have been subjected to scathing criticism by Jagadīśa. In fact, the Nyāya theory of a sentence-meaning was placed on a strong footing by Jagadīśa.

After Jagadīśa some authors carried on the study of *Dīdhiti*, viz., Gopīkānta Nyāyālaṁkāra, Govinda Cakravarttin, Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, Rāmacandra Nyāyavāgīśa and above all, Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa, the author of a number of short manuals (*vāda*) on epistemological problems. But all these authors were completely eclipsed

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by Gadādhara (*c.* 1604–1709), the last prolific writer of Navyanyāya. Gadādhara's commentary on *TCd.* is more systematic and more comprehensive and often appears to be a regular treatise, advanced and very extensive in its scope. He produced commentaries on *Āloka* of Jayadeva, on *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* of Udayana. and on Raghunātha's commentaries on *Ātmatattvaviveka* and *TC.* and the *Nañvāda*, besides a large number of short *Vādas*. His manuals on *Viṣayatā* is illuminating; here he sharply differs from the school of Jagadīśa, and Gadādhara's stand on the issue received the approval of Navyanaiyāyikas in later times. Gadādhara has furnished the evidence of his penetrating insight and critical acumen in his classical work on fallacy, *Sāmānyaniruktiṭīkā.* His *Vyutpattivāda* is honoured even by the eminent grammarians of the Pāṇini school. During the period of his activity Navadvīpa's glory rose to its height and students from all parts of India flocked there so that no less than 4000 students and 550 teachers are said to have been studying at the Seminaries (*Cal. Review*, July 1855) at that time.

Since the beginning of 18th cent. A. D. a new technique of writing made its appearance. We do not come across any sustained work of this period. This is a period of short dialectical notes called *Kroḍapatras*, which record the results of philosophical disputations in which the scholars primarily indulged in short notes pointing out the inconsistency in the expressions of Jayadeva, Mathurānātha or Gadādhara, and in the results of their observations, or sometimes elucidations and advanced notes on certain knotty problems of Navyanyāya. Of the authors of such small treatises worth mentioning are Jayadeva Tarkālaṁkāra, Viśvanātha Nyāyālaṁkāra, Śivarāma Vācaspati, Jayakṛṣṇa Tarkācārya and lastly Śaṅkara Tarkavāgīśa, the last doyen of the glorious period of Navadvīpa. A Report of Navadvīpa Seminary published in the Calcutta Monthly Register describes Śaṅkara as "the head of the college of Nuddea and the first philosopher and scholar in the whole University who brought to its height the present vicious system of disputatious logomachy which prevails in Nuddea" (*Proc. A. S. B.* 1867) He was equally a scholar in Vedānta, Mīmāṁsā and Sāṅkhya with the result that he could attract the largest group of students numbering about three hundred.

Another academic figure was Golakanātha Nyāyaratna (1806-1855 A. D.) whose greatest achievement was a dissertation on

Gadādhara's *Sāmānyanirukti*. With his death the most flourishing days of this system of Indian logic came almost to a standstill.

It is evident from the above survey that Navyanyāya during the period of its history of 500 years has produced a vast mass of literature of which only a small part has been published, may be, as Prof. Ingalls has rightly pointed out, less than a tenth of what lies buried in manuscripts. Unless at least the important texts of different periods are published, although this is an uphill task, development of this system of logic cannot be historically and more closely traced. Prof. Frauwallner of Vienna University has for the first time analysed a small part of Raghunātha's text from the eye of an Indologist with a view to assess the contribution of Raghunātha as a Navya-naiyāyika and unless all important authors are studied in this method it would not be possible to trace the course of development and make an estimate of individual logicians. But for that a crash programme of publication of all important texts of Navyanyāya is a desideratum, as otherwise the vast mass of this remarkable product of Indian intellect having a history of 500 years, is sure to be lost.

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TANTRAS IN BENGAL

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Of the two main currents of thought which have dominated the Indian mind, the Vedic and the Tāntrik, the latter has principally shaped and moulded the religious life of Bengal and has left its distinctive mark on its cultural life too. It will, therefore, be fruitful to make a brief survey of the Tāntrik thought and culture in Bengal from the ancient times upto the present day.

Bengal is referred to as one of the main centres of Tāntrik culture in the ancient Sanskrit texts, the other two being Kashmir and Kerala.[1] These three *sampradāyas* or schools of Tāntrik thought are said to comprise fifty-six countries. Of these the *Gauḍa sampradāya* or Bengal school extended from Nepal to Kalinga i. e. Orissa. It is interesting to note that Nepal, which has been and still is one of the main centres of Tāntrik culture, had very close ties with Bengal. 'The Malla kings of Bhatgaon (Nepal) had Brahmins from Bengal as their priests. These Brahmin families used to come to Bengal from time to time to contract marriages in order to maintain the purity of their family tradition'.[2]

Another text refers to four *sampradāyas* or schools, viz. Gauḍa in the east, Kerala in the middle, Kashmir in the west and Vilasa, which is a sort of eclectic school, not confined to any particular region but found everywhere.

Some of the Tantras divide the Tāntrik world into three *Krāntās* or region: Viṣṇukrāntā, Aśvakrāntā and Rathakrāntā. Viṣṇukrāntā comprises the region from the Vindhyas to Chattala (Chittagong), which evidently includes Bengal[3]. Another text while indicating the geographical classification of the Tantras demarcates the Gauḍa class as extending from Silhatta (Sylhet) to Sindhu.[4] According to another Tantra, Bhāratavarṣa is divided into three

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1. *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, 14. 50.
2. P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 19.
3. *Mahāsiddhasāra Tantra*.
4. *Śaktimangala Tantra*,

Krāntās as referred to above and each Krāntā is said to have sixty-four Tantras.[1] Viṣṇukrāntā is also described in some Tantras as the land east of the Vindhya Hills extending right upto Java.[2]

From the indication or demarcation of the zones it is also evident that the sphere of Tāntrik influence extended far beyond the natural limits of India. This has led some scholars to surmise that the Tantras of the Viṣṇukrāntā region i. e. Bengal, ultimately penetrated into Cambodia and thus Bengal contributed a lot to the spread of Tāntrik culture to other lands.[3]

'The sacred centres (*pīṭhasthānas*) of primary importance, as found in the heterodox Hindu Tantras and Buddhist Tantras, are four in number: Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇagiri, Oḍḍiyāṇa and Jālandhara'.[4] Though there are differences of opinion among scholars about the identification of the centre called Oḍḍiyāṇa or Uḍḍiyāṇa, some identifying it with the Swat valley and some with Orissa, they are agreed that 'Kāmarūpa and Jālandhara have not changed their names since ancient times'. And Kāmarūpa evidently indicates the eastern centre, comprising Bengal and Assam.

In another Tantra we find a reference to the zones being fixed 'according to two different Tāntrik modes, known as Kādi and Hādi'. Among the countries referred to where the two modes are said to be in vogue we find the mention of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga etc.

II

From the above references it is quite evident that Bengal happened to be an important centre of Tāntrik culture and was recognised as such in all ancient texts in their description of Tāntrik zones or schools of thought or centres.

It will now be of interest to note the special trend of Tāntrik thought in Bengal that distinguishes it from other trends in different parts of India. Tantras are generally divided into four pādas or

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1. *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, pp. 273–74.
2. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras* P. 48.
3. *Ibid*. pp. 46–47.
4. *Sammoha Tantra*,

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sections viz., *Vidyā*, *Kriyā*, *Yoga* and *Caryā*. Though the four are intimately bound up with each other, there are differences in emphasis among them. The Kashmir school, for instance, is mostly occupied with the *Vidyāpāda* or the philosophical aspect of the Tantras, which is *Advaita* or non-dualistic in character while the Kerala school deals with the *Dvaita* or dualistic philosophy of the Tantras. The Bengal or Gauḍa school is however pre-occupied with the *Kriyāpāda* or application or performance of Tāntrik rites and ceremonies. In fact, mere philosophical speculation has been condemned as being fruitless. This is also the marked characteristic of the *Kaula* school as opposed to the *Divya*. *Kula* stands for *Śakti* and the *Kaula* schools are *Śāktic* in character. It is also interesting to note that the *Kaula* class of Tantras is said to have been introduced by Matsyendra Nātha, who was closely connected with the Kāmarūpa pīṭha and whose teachings had a great influence in Bengal. *Śakti* means power and the achievement of it necessarily involves some movement of *Kriyā*. The emphasis in Bengal has, therefore, always been on the worship of *Śakti*. Kālī is looked upon as the national deity of Bengal and to whichever part of India the Bengalis have gone and settled down, they have established a Kālibāri or a shrine dedicated to Kāli. The Durgāpūjā has become the national festival of the Bengalis and in no other part of India the ritualistic worship of the deity is so elaborate. In Bengal, therefore, a Tāntrika has come to be equated with a Śākta.

It may be contended that the Vaiṣṇava cult is no less predominant in Bengal than the Śākta cult. But it must be remembered that the Vaiṣṇava cult which stems from the Pañcarātra system is in its origin Tāntrik and the Bengal variety of Vaiṣṇavism i. e. Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism is predominantly Śākta in character in view of its emphasis on and elaboration of the worship of Rādhā. Even Śrī Caitanya, the founder of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism, is looked upon as embodying in himself the spirit of Rādhā and is worshipped as such (rādhābhāvadyutisuvalitam).

Scholars like Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji are of opinion that the predominance of Tāntrik influence in Bengal Hinduism is due largely to Buddhist Tāntricism. Prof. Chatterji observes: 'The present-day Tāntric leaven in Bengal Hinduism largely came to it via the Buddhistic Kālacakrayāna, the Vajrayāna and the Sahajayāna school of Tantrayāna. One noteworthy fact is there has been a very subtle influence from Tāntric Buddhism upon Bengal Brahmanism and it is this : the great importance of the *Guru* from whom Tāntric initiation is received. All good Hindus in Bengal should have a *guru* who will give him the *mantra.........*and the *guru* becomes almost God to him after his initiation. This attitude has become thoroughly ingrained in the Bengali mind.........Now the *guru* has always had an honoured place in Brahman society; but he was never an object of divine honours in Vedism, whereas as we see in Nepal where the Tāntric Buddhism as in Bengal of the 10th-13th centuries still survives among the Newars, although the strong Śaiva or Śākta cult of the Gurkhas has been profoundly modifying it,-a Buddhist is known as a 'Gu-bhaju' or a *Guru*-worshipper and a Brahmanical Hindu as a 'De-bhaju' or a '*Deva*-worshipper'.

'The Tibetan texts say that Kālacakrayāna was developed outside India in a country called Sambhala and was introduced into Bengal during the Pala period. One of the great teachers of the school Abhayākaragupta was a contemporary of King Rāmapāla and wrote a number of books.' [5]

Orthodox scholars, like the late Mm. Yādaveśvara Tarkaratna, however, have taken great pains to establish the antiquity of the Tantras and have refuted the view which asserts that the Tantra 'was created by Bengali Pandits upon the model of the Buddhist teaching and practice of the Mahāyāna sect' and have refuted the charge that these Bengali Pandits are also alleged to have incorporated there, with the worship of S'akti, the goddess of the aboriginal barbarian inhabitants of Bengal.[6] There is also a view which looks upon the Tantras not only as pre-Buddhistic but also as pre-Vedic, linking them up with the Mohen-jo-daro civilisation.

Whatever may be the source through which Tāntricism took roots in Bengal, there are ample evidences besides the divinisation of *guru*, of its very wide influence in the social and cultural life of Bengal. Not only did every family have a *Kulaguru* or a preceptor, connected through a line of descent with a great realised soul of the Tāntrik school but they also took pride in tracing the origin of their own family to such a Tāntrik *Siddha Puruṣa* or realised soul.

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[5] Bagchi, *Evolution of the Tantras.*

[6] Yādaveśvara Tarkaratna, *Tantrer Prācīnatva.*

A housewife was not considered to be *śuddha* or purified i. e. eligible to take part in any form of work connected with the worship of the household deity, such as cooking of the 'bhoga' or rice-offering until she had her Tāntrik initiation. Even a child while taking his first lessons in alphabet, had to start with a slanting line which was supposed to symbolise the all-pervading S'akti at the root of creation and is known as the *añjīkalā*. Thus the life of a Bengali was completely determined and dominated by the Tāntrik thought throughout and is still mostly so.[7]

Tāntrik influence over Bengali life is also abundantly clear in the history of the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā sect which 'was established in Bengal before the time of Caitanya'. 'The oldest reference to Sahajiyā is an inscription of the thirteenth century (the Maināmati Plate). It speaks of the practice of Sahajiyādharma in Pattikeraka in Tippera. Caṇḍīdāsa was the earliest Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā and lived most probably in the fourteenth century. In his songs we can trace some of the fundamental doctrines of the sect. Rādhā is the S'akti and Kṛṣṇa, the Supreme Reality. The various *nāḍīs* and *cakras* within the body are recognised.........The terminology is borrowed from the Buddhist Sahajayāna and the Hindu Tantras.'[8]

'Two other mystic sects seem to have originated in this period: they are the sects of the Avadhūta and the Bāul. The Avadhūta sect has great affinities with the Nātha sect whereas the Baul derives inspiration from the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā'. 'The original home of the Nātha cult, so far as one can deduce from the material available, was North and North-East Bengal.........The earliest and most authentic records and traditions of the cult are found in Old and Middle Bengali literature only. The stories concerned with the faith, which are now current in other parts of India, indicate that the main characters belonged to Bengal. The traditional didactic and mystic verses bear unmistakeable traces of Bengali origin for most of them.[9] We have already referred to its reputed founder, Matsyendra Nātha in connexion with the Kaula form of Tāntrik *Sādhana* and he was in all likelihood the same as

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[7] U. N. Das, *Bhāratīya Śakti Sādhanā*

[8] Bagchi, *Evolution of the Tantras*

[9] Sukumar Sen, *The Nātha Cult*.

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the first Siddha, Lui-Pada'.[10] Among the other great teachers of this sect were Mīna Nātha, Gorakṣa Nātha, and Caurangī Nātha. 'Their teachings had a great influence in Bengal and miraculous tales about them became the subject of popular songs in Bengali.'[11]

Thus all these sects, which were Tāntrik in origin, dominated the religious life of Bengal.

III

As already indicated Bengal was interested in the application of the Tantras through Tāntrik initiation into rituals. As such Tāntrik literature as found in Bengal is mostly of the form of compendiums which give directions regarding *pūjā*, *dhyāṇa*, *homa* etc., *mantra*, *yantra* and *tantra* and also bring out the inner significance of the deities worshipped as well as of the ceremonial forms of worship.

Mm. Parivrājakācārya is the earliest name in Bengal as a writer of Tantra. His full name is not known and the only work that has been available is *Kāmyayantroddhāra*. The ms. of the work dates back to A.D. 1375.

The most important Tāntrik writer in Bengal is Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, who is supposed to have been a contemporary of Śrī Caitanya (A.D. 1485 - 1533). His *Tantrasāra* is looked upon as the most authoritative work on Tantra and as an infallible guide to all Tāntrik worship. Another comprehensive Tāntrik digest is the *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* said to have been compiled by Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra, a descendant of Kṛṣṇānanda, under the partronage of Prāṇakṛṣṇa Biswas in the 19th century. A grandson of Kṛṣṇānanda, Gopāla Pañcānana was the author of *Tantradīpikā*.

There are two important works by Brahmānanda, who possibly flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century. They are: *Śāktānandataraṅgiṇī* dealing with the worship of S'akti in eighteen chapters and the *Tārārahasya* dealing with the worship of Tārā in four sections.

Pūrṇānanda, a disciple of Brahmānanda, wrote in the third quarter of the sixteenth century many important Tāntrik works such as the *Śrītattvacintāmaṇi*, *Śyāmārahasya*, *Śāktakrama*, *Tattvānandataraṅgiṇī* and *Ṣaṭkarmollāsa*. The *Sarvollāsatantra* of Sarvānanda also deserves mention. *Tārārahasyavṛttikā* is attributed to one who is known as S'aṅkara of Gauḍa, whose full name is supposed to be Śaṅkara Āgamācārya. He possibly flourished some time about the sixteenth century. A number of other works is also attributed to him though there is no sufficient ground to prove his authorship thereof. The *Āgamacandrikā*, a Tantra-digest, was compiled under the auspices of Kṛṣṇamohana, a Kāyastha of Pūrvasthalī in West Bengal, who engaged a number of Pandits to write books for him and is mentioned as the author of eightcen works. Candraśekhara is supposed to have composed *Puraścaraṇadīpikā* probably in 1590 A.D. He has another work, *Kulapūjanacandrikā* to his credit. Raghunātha Tarkavāgīśa of Andul, near Calcutta, composed in 1687 his *Āgamatattvavilāsa*, which was later abridged by his son, Rāmakṛṣṇa. with the title *Āgamacandrikā*. Rāmagopāla S'arman composed in the early eighteenth century his *Tantradīpanī*. A little later was written *Śyāmāsaparyāvidhi* by Kās'īnatha Tarkālaṅkāra.

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[10] Bagchi, *Evolution of the Tantras*.

[11] *Ibid*.

In the early nineteenth century, Jñānānanda Brahmacārin wrote his *Tattvaprakāsa*. About the same time, *Tīkṣṇakalpa* was written by Rādhāmohana, a landlord of Dacca. Another landlord of Sylhet, Haragovindarāya wrote near about this time his little known but voluminous work, *Pañcamavedasāranirṇaya*. More widely known and popular however was the work *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* referred to earlier, composed about this time by Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra under the patronage of Prāṇakṛṣṇa Biswas, a Zamindar of Khardaha near Calcutta. Prāṇakṛṣṇa possibly inspired Bholānātha Brahmacārin to write another work associated with his name, *Prāṇakṛṣṇa-vaiṣṇavāmṛta*, dealing with Vaiṣṇava rituals. A member of the Tagore family of Calcutta, Hara Kumāra Ṭhākura compiled during the last part of the nineteenth century several works on Tantra-worship like *Haratattvadīdhiti* and *Puraścaraṇabodhinī*.

Bābu Rasikamohana Chatterji published nearly forty Tāntrik texts and Pandit Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara also edited many Tāntrik texts during the last century and as such helped in the propagation of Tāntrik literature. Mention must also be made of Pandit Śivacandra Vidyārṇava, whose *Tantratattva* in Bengali is an authoritative work.

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The study of the Tantras as well as its popularity in modern times is due to the unsparing efforts of some Bengali savants like Prof. Pramatha Nath Mukhopadhyaya (now Swami Pratyagātmānanda Sarasvatı), Atul Behari Ghosh, who founded the Āgamānusandhāna Samiti and inspired Sir John Woodroffe and acted as his collaborator in his study of the Tantras and the bringing to light of Tāntrik texts and studies published by Ganesh & Co., Madras. Mention must also be made of Jitendra Lal Majumdar and Barada Kānta Majumdar who helped Sir John Woodroffe by writing learned articles on the Tantras, which have been incorporated by the latter in his *Principles of the Tantra.* Svāmi Pratyagātmānanda Sarasvatī, a nonagenarian, has made a remarkable contribution to Tantra and the Mantra Śāstra in particular, by his original Sanskrit-Bengali work in six volumes entitled *Japasūtram.* An abridged English edition of the same book has recently been published by Ganesh & Co., Madras.

As an exponent of the Tāntrik view of life, the name of Mm. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj, the eminent Bengali scholar in Sanskrit, must be cherished. His *Āgamaśāstra Digdarśaner Bhāratīya Sādhaner Dhārā* (Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series) as well as his *Tāntrik Sādhanā O Siddhānta* and *Aspects of Indian Thought* (published by the University of Burdwan) deserve special mention. The late Prof. P. C. Bagchi has also made fruitful contributions to this field by his work entitled "Studies in the Tantras". Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti is another noted Sanskrit scholar of Bengal in this field.

We also remember with gratitude the contribution of the late J. C. Chatterji, whose *Kashmir Saivism* is a standard work on the subject and was a pioneer in bringing out the Tāntrik texts of Śaivāgama in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies.

Thus Bengali scholars have a perennial interest in Tāntrik studies and it is their *forte* as borne out from the above account.

IV

Of the *pīṭhas* or shrines of Tāntrik worship there are twenty-four or so mentioned in the Tantras and Purāṇas, which are located in present-day Bangladesh and also mostly in the Rāḍhādesh in West Bengal. There are also innumerable other shrines strewn all over Bengal, which shows the wide prevalence here of Tāntrik worship,

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The shrines, mentioned in the S'āstras, which are located in Bengal are all curiously, connected with the various limbs of Devī or S'akti, which are supposed to have fallen at different places. A brief list of the shrines and their location is appended below:—

1. Candranātha — Near Chittagong
2. Udayapura — Near Tripura
3. Sugandhāpīṭha — Barisal
4. Yaśoreśvari — Near Khulna
5. Puṇḍra — Bagura
6. Karatoyātaṭa — Bagura
7. Devikotta — Near Dinajpur
8. Japyeśvarapīṭha — Near Jalpaiguri
9. Kirīṭakoṇapīṭha — Near Murshidabad
10. Aṭṭahāsapīṭha — Near Katwa
11. Bahulāpīṭha — Katwa
12. Yogādyāpīṭha — Katwa
13. Nandīpurapīṭha — Near (Sainthia) Birbhum
14. Kaṅkālipīṭha — Near (Bolpur) Birbhum
15. Tārāpīṭha — Near Birbhum
16. Nalhāṭipiṭha — ,,
17. Vakreśvarapīṭha — ,,
18. Bhadreśvarapīṭha — Hughly
19. Rajbolhāt — ,,
20. Tamolipta — Midnapur
21. Vibhāṣāpīṭha — Tamluk, Midnapur
22. Balidāṅga — ,,
23. Kālighāt — Calcutta
24. Sāgarasaṅgama — Gaṅgāsāgara

Some places have been hallowed by the birth of or adoption as a place of *sādhana* by great Tāntrik saints. Halisahara in 24 Parganas has been sanctified by *Sādhaka* Rāmaprasāda, Borehat in Burdwan by *Sādhaka* Kamalākānta, Tārāpīṭha by *Sādhaka* Bāmā Khepā and last but not the least, Dakṣiṇeśvara by Paramhamsa Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa.

V

Some of the saints mentioned above have enriched Bengali literature through their composition of *Śākta Padāvalis* and have also made a rich and lasting contribution to Bengali music, Compositions of Rāmaprasad, Kamalākānta and a host of other Tāntrik saints are sung even to this day in a style all their own.

It is not just an accident that Yugāvatāra Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa chose the temple of Bhavatāriṇī Kāli at Dakṣiṇeśvara as his seat of *sādhana*. In him Bengal found the fulfilment of the Tāntrik approach. His all-embracing universality and his enunciation of the view that all roads lead to the same goal is an echo of the ancient Hindu ideal, voiced forth by Tāntrists also, e.g. by Kṣemarāja, in his *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*: tadbhūmikāḥ sarvadarśanasthitayaḥ.

The synthetic philosophy of Sri Aurobindo is also stamped with this integral Tāntrik outlook, which is typical of Bengal. The national movement for liberation of India as it developed in Bengal was also inspired by this Śakti[1] or Mother Cult and Bankimcandra gave the national *mantra*, which was nothing but an obeisance to the Mother, *Vande Mātaram*, which fired the imagination of all patriots, sustained them through the long and arduous struggle and gave them strength to bear all the inhuman torture that was let loose upon them and even face the gallows with a smiling face.

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[1] For details cf. U. N. Das, *Bhāratīya Śakti Sādhanā.*

Funding by IKS-MoE

विहारप्रदेशस्य संस्कृतसेवा

BIHAR'S CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT

Prof. Vanesvar Pathak, St. Xavier's College, Patna.

प्राचीनतमाया अस्या संस्कृतभाषायाः प्राचीनतमः सेवकः, अस्या विकासे च विशिष्टयोगदायकः विहारप्रदेश इति नाविदितमितिहासविदाम्। वैदिककालत एव विहारप्रदेशः संस्कृतभाषायाः सेवायां सततसंलग्नो दृश्यते।

(१) वैदिककाले—

वैदिकसाहित्ये योगदानम् — विविधविद्याविभूषणानां मनीषिणां जन्मभूमिः मिथिलाभूमिः विहारप्रदेशे प्राचीनकालत एव सर्वविद्यानां राजधानीव राजते। मिथिलान्तर्वर्त्तिनोर्जनकयाज्ञवल्क्ययोरुल्लेखः कृष्णयजुर्वेदीयब्राह्मणे,[१] शतपथब्राह्मणे,[२] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदि,[३] छान्दोग्योपनिषदि, विष्णुपुराणे च बहुधा वर्त्तते। याज्ञवल्क्यो महर्षेर्विश्वामित्रस्य ब्रह्मवादी पुत्रः मिथिलापतेर्जनकस्य राजसभामलंकरोति स्म। स सूर्यात् शुक्लयजुर्वेदमासाद्य तं प्रवर्त्तितवान्। तच्छिष्याः गुरोर्वैशम्पायनस्य शापाद् याज्ञवल्क्येनोद्गलिताः सर्वा विद्यास्तित्तिरा भूत्वा निगीर्णवन्तः। अतः यजुर्वेदः कृष्णो जातः। तित्तिरीभूतैः याज्ञवल्क्यशिष्यैः पश्चात् प्रवर्त्तिताः अत एव कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य शाखाः तैत्तिरीयाः कथ्यन्ते। अयं वृत्तान्तो विष्णुपुराणे वर्णितः। याज्ञवल्क्यः शतपथब्राह्मणस्य च प्रवक्ता।

अध्यात्मविद्यायां योगदानम् — जनकः, याज्ञवल्क्यः, तत्पत्न्यौ गार्गी मैत्रेयी च, गौतमः, अष्टावक्रः, आश्वलः शाकलः, उद्दालकश्चेति मिथिलान्तर्वर्त्तिनस्तत्त्वज्ञा विद्वांसोऽध्यात्मशास्त्रे सुमहद् योगदानमकुर्वन्।

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[१] कृष्णयजुर्वेदीयतैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणे जनकः वैदेहदेवेभ्यः सावित्राग्नियज्ञफलस्य ज्ञानं प्राप्नोति।

[२] शतपथब्राह्मणे जनकः याज्ञवल्क्यस्य शिक्षादाता।

[३] बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदि याज्ञवल्क्यः जनकस्याध्यात्मशिक्षकः। याज्ञवल्क्यः जनकस्य ज्ञानोपदेशक इति महाभारतस्य शान्तिपर्वणि उल्लेखः।

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अमृततत्त्वप्राप्तिविषयमवलम्ब्य याज्ञवल्क्य-मैत्रेयी-संवादः बृहदारण्यके, याज्ञवल्क्य-गार्गी-संवादश्च छान्दोग्योपनिषदि महाविस्तरेण वर्णितौ स्तः। याज्ञवल्क्यः केवलं सिद्धान्तवादी नासीत्, अपि तु स तत्त्वज्ञानस्य व्यावहारिकोपदेशक आसीत्। "आत्मा वाऽरे द्रष्टव्यः, श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यो मैत्रेयि"[1] इत्येष याज्ञवल्क्यस्योपदेशः व्यावहारिकतत्त्वज्ञानस्य जाज्वल्यमानमुदाहरणं बृहदारण्यकीयाध्यात्मशिक्षाया मूलाधारश्च।

वस्तुतो विहारप्रदेशोऽयमाध्यात्मिकज्ञानोपदेशस्य जन्मभूमिरिति नात्र कस्यचिद् विमतिः।

(२) वैदिकोत्तरकाले—

धर्मशास्त्रे योगदानम्-याज्ञवल्क्यः केवलमध्यात्मज्ञानस्यैवोपदेशको नासीत्, अपि तु स लौकिकाचारविचारपद्धतेरपि महान् निर्देशक आसीत्। स धर्मशास्त्रे प्रसिद्धतमां 'याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिं' निर्माय सदैव स्मृतिपथवर्ति योगदानमकरोत्। मिथिलाराज्यान्तर्वर्त्तिनो महर्षेर्गौतमस्य 'धर्मसूत्रम्' सर्वप्राचीनं धर्मशास्त्रीयं ग्रन्थरत्नम्। तस्मिन् संस्काराः व्रतनियमादयश्च विस्तरतो वर्णिताः। गौतमस्य याज्ञवल्क्यस्य च संस्कृते धर्मशास्त्रीयं योगदानं महत्त्वपूर्णम्।

लौकिके काव्यसाहित्ये योगदानम्-आदिकविर्वाल्मीकिः भार्गवश्च्यवनपुत्र आसीदिति महाभारतस्य वनपर्वणि[2] शान्तिपर्वणि[3] च वर्णितमास्ते। विष्णुपुराणे[4] मत्स्यपुराणे[5] च स भार्गवश्च्यवनो निगदितः। कृत्तिवासीयरामायणे वाल्मीकिः रत्नाकरनामा व्याधस्तथा च्यवनपुत्र आसीद् इत्युल्लेखोऽवलोक्यते। अत इदं सुस्पष्टं यदादिकविर्वाल्मीकिः भार्गवः (भृगुवंशोत्पन्नः) च्यवनपुत्र आसीत्। महाकविर्बाणभट्टः स्वकीये 'हर्षचरिते' च्यवनस्याश्रमः शोणनदस्य पश्चिमे तटे (शाहाबादे) वर्णितः, यदि वाल्मीकिस्तस्यैव च्यवनस्य

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[1] बृहदारण्यकम्, ४. ५. ६

[2] महाभारतम्, वनपर्व, अ. १२२

[3] महाभा. शा. पर्व, अ. ५७

[4] विष्णुपुराणम्, ३. ३. १८

[5] मत्स्यपुराणम्, १२. ५१

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पुत्रस्तर्हि आदिकविर्वाल्मीकिः विहारप्रदेशस्यैवामरविभूतिः ; परवर्तिसाहित्यस्योपजीव्यं तस्य रामायणं संस्कृतस्य सर्वाधिकमहत्त्वपूर्णं योगदानम् ।

वेदाङ्गरचनायां योगदानम्—पाटलीपुत्रं प्रागैतिहासिककालादेव संस्कृतविद्यायाः परीक्षाकेन्द्रं ज्ञानकेन्द्रं चासीत् । व्याकरणशास्त्रस्योपाध्यायाः निर्मातारश्च वर्षः, उपवर्षः, पाणिनिः, व्याडिः, वररुचिः (कात्यायनः), पतञ्जलिः, छन्दःशास्त्रस्य निर्माता पिङ्गलः, इतीमे विद्वांसः पाटलीपुत्र एव परीक्षितास्तथा ततः स्वकीयज्ञानस्य परिपोषं प्राप्य दिक्षु निजां कीर्तिं विस्तारितवन्त इति महाकविराजशेखरस्य काव्यमीमांसायां (दशमाध्याये) वर्णितम्—"श्रूयते च पाटलीपुत्रे शास्त्रकारपरीक्षा—

"अत्रोपवर्षवर्षाविह पाणिनिपिङ्गलाविह व्याडिः ।
वररुचिपतञ्जली इह परीक्षिताः ख्यातिमुपजग्मुः ॥" इति ॥

राजशेखरेण काव्यमीमांसायां (सप्तमाध्याये) मागधानां कवीनां संस्कृतपाठस्यापि प्रशंसा कृता—

"पठन्ति संस्कृतं सुष्ठु कुण्ठाः प्राकृतवाचि ते ।
वाराणसीतः पूर्वेण ये केचिन्मगधादयः ॥" इति ॥

कथासरित्सागरस्य प्रथमलम्बकेऽपि वर्षोपवर्षपाणिनिव्याडिवररुचिप्रभृतीनां विदुषामध्ययनस्थानं पाटलीपुत्रमासीदिति विस्तरतो वर्णितं वर्त्तते । कथासरित्सागरे तु पाटलिपुत्रस्य विद्यास्थानत्वेन वर्णनं प्रायः सर्वत्र दृश्यते ।

संस्कृतस्यादिमहाकविर्महावैयाकरणश्च[1] पाणिनिः[2] पाटलीपुत्रवासिनो वर्षस्यान्तेवासी आसीत् । पाणिनेः 'अष्टाध्यायी'-ग्रन्थस्य व्याख्यारूपस्यैकलक्षश्लोकात्मकस्य 'संग्रह[3]'-नाम्नो ग्रन्थस्य रचयिता व्याडिरपि[4] वर्षस्यैव

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[1] 'जाम्बवतीजय'-महाकाव्यस्य रचयिता पाणिनिरिति राजशेखरेणोक्तम् । "नमः पाणिनये तस्मै यस्मादाविरभूदिह । आदौ व्याकरणं काव्यमनुजाम्बवतीजयम् ।"

[2] विक्रमपूर्वाष्टमशतकं पाणिनेः कालः । आर्यमञ्जुश्रीकल्पानुसारं पाणिनिर्महापद्मनन्दस्य मित्रमासीत्—"तस्याप्यन्यतमः सख्यः पाणिनिर्नाम माणवः ।"

[3] संग्रहकर्त्ता व्याडिः पाणिनेर्मातुलपुत्रस्तथा तस्य समसामयिक आसीत् ।

[4] 'संग्रहः' अधुनाऽप्राप्यः । तस्य संकेतः नागेशेनैवं कृतः—'संग्रहो व्याडिकृतो लक्षश्लोकसंख्यो ग्रन्थ इति प्रसिद्धिः ।" (प्रदीपोद्योतः, पस्पशाह्निकम्) ।

शिष्य प्रासीत्। पाणिनेर्व्याकरणस्योपरि वार्तिकानां निर्माता तथा लिङ्गानुशासन - वररुचिसंग्रह - पुष्पसूत्र - वाररुचकाव्यादीनां रचयिता वररुचिः[५] (कात्यायनः) मगधनरेशस्य योगनन्दस्यामात्य आसीत्। कात्यायनस्य जन्मभूमिर्विहारप्रदेश (कुसुमपुरम्) एव।

महर्षेः पतञ्जलेर्निवासस्थानमध्ययनस्थानं च विहारप्रदेश(मगध) एवेति तेनैवोक्तम्—'प्रवृत्तस्याविरामे शासितव्या भवन्ती, इहाधीमहे, इह वसामः, इह पुष्पमित्रं[२] याजयामः।' (महाभाष्यम्, ३-२-१२३ पा. सू.)

महाभाष्यकारस्य सक्तुभोजनं[२] दधिभोजनं[३] च प्रति विशेषतोऽभिरुचिः, मगधभूमावुत्पद्यमानानां सुगन्धिशालीनां व्रीहीणां नीवाराणां च वर्णनम्, भोजपुरीभाषातः संवादिनीनां 'पादौ कुरु, पृष्ठं कुरु' इत्यादिलोकोक्तीनां प्रयोगः, देवदत्तेत्यादिनाम्नां कीर्त्तनं च सर्वमेवैतत् पतञ्जलेर्विहारप्रदेशनिवासितां सूचयति। विहारभूमावधिगतसकलशास्त्राणां पाणिनिकात्यायन - पतञ्जलीनां संस्कृतसेवा यावदियं संस्कृतभाषा स्थास्यति तावदविस्मरणीया भविष्यति। पाणिनि - कात्यायन-पतञ्जलीति महर्षित्रयेणैय संस्कृतं नाम दैवी वागन्वाख्याता[४]।

पतञ्जलेर्योगशास्त्रे (चरकस्तु पतञ्जलिरित्युक्त्या) वैद्यकशास्त्रे च योगदानमतीव महत्त्वपूर्णम्।

शल्यचिकित्साचार्यः सुश्रुतः बक्सर(शाहाबाद)निवासिनो विश्वामित्रस्य पुत्र आसीदिति सुश्रुतसंहितायाः उत्तरतन्त्रे (अ. ६९), महाभारतस्य वनपर्वणि (अ. ५), भावप्रकाशस्यारम्भे भावमिश्रेण च वर्णितम्। आयुर्वेदशास्त्रे शल्यचिकित्साक्षेत्रे सुश्रुतस्य योगदानं विशेषतो महत्त्वपूर्णम्। एवं विहारप्रदेशे

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५. विक्रमपूर्वपञ्चमशतकं वररुचेः समयः।

१. पुष्पमित्रः (ई. पू. द्वितीयशतके) मगधनरेश आसीत्। अतः पतञ्जलेः कालः ख्रिस्तपूर्वद्वितीयशतकम्।

२. 'अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामस्तत्र सक्तून् पास्यामः।' (महाभाष्यम्, ३-२-११४)।

३. "दधिभोजनं चार्थसिद्धेरादिः।" महाभाष्यम्, ६-४-१६१

४, "संस्कृतं नाम दैवी वागन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः।" (दण्डिनः काव्यादर्शे)

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लब्धजन्मनां, विहारप्रदेशनिवासिनां विहारप्रदेशतः प्राप्तवैदुष्याणां वर्षोपवर्षपाणिनिव्याडिपिङ्गलवररुचिपतञ्जलिसुश्रुतप्रभृतीनां शास्त्रकाराणां शास्त्रीयं योगदानं संस्कृतस्य विकासे विशेषतोऽभिनन्दनीयम् ।

(३) **मौर्यकाले**—भारतीयार्थशास्त्रस्य राजनीतिविज्ञानस्य च महनीयो मनीषी चाणक्यः कुसुमपुरं (पाटलीपुत्रं) स्वजन्मना गौरवान्वितमकरोत् । प्रसिद्धोऽर्थशास्त्रपारंगतः कौटिल्यापरनामा चाणक्यश्चन्द्रगुप्तमौर्यस्य प्रधानामात्य आसीत् । चाणक्यार्थशास्त्रं संस्कृतभाषाया गौरवावहं ग्रन्थरत्नम् । चाणक्यस्यैव विष्णुशर्मेति नामान्तरं, तथा च तेनैव पञ्चतन्त्रं नाम आख्यानग्रन्थमपि निर्माय संस्कृतस्य महती सेवा कृता इत्युच्यते । देशे विदेशेषु च संस्कृतस्य प्रचारे पञ्चतन्त्रस्य योगदानं विशेषत उल्लेखनीयमस्ति, विदेशिनां संस्कृतं प्रत्यभिरुचेः कारणं च पञ्चतन्त्रमभूदिति विदितमेव ।

(४) **गुप्तकाले**—गुप्तकालः संस्कृतस्य स्वर्णयुगमासीत् । गुप्तानां शासनकाले संस्कृतस्य चरमो विकासो जातः तेषां काले संस्कृतभाषा साहित्यभाषा राजभाषा चासीत् । गुप्तानामभिलेखाः, ताम्रपत्राणि, मुद्राश्च तेषां संस्कृतप्रियतां तस्मिन् काले संस्कृतस्य विकासावस्थां च प्रकाशयन्ति । मगधदेशस्तदानीं संस्कृतविद्यायाः केन्द्रमासीत् । मगधनरेशाः संस्कृतभाषायाः संस्कृतविदुषां च संरक्षका आसन् । चन्द्रगुप्तविक्रमादित्यस्य नवरत्नानि [2]प्रसिद्धान्येव सन्ति । परमभिषगाचार्यो धन्वन्तरिः, कोशग्रन्थस्य निर्माता अमरसिंहः, ज्यौतिषशास्त्रस्य सर्वप्राचीनः प्रामाणिक आचार्यः सूर्यसिद्धान्तस्य प्रवर्त्तको वराहमिहिर[3]:, कविकुलगुरुः कालिदासः, इमानि विक्रमार्कसभाया अत्युज्जवलरत्नानि मगधे एव संवर्द्धितानि स्वकीयचिरस्थायियशसो विस्तारं चाकुर्वन् । कालिदासस्य

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१. चाणक्यस्य समयः ख्रिस्तपूर्वचतुर्थशतकम् ।

२. 'धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कुवेतालभट्टघटकर्परकालिदासाः । ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ।'' (ज्योतिर्विदाभरणम्)

३. वराहमिहिरः पाटलीपुत्रस्य शाकद्वीपीयो ब्राह्मण आसीदिति विहारिविदुषां विश्वासः ।

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गुप्तनरेशान् प्रति सादरं संकेतं रघुवंशस्य षष्ठसर्गे इन्दुमत्याः स्वयंवरे मगधनरेशं प्रति समधिकपक्षपातं चावलोक्य कालिदासोऽपि मागध आसीदिति केषाञ्चन मतम्। कालिदासस्याध्ययनक्षेत्रं मिथिलाभूमिरिति प्रसिद्धा वार्त्ता। भारतीयगणितज्यौतिषशास्त्रस्य सुविख्यातो विद्वान् आर्यभट्टः (५७६ ई. वर्षे) कुसुमपुरे एवोत्पन्न आसीत्। तस्य 'आर्यभटीयम्' गणितज्यौतिषस्यात्युपयोगि ग्रन्थरत्नम्। गणितशास्त्रे अङ्कगणितस्य, बीजगणितस्य, रेखागणितस्य, ज्यामितेश्चाविष्करणस्य श्रेयः आर्यभट्टस्यैव। भूगोलसम्बन्धिनः, उच्चगणितसम्बन्धिनश्च सिद्धान्ताः आर्यभट्टस्यैव महत्त्वपूर्णानि योगदानानि सन्ति।

(५) गुप्तकालात्परं मध्ययुगारम्भं यावत्—

(सप्तमशतके)—संस्कृतगद्यसाहित्यस्य प्रतिनिधिलेखकः काव्यकाननपञ्चाननः सम्राजो हर्षवर्धनस्य राजसभामलंकुर्वाणो बाणः, तस्य श्यालो मयूरश्च विहारप्रदेशस्यैव गौरववर्द्धकौ। बाणभट्टः शोणनदस्य पश्चिमे तटे प्रीतकूटनाम्नि ग्रामे (शाहाबादमण्डले) समुत्पन्नः वत्सगोत्रीयः शाकद्वीपीयो ब्राह्मण आसीदिति प्रसिद्धिः। तस्य श्यालो मयूरभट्टः गयामण्डलान्तर्गत-'देव'-स्थाननिवासी आसीत्। बाणभट्टस्यातिद्वयी कथा 'कादम्बरी' न केवलं संस्कृतसाहित्ये, अपि तु विश्वसाहित्येऽनुपमा गद्यकृतिः। तस्य 'हर्षचरितं' संस्कृते प्रथममैतिहासिकं काव्यम्। बाणभट्टस्य 'चण्डीशतकम्', मयूरस्य 'सूर्यशतकम्' च संस्कृतस्तोत्रसाहित्यस्य संमाननीयौ स्तोत्रग्रन्थौ।

(सप्तमशतकाद् दशमशतकं यावत्)—वैदिकसाहित्यस्य तथाऽध्यात्मशास्त्रस्येव दर्शनशास्त्रस्यापि दानस्य श्रेयः मिथिलाया एव। न्यायमीमांसादर्शनयोः प्रादुर्भावस्य क्षेत्रं मिथिलाभूमिरेवास्ति। प्राचीनन्यायस्य जन्मदाता गौतमस्तथा नव्यन्यायस्य जन्मदाता गङ्गेशोपाध्यायः विहारप्रदेशस्यैव विभूषणौ। यावन्तो नैयायिका विहारप्रदेशे समुत्पन्नास्तावन्तो भारतस्य कस्मिन्नपि प्रदेशे न। एवमेव मीमांसादर्शनस्योभयपक्षयोः पूर्वमीमांसायाः (कर्मकाण्डस्य), उत्तरमीमांसायाः (ज्ञानकाण्डस्य) विकासभूमिर्विहारप्रदेश एवेति नाप्रत्यक्षं प्रेक्षावताम्। प्रभाकरमिश्र - मुरारिमिश्रप्रभृतीनां विदुषां ज्ञानप्राप्तिस्तथा

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तेषां विचाराणां विस्तारश्चात्रैवाभवत् । मुरारिमिश्रस्तु मीमांसायां तृतीयपक्षस्यापि प्रवर्त्तक आसीदिति प्रसिद्धिः 'मुरारेस्तृतीयः पन्थाः ।' भारतस्य महान्तो नैयायिका मीमांसकाश्च सप्तमशतकाद् दशमशतकं यावदेव समुत्पन्नाः, तेष्वधिकतमा विहार एव ।

अष्टमशतके—प्रसिद्धमीमांसको मिथिलामहीमण्डनो मण्डनमिश्रः, शङ्कराचार्येण सह शास्त्रार्थकर्ता मिथिलान्तर्गत-'महिषी'-ग्रामनिवासी आसीत् । तेन स्फोटसिद्धि-ब्रह्मसिद्धि-विधिविवेकादीनि ग्रन्थरत्नानि निर्माय संस्कृतस्य विविधा सेवा कृता ।

नवमशतके—तत्त्वबिन्दु - सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी - न्यायवार्तिक[1] - टीकादीनां रचयिता, शास्त्रार्थेषु बौद्धाचार्याणां विजेता, षड्दर्शनवल्लभः, तात्पर्याचार्यः, सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रः वाचस्पतिमिश्रः (८ पू. ई.) सुरभारत्याः श्लाघनीयः सुसेवक आसीत् । ब्रह्मसूत्रशाङ्करभाष्योपरि तस्य 'भामती' - टीका ब्रह्मसूत्रस्यानुपमो व्याख्याग्रन्थः ।

दशमशतके—न्यायस्य वैशेषिकदर्शनस्य च अद्भुतो विद्वान् उदयनाचार्यः (९८४ ई.) दरभंगामण्डलान्तर्गत - 'मङ्रौनि' - ग्रामनिवासी आसीत् । तस्य न्यायवार्तिक-तात्पर्यटीका-न्यायपरिशिष्ट-किरणावली-न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलि-प्रभृतयो ग्रन्थाः न्यायवैशेषिकदर्शनस्य विकासे महत्त्वपूर्णयोगदानानि सन्ति ।

द्वादशशतकात् षोडशशतकं यावत्—द्वादशशतकात् षोडशशतकं यावन् मिथिलायां नव्यन्यायस्य व्यापको विकासोऽभवत् । नव्यन्यायस्य जन्मदाता गङ्गेशोपाध्यायः (द्वादशशतके) मिथिलान्तर्गत - 'मङ्रौनि' - ग्रामनिवासी आसीत् । स मिथिलायां नव्यन्यायस्य धारां प्रवाहितवान् । तस्य 'तत्त्वचिन्तामणिः' भारतीयन्यायस्य शास्त्रस्य बहुमूल्यं ग्रन्थरत्नम् । न्यायशास्त्रे सुविख्यातस्यास्य ग्रन्थस्य बहवः टीकाग्रन्थाः सन्ति । गङ्गेशोपाध्यायस्यात्मजेन वर्धमानोपाध्यायेनापि तत्त्वचिन्तामणिप्रकाश-न्यायपरिशिष्टप्रकाश-न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिप्रकाश-किरणावलीप्रकाश-खण्डनखाद्यप्रकाशादयोऽनेके ग्रन्थाः निर्मिताः ।

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[1] न्यायवार्तिकस्य कर्त्ता उद्योतकरः ।

त्रयोदशशतके—सुप्रसिद्धो नाटककारः साहित्यशास्त्रमर्मज्ञो महानैयायिकः मैथिलद्विजन्मा जयदेवमिश्रः (१२५० ई.) सुरभारत्या बहुमानसेवया मिथिलामहीमण्डलस्य गौरवमवर्धयत् । एष जयदेवः न्यायशास्त्रे पक्षधरमिश्रनाम्ना, काव्यकलाकलने पीयूषवर्षेत्युपाधिना च विख्यात आसीत् । जयदेवस्य प्रसन्नराघवनाटकम् , तत्त्वचिन्तामण्यालोकः, चन्द्रालोकश्चेति ग्रन्थत्रयं क्रमशः नाट्यशास्त्रे, न्यायशास्त्रे, काव्यशास्त्रे च महत्त्वपूर्णं योगदानम् ।

चतुर्दशशतके—भूपरिक्रमायाः पुरुषपरीक्षायाश्च प्रणेतुर्मैथिलकविकोकिलस्य विद्यापतेः संस्कृतसेवा प्रसिद्धा ।

पञ्चदशशतके—अयाचिमिश्रेति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धस्य भवनाथमिश्रस्य तनुजो दार्शनिको बालकविः शङ्करमिश्रः दरभंगास्थ-‘सरिसव’-ग्रामनिवासी आसीत् । तस्य आत्मतत्त्वविवेककल्पलता-तत्त्वचिन्तामणिमयूख-त्रिसूत्रीनिबन्धव्याख्या-वैशेषिकसूत्रोपस्कर-प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप-श्राद्धप्रदीपादयो ग्रन्थाः संस्कृतस्य बहुविधयोगदानानि भवन्ति । अस्मिन् शतके पञ्चसायक-रङ्गशेखरप्रभृतिकाव्यनाटकानां निर्मातुः ज्योतिरीश्वरठक्कुरस्यापि (१४५० ई.) संस्कृतसेवा उल्लेखनीया वर्त्तते । गङ्गानन्दकवीन्द्रस्य भृङ्गदूत-मन्दारमञ्जरीप्रभृतयः काव्यग्रन्थाः प्रसिद्धाः ।

षोडशशतके—दरभंगाराज्यस्य संस्थापकस्य महेशठक्कुरस्य (१५५८ ई.) तत्त्वचिन्तामण्यालोकस्य टीका ‘आलोकदर्पणः’ एका विशिष्टरचना । महेशठक्कुरस्य संस्कृतसेवाऽनेकत्र बहु चर्चिताऽस्ति ।

पञ्चदशषोडशशतकयोः मिथिलामहिलाभिरपि न्यायदर्शनस्य मीमांसादर्शनस्य च विकासे महत्त्वपूर्णं योगदानमकारि । अस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे न्यायवैशेषिकोपरि ‘पदार्थचन्द्र’-नाम्नो ग्रन्थस्य रचयित्री राज्ञश्चन्द्रसिंहस्य पत्नी लछिमादेवी, राज्ञः शिवसिंहस्य पत्नी लखिमा देवी, राज्ञः पद्मसिंहस्य पत्नी विश्वासदेवी,[1] कविकोकिलविद्यापतेः स्नुषा कमलादेवी चेति विदुष्यो विशेषत उल्लेखनीयाः सन्ति ।

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[1] राज्ञ्याः विश्वासदेव्याः यज्ञे १४०० मीमांसका निमन्त्रिता आसन् इति प्रसिद्धिः ।

उपर्युक्तेषु द्वित्रेषु शतकेषु मिथिलायां मम्मटाचार्यस्य काव्यप्रकाशस्य टीकाकारा अप्यनेकेऽभवन् येषु गोविन्दठक्कुर[1]-रविठक्कुर-हरिशङ्करशर्म-गोकुलनाथोपाध्यायप्रभृतीनां नामानि सुप्रसिद्धानि ।

(६) **मध्ययुगे**—मुगलशासनकाले वेद - न्याय - धर्मशास्त्र - व्याकरण-ज्यौतिष-आयुर्वेद-काव्य-नाटक- दर्शन-अलंकार - संगीत -कोश - तन्त्रादिविषयाणां विस्तृतो विकासोऽभवत् । विहारप्रदेशे विशेषतः मिथिलायां धर्मशास्त्र-न्याय-ज्यौतिष- दर्शन - व्याकरण - कोश - काव्य - तन्त्र - मन्त्रविषयकग्रन्थानां रचना-बाहुल्यमजायत । आयुर्वेदस्याध्ययने तद्विषयकग्रन्थानां निर्माणे च विशेषतोऽभिरुचिरत्रत्यानां शाकद्वीपीयब्राह्मणानामासीत् । आयुर्वेदशास्त्रे भावमित्रस्य 'भावप्रकाशः' विशिष्टं योगदानम् । श्रीमिश्रो लटकनमिश्रतनयः शाहाबादनिवासी शाकद्वीपीयो ब्राह्मण आसीदिति प्रसिद्धिः ।

अष्टादशशतके—मिथिलान्तर्गत-'पण्डौल'-ग्रामनिवासिना धनानन्ददासेन कायस्थेन संस्कृतस्य तन्त्रसाहित्ये मन्त्रसाहित्ये च महत्त्वपूर्णं योगदानं कृतम् । तस्य मातङ्गीकुसुमाञ्जलितन्त्र - मन्त्रकल्पद्रुम - वाक्चातुर्यादयो ग्रन्थाः सुप्रसिद्धाः ।

(७) **आधुनिककाले**—अस्मिन् काले संस्कृतस्य विकासे विशेष-योगदायकेषु विविधग्रन्थविधायकेषु विहारप्रदेशस्य विद्वद्वरेण्येष्वग्रगण्यनामानः सन्ति, यथा—

(१) महामहोपाध्यायः पण्डित - **चित्रधरमिश्रः**[2](वि. सं. १९०१), अनेन मीमांसासारसंग्रहोपलक्षणसंग्रहादयो विशिष्टा ग्रन्था विरचिताः ।

(२) महामहोपाध्यायः पण्डित**जयदेवमिश्रः**[3] (वि. सं. १९११), "जयः कुले जयोऽभ्यासे जयः पण्डितमण्डले । जयो मृत्यौ जयो मोक्षे जयदेवे सदा जय ॥" इति प्रशस्तिभागेष जयदेवमिश्रः परिभाषेन्दुशेखरटीका-विजया-

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[1] गोविन्दठक्कुरः 'काव्यप्रदीपस्य' रचयिता ।

[2] दरभंगामण्डलान्तर्गत-दलसिंगसराय-समीपस्थ-'टभका' ग्रामनिवासी ।

[3] जयदेवः मिथिलाभूमौ 'गजहडा'-ग्रामे समुत्पन्नः ।

शास्त्रार्थरत्नावली - व्युत्पत्तिवादजयाटीका - वास्तुपद्धतिप्रभृतिपाण्डित्यपूर्णग्रन्थानां रचयितासीत् ।

(३) महामहोपाध्यायः वैयाकरणकेसरी पण्डित**परमेश्वरझा**[१] (वि. सं. १९१३), अस्य संस्कारदशकर्मपद्धति - सदाचारदर्पण - महिषासुरवध-नाटक - यक्षसमागम - मिथिलेशप्रशस्तिप्रभृतयो विविधविषयविषयकास्त्रिंशदधिकाः ग्रन्थाः सन्ति ।

(४) पण्डित**बच्चाझा**[२] (वि. सं. १९१७), सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रः यशस्वी शिक्षकः व्याप्तिपञ्चकटीकान्यायभाष्यटीका - वाक्यपदीयटीका - व्युत्पत्तिवाद गूढार्थतत्त्वालोक - शक्तिवादटिप्पण-सव्यभिचारटिप्पण-खण्डनखाद्यटिप्पण- सत्प्रतिपक्षटिप्पण - अद्वैतसिद्धिचन्द्रिकाटिप्पण - सिद्धान्तलक्षणविवेचन - अवच्छेदकत्वनिरुक्तिविवेचन - सुलोचनामाधवचम्पूकाव्यादिविविधविषयकग्रन्थानां प्रामाणिकः प्रणेता, संस्कृतस्य सुमहतीं सेवामकरोत् ।

(५) विद्यावाचस्पतिर्महामहोपदेशकः पण्डित**मधुसूदनझा**[३] (वि. सं. १९२३) जगद्गुरुवैभव - सदसद्वाद - व्योमवाद-अहोरात्रवाद - दशवादरहस्य - शारीरकविमर्श - विज्ञानविद्युद् - ब्रह्मविज्ञान - शुल्बसूत्र - ज्योतिष्टोम - ब्रह्मचतुष्पदीन्द्रविजय-प्रत्यन्तप्रस्थानमीमांसा - दर्शहृदयोपनिषद्हृदयादि मुद्रितामुद्रितशताधिकग्रन्थानां रचनां कृत्वा सुरभारतीं सुसेवितवान् । महामहोपाध्यायः श्रीगिरिधरशर्मा चतुर्वेदः श्रीझामहोदयस्यान्तेवासी आसीत् ।

(३) महामहोपाध्यायः पण्डित**मुरलीधरझा**[४] (वि. सं. १९२६), पं. बबु आजीमिश्र-गणकपुङ्गवपण्डितचन्द्रशेखरझा-पण्डितगङ्गाधरमिश्र - पण्डितमुरलीधरठाकुर - पण्डितबलदेवमिश्र - पण्डिताजबलालठाकुर-ज्यौतिषमार्तण्डसीतारामझा-पण्डितमधुकान्तझा - मण्डितानूपमिश्रप्रभृतिज्योतिर्विदामध्यापकः, लीलावतीबीजगणितयोः प्रामाणिकः टीकाकारः, सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेकस्य सिद्धान्तशिरोमणेश्च

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[१] मिथिलामण्डलान्तर्गत-'तरौनी'-ग्रामवास्तव्यः ।

[२] मिथिलान्तर्वर्त्ति-'नवानी'-ग्रामनिवासी ।

[३] मुजफ्फरपुरमण्डलान्तर्गत-सीतामढीसमीपस्थ-'गाढा'-ग्रामवासी ।

[४] दरभंगामण्डले 'भराम'-ग्रामनिवासी ।

संशोधकः, श्रीबापूदेवशास्त्रिविरचितत्रिकोणमितेर्नवीनयुक्त्या सम्पादकः पण्डितमुरलीधरझा ज्यौतिषशास्त्रे सुरभारतीं सम्यगसेवत ।

(७) पण्डित**ब्रजविहारी चतुर्वेदी**[१] (वि. सं. १९२६), पटनास्थराजकीयायुर्वेदिकमहाविद्यालयस्य संस्थापकः, भारतशासनेन ‘ वैद्यरत्नम् ’-इत्युपाधिना सम्मानितः, लोकसेवापरायणः, श्रीचतुर्वेदिमहोदयः शास्त्रतत्त्वेन्दुशेखर - शास्त्रतत्त्वरत्नायुर्वेदतत्त्वरत्नाकर - त्रुटिविवेक - मनोविज्ञानादिग्रन्थानां रचनां कृत्वा आयुर्वेदस्य विकासे विशिष्टयोगमदात् ।

(८) महामहोपाध्यायः सर् डाक्टर् **गङ्गानाथझा**[२](१८९१-१९४२ई), योगसारसंग्रह - काव्यप्रकाश - छान्दोग्योपनिषत् - प्रशस्तपादभाष्य - खण्डनखाद्यतन्त्रवार्तिक - तर्कभाषा - सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी - योगभाष्य - शाबरभाष्य-न्यायभाष्यश्लोकवार्तिक - काव्यालंकारसूत्र - तत्त्वसंग्रहप्रभृतीनां विविधविषयविशिष्टग्रन्थानामांग्लभाषायामनुवादं कृत्वा आंग्लजगति संस्कृतभाषाया विविधशास्त्रीयग्रन्थानां प्रचारकः, प्रसन्नराघव - न्यायदर्शन - मीमांसानुक्रमणी-शाण्डिल्यसूत्र- न्यायप्रकाशवैशेषिकदर्शनादिग्रन्थानां व्याख्याकारः, संकृस्तविदुषा केनाप्यद्यावध्यनधिगतेन सर्डाक्टर् महामहोपाध्यायेतिसंमिलितोपाधित्रयेण विभूषितः, काशीस्थराजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयस्य प्रथमो भारतीयः प्राचार्यः, प्रयागविश्वविद्यालयस्य नव वर्षाणि यावदुपकुलपतिपदमलंकर्त्ता, भारतीयसंस्कृतेः पाश्चात्यसभ्यतायाश्च संमिलिता प्रतिमूर्त्तिः, मिथिलामहीमण्डनो गङ्गानाथझा सुरभारत्याः श्लाघनीयः सेवक आसीत् ।

(९) महामहोपाध्याय - पण्डित**बालकृष्णमिश्रः**[३] (१८८८ ई), पण्डितोग्रानन्दझा- पण्डितकेदारनाथ ओझा-पण्डितबदरीनाथशुक्ल-डाक्टर्वीरमण्युपाध्याय ,- पण्डितसदानन्दझाप्रभृतीनां विविधशास्त्रेषु लब्धकीर्तीनां विदुषां विद्यादाता श्रीझामहोदयः गौतमसूत्रवृत्ति-उभयाभावादिवारकपरिष्कारप्रकाश - राधान्यनद्विशत्यादिग्रन्थानां रचयिता आसीत् ।

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[१] मुजफ्फरमण्डलान्तर्गत-‘ हाजीपुर ’-निवासी ।

[२] दरभंगामण्डलान्तर्गत-‘ सरिसव ’-ग्रामे समुत्पन्नः ।

[३] दरभंगामण्डलान्तर्वर्ति-‘ सरिसव ’-ग्रामनिवासी ।

(१०) महामहोपाध्यायपण्डित - **रामावतारशर्मा** (१८७८ ई.), यूरोपीयदर्शन - परमार्थदर्शन - प्रियदर्शिप्रशस्ति - मारुतिशतक - भारतीयेतिवृत्त-मुद्गरदूत - संस्कृतनिबन्धावली - शब्दार्णवप्रभृतिग्रन्थानां निर्माता, पण्डितबलदेवप्रसादोपाध्याय-पण्डितराजहरिशङ्करपाण्डेय-पण्डितरामनारायणशर्म-प्रभृतीनां विदुषामध्यापकः, विहारप्रदेशस्थछपराभूमिभूषणः, भारतस्य प्रथमराष्ट्रपतिना देशरत्नराजेन्द्रप्रसादेन - 'विंशशताब्द्या अद्भुतो विद्वान् युगस्यास्य वृहस्पतिः'- इति अद्भुतपाण्डित्येन विलक्षणवर्णितः व्यक्तित्वेन च सम्पन्नः पण्डितरामावतारशर्मा आधुनिकयुगस्य वस्तुतो बृहस्पतिरेवासीत् । तस्य संस्कृतसेवाऽविस्मरणीया ।

(११) महामहोपाध्यायः **पण्डितहरिहरकृपालुद्विवेदी** (वि. सं. १९२७) सर्वशास्त्रपारङ्गतः, शास्त्रार्थमहारथी, अप्रतिहतवाक्शक्तिसम्पन्नः, अध्यापने लेखने च विलक्षणशैलीसमन्वितः, विद्वत्तापूर्णेन वाक्पाटवेन धाराप्रवाहिसंस्कृतभाषणेन च सर्वेषां विस्मयकारी श्री द्विवेदिमहोदयः जन्मना प्रयागमण्डलं मण्डितवान् परं तु निवासेन सेवया चायं विहारप्रदेशस्यैव बहुमूल्यं रत्नम् । अस्य प्रकाण्डपाण्डित्यस्य सर्वतोमुख्याः प्रतिभायाश्च प्रकाशेनाधुनापि विहारप्रदेश उद्भासितोऽस्ति ।

एभिरेव महार्घरत्नैः धन्येयं सुरभारती महामहिमान्विता विराजते ।

एवमेव सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रः पण्डितबालबोधमिश्रः, कविशेखरः पण्डितबदरीनाथझा, ज्यौतिषमार्तण्डः पण्डितसीतारामझा, भिषगाचार्यः श्रीप्रियव्रतशर्मा, विद्यालंकारः पण्डितदिनेशप्रसादपाण्डेयः, इमे विहारप्रदेशस्य गौरववर्द्धकाः सततसंस्कृतसेवापरायणधियः सुधियः मौलिकग्रन्थानां टीकाग्रन्थानां च निर्माणेन संस्कृतस्य विकासे विशेषयोगदातारः विशेषतः समुल्लेखनीयाः सन्ति ।

अन्यान्यविधाः संस्कृतसेवाः

(१) **धार्मिकग्रन्थानां रचनया**—विहारप्रदेशः संस्कृतस्य माध्यमेन बौद्धधर्मस्य जैनधर्मस्य च प्रचारकस्तथा शिव-शक्ति-विष्णु-सूर्याणां पूजायाः प्रतिष्ठापकश्चास्ति । द्वादशशताब्दीतः षोडशशताब्दीं यावद् हिन्दुधर्मस्य

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महत्त्वपूर्णस्य अस्याङ्गस्यापि संस्कृतस्य माध्यमेनात्र व्यापको विकासः सञ्जातः । शास्त्रार्थेषु विभिन्नमतावलम्बिनो विदुषो विजित्य धार्मिकग्रन्थानां च रचनया अत्रत्या विद्वांसः शिवविष्णुप्रभृतिदेवानां पूजापद्धतेः कर्मकाण्डस्य च पूर्णप्रतिष्ठां कृतवन्तः । इत्थं विहारप्रदेशोऽयं न केवलं साहित्यिकाध्यात्मिकशास्त्रीयग्रन्थानां निर्माणेनैव अपि तु विविधहिन्दुधर्मसम्बन्धिग्रन्थानां रचनाभिश्च संस्कृतस्य विकासे योगदानमकरोत् ।

(२) **शास्त्रार्थप्रणाल्या**—मिथिलायाः राजसभा शास्त्रार्थप्रणाल्या संस्कृतस्य विकासे संस्कृतविदुषां संमानने च वैदिककालादेव सुविख्याता । पाटलीपुत्रस्य राजसभा शास्त्रार्थपद्धत्या शास्त्रकाराणां परीक्षणे संमानने च प्राङ्मौर्यकालादेव प्रसिद्धेति राजशेखरेण संकेतितम्[1] । मिथिलानरेशानां 'धौतपरीक्षा' तु सुविदितैव । अधुनापि विहारशासनेन समये समये संस्कृतविदुषां शास्त्रार्थस्य निबन्धप्रतियोगितायाश्चायोजनं कृत्वा संस्कृतं प्रति जनमानसेऽभिरुचिं वर्धयितुं यत्नः क्रियत एव ।

(३) **विश्वविद्यालयानां विद्यालयनां पुस्तकालयानां च स्थापनया**—प्राचीनकाले नालन्दायाः विक्रमशिलायाश्च विश्वविश्रुतौ विश्वविद्यालयौ संस्कृतविद्यायाः केन्द्रे आस्ताम् । सुदूरदेशेभ्यो जिज्ञासवोऽत्रागत्य विविधविषयेषु ज्ञानमर्जयन्ति स्म । अनेन संस्थानद्वयेन बौद्धसाहित्यस्य विशेषतः तन्त्रसाहित्यस्य विकासे विशिष्टो योगो दत्तः ।

अष्टमशतके—नालन्दाविश्वविद्यालयस्य प्रसिद्धो विद्वान् शान्तिदेवः[2] बौद्धसाहित्ये तन्त्रसाहित्ये च सूत्रसमुच्चय-शिक्षासमुच्चय-बोधिचर्यावतार-तन्त्रावलिविध्यादिग्रन्थान् विरचितवान् । विक्रमशिलायाः आचार्याः ज्ञानपद-जितारि-रत्नाकरसेन-दीपङ्कर-श्रीज्ञानप्रभृतयस्तन्त्रसाहित्यकाराः विश्वविश्रुता आसन् ।

नालन्दायास्तथा विक्रमशिलायास्तन्त्रसाहित्यकारा बौद्धसाहित्यकाराश्च चीन-जापान-तिब्बतप्रभृतीन् दूरदेशान् गत्वा तत्रत्यासु भाषासु संस्कृतग्रन्थाना-

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[1] काव्यमीमांसा, अ. १०

[2] भागलपुर-सबौर-निवासी ।

मनुवादं कृत्वा संस्कृतस्य विविधशास्त्रीयविषयाणां प्रचारमकुर्वन् । नालन्दाया विक्रमशिलायाश्च पुस्तकालया हस्तलिखितैरसंख्येयैर्दुर्लभग्रन्थरत्नैः परिपूर्णा आसन् । संस्कृतस्य विकासेऽनयोर्विश्वविद्यालययोरत्रत्यानां पुस्तकालयानां च योगदानानि विदेशियात्रिभिरपि प्रशंसितानि ।

अधुनापि कामेश्वरसिंहदरभंगासंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयः दरभंगास्थराजपुस्तकालयश्च प्राचीनगौरवस्य रक्षणे तत्परौ स्तः । संस्कृतस्य विकासे मिथिलाधिपतीनां योगदानानि तु संस्कृतशिक्षया विकासस्येतिहासे स्वर्णाक्षरैर्लेख्यानि सन्ति ।

अध्ययनाध्यापनद्वारा संस्कृतस्य विकासाय प्राचीनकाले अस्मिन् प्रदेशे राजतः समाजतश्च सम्पोषणं प्राप्य अनेके विद्यालयाः मिथिला-गया - खरखुरा-छपरा - धाना - मठप्रभृतिषु स्थानेषु स्थापिता आसन्; अधुनापि ते सन्ति । संस्कृतशिक्षाया विकासे एषां विद्यालयानां योगदानानि प्रशंसनीयानि सन्ति ।

विहारशासनेनापि संस्कृतस्य विकासाय बहुविधो यत्नः क्रियते। राज्येऽनेके राजकीया विद्यालयाः महाविद्यालयाश्च स्थापिताः सन्ति । यत्र विद्यार्थिनां साहाय्यार्थं विशिष्टा छात्रवृत्तिरपि प्रदीयते । प्रदेशस्य विभिन्नस्थानेषु शोधसंस्थानानि संस्थापितानि, गवेषकाणामनुसन्धित्सूनां च साहाय्यस्य व्यवस्था कृता, पठन - पाठन - पद्धतिः नवीना प्रचालिता, सेवायां संस्कृतविदुषां स्तरोन्नयनं कृतम्, इत्येवंविधानि विहारशासने कृतानि क्रियमाणानि च योगदानानि भूरि भूरि प्रशंसनीयानि सन्तीत्यलम् ।

।। भारतीयदर्शने मिथिलाया अवदानम् ।।

BIHAR'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

SRI ANANTALAL THAKUR
Director, K. P. Jayaswal Institute, Patna

भारतीयवाङ्मये मिथिलाया अवदानं बहु विस्तृतं वैशिष्ट्यपूर्णं च। दर्शनप्रस्थानेषु पुनर्मैथिलकृतयो विषयानन्यान् गुणबाहुल्येन संख्याधिक्येन चातिशेरते। सुबहोः कालादेव मैथिलेषु तत्त्वचिन्ता लब्धप्रसरा दृश्यते। शुक्लयजुर्वेदप्रस्थापको भगवान् वाजसनेयो याज्ञवल्क्यः प्रमुखः प्राचीनमैथिलदार्शनिकेष्वित्यत्र नातिकथनमपेक्षते। शुक्लयजुःसंहिताया अन्तिमोऽध्याय ईशावास्यमन्त्रोपनिषदित्याख्यायते, इतरा उपनिषदो ब्राह्मणभागसन्निविष्टत्वान् न मन्त्रोपनिषदः। शातपथी बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत् व्याख्याभूता तस्या एव मन्त्रोपनिषद इति न तिरोहितम्। ब्रह्मिष्ठतमस्य महर्षेर्याज्ञवल्क्यस्य संवादा बृहदारण्यकविधृता अर्वाक्तनदर्शनप्रस्थानानां बीजभूता इति निःसन्दिग्धमेव। याज्ञवल्क्यो जनुषा मैथिलो न वेति वर्तते विवादः। निवासस्तस्य मिथिलायाम् आश्रयश्च जनको वैदेह इत्यत्र बृहदारण्यकोपनिषन् महाभारतादिकं च प्रमाणम्।

जनकं च राजर्षिं जना जनको जनक इति धावन्ति स्म ज्ञानाय च धनाय च, यस्मै याज्ञवल्क्यो ब्रह्मपारायणं जगौ, ऋषिश्च पञ्चशिखः सांख्ययोगविद्यां ददौ, सहस्रं च तत्त्वविदां यमाश्रयते स्म, यश्च प्रस्थापकोऽद्वैतवादस्य निष्कामकर्मवादस्य च परिस्तुतस्य भगवद्गीतासु। तस्येयं गाथा भारतादिषु स्मर्यते-

अनन्तं बत मे वित्तं यस्य मे नास्ति किञ्चन।
मिथिलायां प्रदीप्तायां न मे दह्यति किञ्चन ॥

इति। जनकसभायां न केवलं याज्ञवल्क्यस्य, अपि त्वष्टावक्रस्य सुलभाया गार्ग्याश्च ख्यातिप्राप्तिः स्मर्यते। वैयासकेः शुकस्य जनकोपासनं प्रथितं भारतसंहितायाम्। भारतीये धर्मव्याधकौशिकसंवादे मिथिलाभवस्येतरजनस्यापि तत्त्वचिन्तोत्कर्षो निदर्शितः।

दर्शनप्रस्थानेषु आन्वीक्षिकी मिथिलासमुद्भवेति दृढा प्रसिद्धिः। न्यायसूत्रकारोऽक्षपादो गौतमोऽभिन्नोऽहल्यापतेरिति स्कन्दपुराणम्। वादपरम्पराया निदर्शनं भूयसा मिथिलायां दृश्यत इति वादशास्त्रस्य निर्माणमपि तत्रैव शोभतेतराम्। गौतमकुण्डोऽहल्यास्थानं च मिथिलामण्डलस्थे तदेव मतं परिपुष्णीतः। वैशेषिकसूत्रकारस्य कणादस्य सांख्यसूत्रकारस्य च कपिलस्य मिथिलासंबन्धो जनश्रुतिविधृतो वर्तते विदेहेषु।

उत्पत्तिर्यत्र कुत्रापिं वा भवतु, प्रचारस्तु समेषां दर्शनानां विदेहेषु सुस्पष्टं दृश्यते। कारणमस्य भूमेः सस्यसम्पत्, जनानां बुद्धितैक्ष्ण्यं विद्यानुरागश्च, असङ्कटबहुला राजनैतिकी स्थितिश्च।

शौद्धोदनेर्भगवतस्तथागतस्य तीर्थङ्करस्य महावीरस्य च प्रादुर्भावो मिथिलासन्निहितयोः प्रदेशयोरभूत्। तयोर्मतं न मैथिलैरूरीकृतम्। अवान्तरबौद्धैः साकं मैथिलाचार्याणां सारस्वती स्पर्धा विदितचरा। जैनाचार्यैः पुनरनेकान्तोपासकैर्मैथिलमतानि प्रतिबन्धकेऽसति स्वीकृतानि। उभयत्र सन्दर्भोद्धारादिभिः संरक्षितानि न्यायादिमतानि।

बुद्धान्महावीराच्चानन्तरं सुदीर्घं कालं भारतीयदर्शनं घातप्रतिघातमुखेन वृद्धिमवाप। प्राचीनानां कालदेशनिर्णयोऽसुकरः। न्यायशास्त्रे मीमांसाशास्त्रे च मैथिलकृतयो बाहुल्येन दृष्टिपथमापतन्ति। कुमारिलकृतिव्याख्यायां मैथिलानामाग्रहः, मैथिलप्रतिपक्षभूतैः शान्तरक्षित-रत्नकीर्तिप्रभृतिभिर्बृहट्टीकादिभ्यः श्लोकोद्धारश्च कृतः। प्राभाकरैर्भाट्टानां विवाद आदितो निरूढः। प्राभाकराश्च गौडेषु लब्धप्रसरा आसन्। मण्डनमिश्रोऽपि स्वीक्रियते मैथिलैः। मिथिलायां माहिष्मती प्रसिद्धा। मण्डनधर्मपत्नी शोणभद्रतीरोद्भवेति, मण्डनेन मिलितुं भगवान् शङ्करः प्रयागादुत्तरस्यां दिशि प्रस्थितवान् इति च तत्पोषके प्रमाणे। मण्डनोऽयं शङ्करशिष्यात् सुरेश्वरादभिन्न इत्यत्र सुरेश्वरवार्त्तिके मण्डनमतखण्डनं बाधकम्, मण्डनस्य भर्तृहर्यनुसरणं शङ्करमतवितृष्णा चात्र विवेचनीये। श्रीधरादिभिर्गौडाचार्यैर्मण्डनसन्दर्भोद्धारः, वाचस्पतेः पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसाव्याख्यायां मण्डनकृतविधिविवेकब्रह्मसिद्ध्योः समादरः, भामत्यां च शाङ्करभाष्यव्याख्यायामितस्ततो मण्ड-

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नानुसरणं तदीयं प्राच्यत्वमेव पुष्णन्ति । भाट्टप्राभाकरवत् मीमांसासम्प्रदायान्तरप्रवर्तको मुरारिमिश्रो मिथिलाभव इति स्वीकृतमेतत् ।

वाचस्पतेर्मैथिलत्वे न कस्यापि सन्देहः । तदीये काले मिथिला सर्वविद्यानिधाना आसीत् । स्वयं चासौ सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रः । गुरुरस्याचार्यस्त्रिलोचनो न्यायमञ्जरीं न्यायप्रकीर्णकं च निर्मितवान् । तन्मतानि ज्ञानश्रिया रत्नकीर्तिना अनिरुद्धेन अन्यैश्च कैश्चित् परामृष्टानि । वाचस्पतेस्तात्पर्यटीकायां प्राचीनाचार्यव्याख्यावैमुख्येन त्रिलोचनानुरक्तिः कारणमित्यनिरुद्धः । मीमांसायां विधिविवेकव्याख्या न्यायकणिका, तत्त्वबिन्दुप्रकरणं च, वेदान्ते शारीरकभाष्यव्याख्या भामती, ब्रह्मसिद्धिव्याख्या ब्रह्मतत्त्वसमीक्षा च, न्यायशास्त्रे न्यायवार्तिकोपरि तात्त्पर्यटीका, न्यायसूचीनिबन्धश्च, सांख्ये ईश्वरकृष्णकारिकाव्याख्या तत्त्वकौमुदी, योगशास्त्रे च व्यासभाष्यव्याख्या तत्त्ववैशारदी वाचस्पतेरवदानानि । प्रायः सर्वेषु ग्रन्थेषु धर्मकीर्तिमतानि समालोचितानि वाचस्पतिना । स्वयं च समालोचितोऽसौ ज्ञानश्रिया रत्नकीर्तिना च विक्रमशीलाचार्याभ्याम् । देशतः कालतश्च वाचस्पतिसन्निहिता अन्ये बहवो न्यायाचार्या आसन् येषु अविद्धकर्णोऽध्ययनो भाविविक्तः शङ्करो वित्तोको नरसिंहः शतानन्दश्च शान्तरक्षित-कमलशील दुर्वेक-ज्ञानश्री-रत्नकीर्तिप्रभृतिभिर्वौद्धाचार्यैर्नामग्राहं ससन्दर्भोद्धारं च परामृष्टाः । नूनं तेषु केचने मैथिलाः स्युः । सत्स्वेतावत्सु न्यायग्रन्थकारेषु वाचस्पतिरेव कालजयी । अन्ये तु विलुप्तिं गता इति तस्य किमपि लोकोत्तरत्वं समायाति ।

वाचस्पतितो नातिदूर एव श्लोकवार्त्तिक-काशिकाकारः सुचरितमिश्रः समुल्लिखितो रत्नकीर्तिना । अनन्तरं च समायातस्तन्त्रवार्त्तिकव्याख्याता परितोषमिश्रो न्यायरत्नमाला-तन्त्ररत्न-शास्त्रदीपिका-न्यायरत्नाकरकारः पार्थसारथिमिश्रश्च । इतस्ततो न्यायग्रन्थेषु परत्र च मीमांसामहोदधिः मीमांसामहार्णवो माहाव्रती न्यायमहार्णवश्च परामर्शमायान्ति । तेषां मैथिलत्वं संभाव्यते । अर्वाचीने काले पुनः अधिकरणमालाकारो गोविन्दठक्कुरोऽधिकरणकौमुदीकारश्च देवनाथठक्कुरो मैथिलावास्ताम् ।

सत्यपि मीमांसाचर्चाप्राचुर्ये वाचस्पत्युत्तरकाले मिथिलायां न्यायविद्यैव मुख्यत्वमाप । न्यायशास्त्रेतिहास एव मैथिलसंस्कृतेर्मुख्यो गौरवविषयः । न्यायस्य

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वादशास्त्रत्वं सुप्रसिद्धम् । पक्षप्रतिपक्षपरिग्रहस्तत्रानिवार्यः । उभयोः पराक्रमश्च शास्त्रयोर्विवृद्धिहेतुः । आदित उदयनाचार्यं यावत् बौद्धाचार्या नैयायिकानां प्रतिपक्षभूता आसन् । वाचस्पतेः पूर्ववर्त्ती प्रौढगौडनैयायिकः सानातनिरपि तत्प्रतिपक्षत्वेन समुपस्थापितो मैथिलाचार्यैः । मुहम्मदीयैर्नालन्दाविक्रमशीलयोर्विश्वविद्यालययोर्विनाशे जाते वेदान्तिनः प्राभाकराश्च मीमांसका न्यायप्रतिपक्षरूपेण स्वीकृताः । नव्यन्यायप्रस्थाने तु आदौ मैथिलेषु गङ्गेश-वटेश्वरसंप्रदाययोरनन्तरं च पक्षधर-वासुदेवसार्वभौमसंप्रदाययोः सारस्वतो विवादो दृश्यते । प्रतिपक्षनिराकरणपूर्वकं स्वसंप्रदायस्थापनेन प्रतिपर्व न्यायशास्त्रे विवृद्धिः संजाता ।

वाचस्पतिमतानि न्यायकणिकागतानि तात्पर्यटीकागतानि च ज्ञानश्रीमित्रादिभिः समुद्धृत्य खण्डितानि । वाचस्पतेरनन्तरं श्रीवत्सानिरुद्धौ न्यायमतमलंचक्रतुः । आद्यस्तयोर्वाचस्पतिद्वेषीति परिशुद्धावुदयनेन तन्मतानि व्युदस्तानि । द्वितीयस्य विवरणमपि परिशुद्धौ परामृष्टम् । साम्प्रतमेवानिरुद्धकृता तात्पर्यविवरणपञ्जिका अंशतो लोकलोचनपथं प्राप्ता । उदयनस्तु तात्पर्यटीकाव्याख्यातृषु प्रमुखः । प्राचीनन्यायप्रस्थानेऽयमन्तिम आचार्यः नवीनप्रस्थाने च प्रथमः । अयं पुनराद्यो वैशेषिकाचार्यः शालिकनाथ-श्रीधराचार्ययोर्गौडीयवैशेषिकयोर्मतानि खण्डितवान् । वैशेषिकपदार्थपरा लक्षणावली पदार्थधर्मसंग्रहव्याख्यानरूपा किरणावली चोदयनकृते समुपलभ्येते । न्यायशास्त्रे पुनर्न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिरात्मतत्त्वविवेकश्च प्रकरणे परमात्मजीवात्मप्रतिपादनपरे, तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धिर्वाचस्पतितात्पर्यटीकाव्याख्यारूपा, लक्षणमाला च न्यायपदार्थलक्षणात्मिका तदीयाः कृतयः । परिशुद्धिरंशतः प्रकाशिता लक्षणमाला च पूर्णतया । आत्मतत्त्वविवेकस्य बौद्धाधिकारो वा बौद्धधिक्कारो वेति नामान्तरम् । कल्याणरक्षितो वा शुभगुप्तो वा उदयनमप्रतिपक्ष इति केषाञ्चिन्मतं न क्षोदक्षमम् । ज्ञानश्रिया रत्नकीर्तिना च तस्य दृढः संबन्धोऽस्माभिरन्यत्र सप्रमाणमुपन्यस्तः । कल्याणरक्षितेन पुनर्न लक्षितो दूरोऽपि संबन्धस्तस्य ।

श्रीहर्षेण खण्डनखण्डखाद्ये उदयनीयानि लक्षणानि समालोचितानि । कालान्तरे वर्धमानोपाध्यायेन द्वितीयवाचस्पतिना च खण्डनोद्धारो विहितः । शङ्करमिश्रस्य खण्डनटीकायां कृतं शल्यसारथ्यं सुविदितमेव ।

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न्यायवैशेषिकशास्त्रे उदयनादनन्तरं शिवादित्यस्य सप्तपदार्थी, श्रीवल्लभस्य न्यायलीलावती, शशधरस्य न्यायसिद्धान्तदीपः मणिकण्ठकृतो न्यायरत्नं च प्रसिद्धानि उपजीव्यानि च तत्त्वचिन्तामणिकर्तुर्गङ्गेशोपाध्यायस्य। तरणिमिश्रकृतो रत्नकोषो बहुपरामृष्टं न्यायसूत्रव्याख्यानम्, न चेदमुपलभ्यतेऽद्य। चर्चा तु रत्नकोषमतस्य मणिकण्ठ-गङ्गेश-वर्धमान-नव्यवाचस्पति-शङ्करमिश्र-वंशधरोपाध्याय-केशवमिश्रतर्काचार्यादिभिः कृता।

नव्यन्यायप्रस्थाने गङ्गेशोपाध्यायस्य तत्त्वचिन्तामणिर्न्यायप्रकरणं प्रमाणमात्रपर्यालोचनापरम्। गुणगौरवेन चायं सर्वान् नव्यग्रन्थानतिशेते। अत्र प्रतिपक्षत्वेन भूयसा प्राभाकरमतं समागच्छति। स्वल्पपरिज्ञाता अपरिज्ञाताश्च मैथिलन्यायाचार्या नारायणसर्वज्ञो रवीश्वरः, कुसुमाञ्जलिपरिमलकृद् दिवाकरोपाध्यायः, न्यायनिबन्धव्याख्याता प्रभाकरोपाध्यायः, सोन्दडोपाध्यायो, न्यायभास्करकारो, हरिनाथोपाध्यायश्च गङ्गेशेन चिन्तामणौ परामृष्टा इति तट्टीकापर्यालोचनया परिज्ञायते। इमे सर्व एव मैथिला स्युरिति प्रतिभाति। चिन्तामणिव्याख्यासंख्यानं सुदुष्करम्। मैथिलेषु गौडीयेषु दाक्षिणात्येषु चास्य समादरातिरेकः सुदीर्घकालादेव प्रसृतः।

गङ्गेशप्रतिपक्षो न्यायदर्पणकारो वटेश्वरोपध्यायः मैथिलेषु नव्यन्यायसम्प्रदायान्तरं स्थापितवान् यत्र चिन्तामणिप्रभानिर्माता यज्ञपत्युपाध्यायः संजातः। तत्सूनुश्च नरहरिर्यज्ञपतिदूषणोद्धारं विदधे। अयं च दर्पणप्रस्थानाचार्यस्य पक्षधरापरनामकस्य चिन्तामण्यालोककर्तुः शिष्य आसीत्।

गङ्गेशतनयो वर्धमानोपाध्यायः पितृमतमुररीकृत्य अन्वीक्षानयतत्त्वबोधाख्यां न्यायसूत्रव्याख्यां परिशुद्धिप्रकाशं न्यायपरिशिष्टप्रकाशं कुसुमाञ्जलिप्रकाशं किरणावलिप्रकाशं लीलावतीप्रकाशं खण्डनप्रकाशं खण्डनोद्धारं बौद्धाधिकारप्रकाशं तर्कभाषाप्रकाशं च विहितवान्। नव्यदृष्ट्या प्राचीनग्रन्थनिर्मातृषु वर्धमानः प्राधान्यं भजते।

यज्ञपतिसमकालिकौ नव्यवाचस्पतिः शङ्करमिश्रश्च। वाचस्पतेर्न्यायशास्त्रे दशनिबन्धा आसन्निति प्रसिद्धिः। तेषु न्यायतत्त्वालोकाख्या न्यायसूत्र-

वृत्तिः, न्यायरत्नप्रकाशः, तत्त्वचिन्तामणिप्रकाशः, खण्डनोद्धारश्च प्रसिद्धाः। शङ्करकृतिषु चिन्तामणिमयूखः त्रिसूत्रीनिबन्धव्याख्या भेदप्रकाशः, खण्डनटीका, कणादरहस्यम्, वादिविनोदो वैशेषिकसूत्रोपस्कारश्च परिज्ञातानि। भेदप्रकाशे शङ्करेण मधुसूदनसरस्वतीमतं खण्डितम्। मधुसूदनेनापि अद्वैतरत्नरक्षणे शङ्करमतं स्वदृष्ट्या व्युदस्तम्।

वाचस्पतिशङ्करयोरवर आसीत् पक्षधरो जयदेवः। तच्छिष्यौ वासुदेवसार्वभौमो रघुनाथशिरोमणिश्च नव्यन्याये गौडसम्प्रदायप्रवर्तकौ। सत्स्वपि गौडीयनव्यन्यायग्रन्थेषु बहुषु पक्षधरीयालोकस्य प्रभावस्तेषु अम्लान आसीत् सुदीर्घं कालम्।

रघुनाथेन पक्षधरपक्षः खण्डितः। मधुसूदन-नरहरिप्रभृतिभिश्च शिरोमणिमतं खण्डितम्। मधुसूदनेन आलोककण्टकोद्धारो विहितः। महेशठक्कुरेण चालोकोपरि दर्पणो निर्मितः। रुचिदत्तेन तत्त्वचिन्तामणिप्रकाशः कुसुमाञ्जलिप्रकाशमकरन्दः द्रव्यप्रकाशमकरन्दः द्रव्यप्रकाशविवृतिः लीलावतीविलासश्च निर्मिताः। धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्रेण तत्सूनुना रामकृष्णाध्वरीन्द्रेण, वैद्यनाथदीक्षितेन, ताक्ष्र्यनारायणेन च रुचिदत्तव्याख्यापरिष्कारो विहितः। रुचिदत्तग्रन्थानां दाक्षिणात्येष्वेव बहुलः प्रचारः, न तथा गौडेषु विदेहेषु वा। गोकुलनाथोपाध्यायो बहुग्रन्थनिर्माता मैथिलन्यायमतपरिपोषकः समालोचकश्च गौडीयन्यायमतानाम्। तस्मिन्नेव गौडमैथिलसारस्वतप्रतिस्पर्द्धिता समाप्तिं गता।

अनन्तरं मिथिलायामपि गौडीयग्रन्थानां समादरोऽभूत्। सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रेण धर्मदत्तोपाध्यायेन गौडीयग्रन्थोपरि विवेचना निर्मिता। तथैव तच्छिष्येण शशिनाथोपाध्यायेन।

अतुलनीया नव्यमैथिलग्रन्थसम्पद् आचार्याणां शिष्याणां च वैमुख्येनान्धकारमयं हस्तलिखितमातृकागृहमाश्रितवती। तस्याः समुद्धरणविधौ भारते वर्षे बहिर्भारतं च प्रयत्न इतस्ततः सञ्जातः किन्तु अपेक्षितः सामूहिकः प्रयत्नातिरेकः। तदर्थं विश्वसंस्कृतसंमेलनघटकानामिदंप्रथमतया अवधानं कामये। अन्यथा सुदीर्धया तपस्यया प्रज्वालितो ज्ञानमयः प्रदीपोऽचिरादेव निर्वाणमेष्यति॥

CONTRIBUTION OF MITHILĀ TO SANSKRIT

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Mithilā, the sacred land of Janaka, where Sītā was born,[1] has been the seat of Sanskrit learning from time immemorial. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* Mithilā is a part of northern India surrounded by the Kauśikī on the east, Gaṇḍakī on the west, Gangā on the south and the Himalayas on the north. The torch of scholarship and culture has been kept burning brightly here throughout the ages.[2]

The earliest available references prove that Mithilā was for long a centre of Vedic and Upaniṣadic lore. Not only among poets and the learned peole but also among the lower classes of the society the light of knowledge has been kept alive during the several centuries.[3]

Mithilā laid the foundations for the four systems of orthodox Indian Philosophy from about 1000 B.C. to the later periods. Akṣapāda Gautama, Kaṇāda, Jaimini and Kapila expounded the theory of the Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāmsā and Sāṅkhya respectively for the first time, undoubtedly before the Christian era.

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[1] Jātā sā yatra sītā saridamalajalā vāgvatī yatra puṇyā
yātrāste sannidhāne suranagaranadī bhairavo yatra liṅgaṁ |
mīmāṁsā-nyāya-vedādhyayana-paṭutaraiḥ paṇḍitair maṇḍitā yā
bhūdevo yatra bhūpo yajana-vasumatī śāsti me tīrabhuktiḥ ||
Vidyākarasahasraka, p. 147.

[2] See *Maithila Prabhā*, 11, Nos. 11–12, p. 17 and *History of Tirhut*, p. 3.

[3] *Darbhanga Gazetteer*, p. 22.
" The history of Mithilā does not centre round valiant feats of arms, but round courts engrossed in the luxurious enjoyment of literature and learning,......with courts devoted to learning and culture where poets and philosophers lived in honour and affluence, our first impulse is to look for some traces of superior mental developments in the mind of the people at large, at least for some grains of enlightenment fallen from the over-flowing store of their masters."

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In non-orthodox philosophy also in Bihar, Gautama Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra deserve special mention as propounders of the Bauddha and Jaina Philosophy respectively. They spent most of their time in some parts of Mithilā like Vaiśālī or near its boundaries, in pursuit of knowledge. These two philosophies were criticised by many scholars of Mithilā and finally the supremacy of Brahmanical thought was re-established for ever by Udayanācārya, a Maithila. To name some among many scholars of Mithilā who rendered valuable services to the cause of Sanskrit literature, particularly the Nyāya philosophy are Gautama, Uddyotakara, Vācaspati, Udayanācārya, Gaṅgeśopādhyāya, Vardhamāna, Pakṣadhara and Bhagīratha Ṭhākura.[4]

Similarly great scholars of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā School like Jaimini, Prabhākara, Maṇḍana Miśra, Śālikanātha Miśra, Vācaspati Miśra, Sucarita Miśra, Pārthasārathi Miśra, Paritoṣa Miśra and others flourished in Mithilā in the different ages.

In Literature Govardhanācārya, Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, Umāpati, Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākura, Kavikokila Vidyāpati, Keśava Miśra, Bhānudatta Miśra, Murāri Miśra, Govindadāsa, and Govinda Ṭhākura are some of the luminaries hailing from Mithilā.

In Dharmaśāstra, Yājñavalkya, Gautama, Halāyudha, Caṇḍeśvara, Keśava Miśra, Abhinava Vācaspati, Gokulanātha and others have rendered noteworthy services.

It may be mentioned here that Mithilā produced some women scholars also of extraordinary merit, like Gārgī, Maitreyī, Sulabhā, Sunayanā, Bhāratī, Lakhimā and Candrakalā.

In the present century also Mm. Dr. Ganganatha Jha, Mm. Jayadeva Misra, Sarvatantra Svatantra Dharmadatta Bacca Jha, Mahāvaiyākaraṇa Khuddi Jha, Mahāvaiyākaraṇa Dinabandhu Jha, Kaviśekhara Badari Natha Jha, Mm. Harsha Natha Jha, Mm. Dr. Umesa Misra, Lokanatha Jha, Mm. Balakrishna Misra, Sasinatha Jha, Yadunatha Misra, Dr. Amaranatha Jha, Dr. Adityanatha Jha and others have done great service to Sanskrit.

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[4] See Vol. II, H. I. P., Dr. U. Miśra.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika

Mithilā has been the seat of Nyāyaśāstra from Gautama onwards to the 20th century.[5] Gautama's *Nyāyasūtra*, Uddyotakara's *Nyāyavārttika*, Vācaspatimiśra's *Nyāyatātparyaṭīkā* and Udayanācārya's *Nyāyapariśuddhi*, *Nyāya-kusumāñjali*, *Kiraṇāvalī*, *Ātmatattvaviveka*, *Lakṣaṇamālā* and *Lakṣaṇāvalī* are the main works in Prācina Nyāya Vaiśeṣika. In Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Mithilā was a great centre of study till the fourteenth century. It was Udayanācārya who defended the orthodox thought from the attacks of Cārvāka and Bauddha. He vehemently criticised the Buddhist theories of *Kṣaṇabhaṅga*, *Bāhyārthabhaṅga*, *Guṇaguṇībhedabhaṅga* and the theory of universal void (*Anupalaṁbha*). In the whole of the Sanskrit philosophical literature few scholars can be compared with Udayanācārya. In one place he says:

> vayamiha padavidyām tarkamānvīkṣikīm vā
> yadi pathi vipathe vā vartayāmaḥ sa panthāḥ ।
> udayati diśi yasyām bhānumān saiva pūrvā
> na hi taraṇirudīte dikparādhīna-vṛttiḥ ॥

The *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya gave Mithilā the central place in the centuries that followed for perfection of their study.

It was Pakṣadharamiśra who taught Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, the pioneers of the school of Navyanyāya in Bengal.

Vardhamānopādhyāya, Keśavamiśra, Śaṅkaramiśra, Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, Vācaspatimiśra II, Rucipati, Varadarājamiśra, S'aśadhara Upādhyāya, Divākara Upādhyāya, Taraṇimiśra, Soṇḍala Upādhyāya, Maṇikākaṇṭhamiśra, Vaṭeśvara Upādhyāya, Harimiśra, Ṭvantopādhyāya, Gaṅgāditya Upādhyāya, Ghaṭeśopādhyāya, Jīvanāthamiśra, Yajñapati Upādhyāya, Pragalbhamiśra, Gopīnātha Ṭhākura, Narahari Upādhyāya, Mādhavamis'ra, Vāsudevamiśra, Śūlapāṇimiśra, Bhagiratha Ṭhākura, Jagadīśamiśra, Maheśa Ṭhākura, Madhusūdana Ṭhākura, Gopinātha Ṭhākura, Devanātha Ṭhākura, Giridhara Upādhyāya, Santa Gopāla, Bhīṣmamiśra, Rūpanātha Ṭhākura, Viśvanatha Jha, Dharmadatta Bacca Jha, Jayadevamisra, Lokanatha Jha, Yadunāthamisra, Saṣinatha Jha,

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[5] H I P., Dr. U. Mishra,

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Dr. Ganganatha Jha and several others flourished in Mithilā.[6] Special effort is to be made to bring to light the works of these logicians and philosophers of Mithilā. Most of the works of these scholars are published but some are still in manuscripts. The contribution of Mithilā to the field of Nyāyā-Vaiśeṣika is undoubtedly greater than that of all the other philosophical centres of India.

Dharma Śāstra

Scholars of Mithilā have rendered valuable service to the field of Dharmas'āstra and Smṛti literature. They developcd their own school and devoted attention to the writing of the various texts meant to serve as manuals for the observance of rituals and festivals.

Gaṇeśvara wrote *Āhnikoddhāra* dealing with the daily duties of a Brāhmaṇa, *Gayāpattalaka* dealing with the rites that one has to perform at Gayā for the well-being of one's dead relatives and *Sugati-sopāna* dealing with the various kinds of gifts. Gaṇeśvara had written these authentic works in the court of Harisiṁhadeva of Mithilā. Caṇḍeśvara was next to Gaṇeśvara in this field. He was the author of *Smṛtiratnākara* in seven parts i.e., Kṛtyaratnākara, Gṛhastharatnākara, Vivādaratnākara, Vyavahāraratnākara and the Pūjāratnākara. He also compiled a text called *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi* on religious observances, based on the principles of Astrology. His *Śivavākyāvali* is devoted to the worship of Śiva.

Rāmadatta, son of Gaṇeśvara wrote *Daśakarmapaddhati*, the manual of the ten *saṁskāras* of the twice-born (*dvija*) and the *Dānapaddhati*, a manual of gifts. Vīreśvara and Rāmadatta are followed even up to this day in the celebrations of marriages and other rites of Mithilā.

Works of Mm. Rudradhara Upādhyāya are highly esteemed in the field of Dharmaśāstra. His *Śuddhiviveka*, *Śrāddhaviveka* and *Varṣakṛtya* have been commented upon by later writers.

The great Dharmaśāstra scholar (Abhinava) Vācaspati Miśra wrote *Śrāddhacintāmaṇi*, *Vyavahāracintāmaṇi*, *Śuddhinirṇaya*, *Dattakavidhi*, *Dvaitanirṇaya*, *Tithinirṇaya*, *Gayāśrāddhapaddhati*,

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[6] See *History of Navyanyāya* in Mithilā by D. C. Bhaṭṭacharya.

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Prāyaścittacintāmaṇi and *Kṛtyamahārṇava*. His works are supposed to be the authority on Karmakāṇḍa and Dharmaśāstra.

Dvaitapariśiṣṭa of Mm. Keśava Miśra and *Śubhakarmanirṇaya* of Murāri Miśra are also standard works on Dharmaśāstra.

Chandogāhnika and *Ācārādarśa* of Śrīdatta, *Smṛtisudhākara* of Mm. Sudhākara, *Gṛhya Sūtra* of Gautama, *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya, *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* of Maṇḍana Miśra, *Smṛtiparibhāṣā* of Vardhamāna, *Pūjāpradīpa* of Mm. Govinda Ṭhākura, *Ācāraviveka*, *Prāyaścittaviveka* and *Prāyaścittaśūlapāṇi* of Mm. S'ūlapāṇi, *Dvaitanirṇaya* of Narahari, *Ācāradīpaka* of Pavaniyā Sarasvatī, *Prāyaścitta-bhavadeva* and *Dānakarmakriyā* of Bhavadeva Miśra, *Śrāddhadarpaṇa* of Dhanapati Upādhyāya, *Tithinirṇaya* of Mm. S'ubhaṅkara Ṭhākura, *Mīmāṁsārasapallava* of Indramaṇi Ṭhākura, *Dānavākyāvali* of Dhīramati, *Śrāddharatnākara* of Lakṣmīpati, *Chandogāhnika* of Mm. S'aṅkara Miśra, *Māsamīmāṁsā* of Mm. Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, *Smṛtidīpikā* of Vāmadeva, *Ācārādarśa* of Harilāla, *Smṛtikaumudī* of Devanātha Ṭhākura, *Adhikaraṇa-kaumudī* of Narahari, *Saṁskāradīpikā* of Harṣanātha and a number of other works of Maithila scholars have preserved the tradition in the field of Dharmaśāstra and Smṛti.

Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Uttaramimāṁsā

In Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Uttaramīmāṁsā Maṇḍana Miśra was a renowned scholar of Mithilā. Ādi Sankarācārya had come for debate with him. Maṇḍanamiśra wrote standard works like *Bhāvanāviveka*, *Vidhiviveka* and *Brahmasiddhi*.

Prabhākara Miśra was a great interpreter of the *Śābarabhāṣya*. He is called Guru and became famous and founded a school of his own, namely the Prābhākara School. Maṇḍana, Prabhākara and Kumārila were contemporaries.

Sarvatantrasvatantra Vācaspati Miśra wrote *Tattvabindu*, *Bhāmatī* and *Nyāyakaṇikā*.

S'ālikanātha was the direct desciple of Prabhākara. He wrote two commentaries *Dīpaśikhā* on the *Laghvī* and *Ṛjuvimalā-pañcikā* on *Bṛhatī*. His third work is *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*.

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Sucarita Miśra's commentary *Kāśikā* on *Ślokavārttika* is a standard work which is more elucidative than the *Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathī Miśra.

Pārthas'ārathi Mis'ra was a great scholar in Mīmāṁsā after Kumārila and Prabhākara. He wrote *Śāstradīpikā*, *Nyāyaratnakaṇikā*, *Nyāyaratnamālā*, *Tantraratna*, *Ślakavārttika* and *Nyāyaratnākara*. His father Yajñātman was also a great scholar from whom Pārthasārathi learnt the Śāstras. The last verse of *Nyāyaratnamālā* says :—

Bhuvanatrayavikhyāta-śrīmadyajñātma-nandanaḥ |
Tata eva śrutaṁ prāpya viśrutaḥ Pārthasārathiḥ ||

Gurumatācārya Candra was a great scholar of the Prābhākara school. He was the son of Mm. Guṇarati. Murārimiśra II of the 12th century refers to his views in his *Tripādīnītinyāya*. Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhākura, the great Maithila Nibandhakāra, speaks of him as 'Gurumatācārya'. His works are *Nyāyaratnākara* and *Amṛtabindu*.

Bhavanatha Miśra occupies a prominent place in the Prābhākara school. His *Nayaviveka* is a running commentary on the *Pūrvamīmāmsāśāstra* following the *Pañcikā* of Śālikanātha.

Paritoṣa Miśra wrote a commentary called *Ajitā* or (*Tantraṭīkānibandhana*) on *Tantravārttika*. Anantanārayaṇa Miśra, son of Sūryaviṣṇu Miśra wrote a gloss on *Ajitā* called *Vijayāṭīkā*.

Murāri Miśra II was one of the greatest Mīmāmsakas who held independent views on several topics of Pūrvamīmāmsā and hence the proverb "Murāres tṛtīyaḥ panthāḥ" became common among Sanskrit scholars. His views were so distinct and convincing that he was regarded as the founder of the third school of Pūrvamīmāmsā.

Gaṅgādhara Miśra was another noteworthy Mīmāṃsaka writer whose *Nyāyapārāyaṇa* is a commentary on *Tantravārttika*. In the beginning of the text he writes :—

Śālmaligrāmasambhūtabhaṭṭa-someśvarātmajaḥ |
Gaṅgādharo'tigambhīraṁ vyāvṛṇot tantravārttikam ||

Funding by IKS-MoE

Mm. Śaṅkara Miśra was the son of Mm. Bhavanātha Miśra who was a great scholar of Mimāṁsā, Vedānta and Nyāya and wrote a number of commentaries in these branches of study. His *Śāṅkarī* on *Khaṇḍanakhādya* is a commentary of high standard.

Mm. Devanātha Ṭhākura, son of Govinda Ṭhākura was the celebrated author of seven standard works on Smṛti, Tantra, Mīmāṁsā and Sāhitya. Somabhaṭṭa was his teacher of Mīmāṁsā about whom he speaks thus :—

> Somabhaṭṭopadiṣṭena pathā sañcarato'dhunā |
> Mīmāṁsā-viṣayāraṇye śaranaṁ mama bhāratī ||

Śūlapāṇi was a great Mīmāṁsaka, Naiyāyika and Smṛtikāra. In the *Padārtharatnamālā* he has been referred to by Raghunātha.

Gokulanātha Upādhyāya was a scholar of versatile genius even from his boyhood. He wrote *Dikkālanirṇaya*, *Cakraraśmi*, *Dīdhiti-vidyota*, *Kusumāñjali-ṭippaṇa*, *Khaṇḍanakuṭhāra*, *Lāghavagaurava-rahasya*, *Mithyātvanirukti*, *Nyāyasiddhānta-tattva*, *Padavākyaratnākara*, *Śaktivāda*, *Kāvyaprakāśa-vivaraṇa*, *Amṛtodayanāṭaka*, *Rasamahārṇava*, *Śivastuti*, *Kādambarī-kīrtiśloka* and other standard works.

Giridhara Upādhyāya as well as his father Mm. Vāgiśa were great scholars of Tarka, Mimāṁsā and Vyākaraṇa.

Visvanatha Jha was a distinguished student of the great scholar Riddinatha Jha of Cakautī. He studied under Golokanatha Nyayaratna of Navadvīpa also. Sarvatantrasvatantra Dharmadatta Bacca Jha was one of his students. Bacca Jha was a famous scholar of Mithila in the present century. He had studied under scholars like Jatadhara Jha and Babujana Jha of Philakhavara, and Visvanatha Jha of Thāḍi; later he went to Kasi and studied under Balasastri Ranade and Visuddhananda Sarasvati. He produced a number of famous scholars, like Mm. Balakrishna Misra, Jagadisa Jha, Sasinatha Jha and Lakshminatha Jha.

There were also a number of Mīmāṁsakas like Mm. Ankhi Jha, Kanhaya Jha, Krishna Simha Thakura, Citradhara Misra, Çakradhara Jha, Citradhara Upadhyaya, Jayalala Misra, Jivanatha

Jha, Mm. Duhkhamocana Jha, Mm. Narasimha Thakura, Balabhadra Jha and Balabodha Misra.

Kāvya, Alaṁkāra, Chandas

In the field of Kāvya Mm. Govardhanācārya wrote *Āryāsaptaśatī* in the 10th century. Jayadevakavi praised Govardhanācārya thus :

Śṛṅgārottarasatprameyaracanair-ācāryagovardhana-
spardhī ko' pi na

Śrīdhara Ṭhākura wrote *Kāvyaprakāśa-viveka* in 10th century A. D. Prajñākara Miśra wrote *Subodhinī* on *Nalodaya* in the 13th century. Dāmodara Miśra wrote *Vāṇībhūṣaṇa* in the 14th century, Kavicuḍāmaṇi wrote *Mahāmoda*, Padmanābha Miśra wrote commentaries on *Ānandalaharī*, *Śiśupālavadha* and *Gopālacarita*.

Mm. Vidyāpati wrote *Puruṣaparīkṣā* and other works in the 15th century. Bhānudatta wrote *Rasamañjarī*, *Rasataraṅgiṇī* and *Rasapārijāta*.

Mm. Govinda Ṭhākura, wrote *Kāvyapradīpa* on *Kāvyaprakāśa*. Mm. Jagaddhara wrote commentaries on *Mālatīmādhava*, *Meghadūta*, *Vāsavadattā*, *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, etc. In his *Veṇīsaṁhāra*-commentary he refers to his own versatility :

Yenāpāṭhi kaṭhora-gautamamataṁ vaiśeṣikam khaṇḍanam
yenāśrāvi sakāvya-kośanivahaṁ tatpāṇinīyaṁ śrūtam ।
chando'laṅkaraṇañca śuddhabharataṁ yenādhyagāyi sthiram
tenānena Jagaddhareṇa kavinā ṭīkā kṛtā Marmadā ॥

Devanātha Ṭhākura wrote a commentary on *Kāvyapradīpa*, called *Kāvyakaumudī*. The commentary of Rucipati on *Anargharāghava* is well known.

In the sixteenth century flourished Kavirāja Gaṅgānanda who wrote *Karṇabhūṣaṇa*, *Kāvyaḍākinī*, *Śṛṅgāra-vanamālā* and *Bhṛṅgadūta*. He was the son of the grand-daughter of Bhānudatta :–

Bhānu-pautrī-tanūjena Mithilā-deśa-vāsinā ।
Śṛṅgāra-vanamāleyaṁ Gaṅgānandena tanyate ॥

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In the same century Ravi Ṭhākura wrote *Madhumatī* on *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Paṇḍita Durgādatta Miśra wrote *Vṛttamuktāvalī* in Chandaśśāstra.

In the court of Kaṅgaḍā-nareśa Māṇikyacandra, Paṇḍita Keśava Miśra wrote *Alaṅkāraśekhara*. In that work he refers to his having written seven works on Kāvya:

Granthāḥ Kāvyakṛtaṁ hitāya vihitā ye sapta pūrvaṁ mayā |

In the same century flourished Mm. Narasiṁha Ṭhākura, the well-known logician, author of *Narasiṁhamanīṣā* on *Kāvyaprakāśa*.

In the seventeenth century, Vaṁśamaṇi Jhā wrote *Gītadigambara Kāvya* in the court of Pratāpamalla of Nepal. Pandit Raghudeva Miśra wrote *Virudāvali* in the court of the Moghul Emperor Shahjahan. In that work he writes about himself thus :—

Śrī-Viśveśvaramiśrataḥ Kumudinī devī kumāraṁ kulā-
laṅkāraṁ samavāpa yaṁ Gaṇapatim Gaurī Girīśādiva |
dauhiro'cyuta-ṭhākurasya kṛtinaḥ S'rihāritāmrānvayaḥ-
śreṣṭho'sau Raghudeva-bālaka-kavir-vaideha-bhūmaṇḍanaḥ ||

Locanakavi's *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* in music and Govindadāsa Jhā's *Nalacarita* are also to be noted.

In the 18th century, Mm. Gokulanātha, referred to already, wrote a number of works such as *Rasamahārṇava*, *Kāvyaprakāśavivaraṇa*, *Kādambarī-kīrtiśloka* and *Amṛtodaya - nāṭaka*. Pandit Vaidyanātha Kavi wrote *Keśavacarita* in the court of Keśavadeva.

The *Rasa-kaustubha* of Kavi Vāṇīdatta Jhā is a work on Alaṇkāra. Its last verse runs thus :—

Āsīdyastīrabhuktau lalitakaramahā-vaṁśajaścārukarmā
cañcacchāstrābja-bhānuḥ prathitavara-yaśāḥ Śrījagannātha Śarmā |
cakre tasyātmajanmā murahara-caraṇāmbhoruhāsaktacitto
Veṇīdattaḥ prayatnādatiruciratarаṁ Kaustubhaṁ ṣaḍrasānām ||

Paṇḍita Bhīṣma Upādhyāya wrote *Gīta-śaṅkara-kāvya*, *Kumārasambhava-ṭīkā* and *Vṛttadarpaṇa* (prosody). Kavi Kṛṣṇadatta wrote

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Gītagopīpati, *Caṇḍikā-sucarita* and *Śásilekhā*. In the commentary of *Gītagopīpati* Mm. Harṣanātha Jhā writes:—

Svamātṛmātāmahamātulena kṛtaṁ nibandhaṁ viśadīkaromi ।

Paṇḍita Viṣṇudatta Jhā wrote *Rāghavakīrtiśataka* and *Gopīvallabha* in the court of Mahārāja Mādhavasiṁha of Mithilā, Citradhara Upādhyāya wrote *Śṛṅgārasāriṇī* and *Vīrasāriṇī* in the same century.

Macala Upādhyāya's *Śataranja-prabandha*, Sacala Miśra's *Āryāsaptaśatiṭīkā* and Mohana Miśra's *Rādhā-nayana-dviśatī* are notable works of the 18th century.

Sūryastuti of Paṇḍita Hṛdayanātha Miśra, *Vātāhvānakāvya* of Durgādatta and Candradatta Jhā's *Bhaktamālā*, *Karṇagītamālā*, *Bhagavatīstotra*, *Kāśī-Śivastotra* and *Kṛṣṇavirudāvali* are works of 19th Century.

Pandita Śrī Kṛṣṇa Jha's *Raghuvaṁśa-ṭīkā* and *Kumārasambhava-ṭīkā*, Kaviratna-Khageśa Śarma's *Kāśī-Śivastuti* and *Kāśyābhilāṣāṣṭaka Kāvya*, Vasanta Miśra's *Chandolatā*, Mm. Harṣanātha Jhā's *Gītagopīpati-ṭīkā*, Gaurīnātha Jhā's *Yatīndra-caritaprakāśikā*, Kedāranātha Jhā's *Mithilā-varṇana Kāvya* are also praiseworthy.

In the present century, Canda Jha wrote *Lakṣmīśvara-vilāsa*, Mm. Kṛṣṇa Siṁha Ṭhākura wrote *Khaṇḍavālakula-dīpikā* and Mm. Paramesvara Jha wrote *Ṛtu-varṇana* and *Yakṣasamāgama* which are valuable additions to Sanskrit literature.

Prabhucarita Kāvya of Jīvana Jhā, *Rameśvaranideśa* of Pandit Sureśa Miśra, *Vyañjanāvāda* of Pandita Yadunātha Miśra, Pt. Cakradhara Jha's *Raghudeva-sarasvatī-virudāvalī-ṭīkā*, Paṇḍita Devīkānta Ṭhākura's *Devī-stuti* and *Mahiṣāsuravadha*, Paṇḍita Buddhinātha Jha's *Tārā-laharī*, *Priyālāpakalāpa* and *Bhrātṛvilāpa*, Mm. Mukunda Jhā's *Amṛtodayaṭīkā*, Paṇḍita Ravinātha Jhā's *Arghyalambodara*, Mm. Bālakṛṣṇa Miśra's *Lakṣmīśvarīcarita*, Pandita Dīnabandhu Jhā's *Pratāpodaya*, Pandita Bālabodha Miśra's *Rāmalakṣmanacarita*, Pandita Vāṇīśa Jhā's *Cakoradūta*, Pandita Lekhanātha Jha's *Varṣāharṣa kāvya* and Kaviśekhara Badarinātha Jhā's *Rādhāpāriṇaya-mahākāvya*, *Dhvanyāloka-ṭīkā* and other

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works are some of the examples of praiseworthy works of Maithila scholars of the 20th century.

Nāṭaka

In the field of Sanskrit Drama the production by Mithila writers continued till the 20th century.

The available Sanskrit drama by a Maithila scholar of the classical age is *Anargharāghava* of Murāri Miśra. A number of commentaries on it was written by Maithila scholars like Harihara, Rucipati, Dharmānanda, Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmīdhara, Naracandra, Bhavanātha Miśra, Dhaneśvara and others. The following verses about Murāri are popular in Mithilā :—

> Devīṁ vācamupāsate hi bahavaḥ sāraṁ tu sārasvataṁ
> jānīte nitarāmasau gurukulakliṣṭo murāriḥ kaviḥ |
> Abdhirlaṅghita eva vānarabhaṭaiḥ kiṁ tvasya gambhīratā-
> māpātālanimagnapīvaratanurjānāti manthācalaḥ ||
>
> Murāri-padacintāyaṁ Bhavabhūtestu kā kathā |
> Bhavabhūtiṁ parityajya Murārimurarīkuru ||

Kaviśekharācārya Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākura flourished in the time of Harisimhadeva. His well-known Prahasana *Dhūrtasamāgama* was staged in the court of Harisimhadeva. The *Pārijātaharaṇa* of Umāpati Upādhyāya was highly esteemed by Maithila scholars of later period.

In the courts of Jayasthiti of Nepāla, a Maithila scholar, Mānika wrote *Bhairavānanda Nāṭaka* which was staged on the occasion of the marriage-ceremony of Dharmamalla.

Vidyāpati, one of the most renowned scholars of Mithilā wrote *Kīrtilatā*, *Kīrtipatākā*, *Maṇimañjarī* and *Gorakṣavijaya*. As he was a scholar of versatile genius, he wrote on many branches of Sanskrit learning. *Prasannarāghava* of Jayadeva, the logician is well known in the field of Sanskrit drama. A number of Maithila scholars wrote commentaries on it.

The author of *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vinoda-nāṭaka*, *Manobhavaparābhavanāṭaka* and *Gaurīdigambara-prahasana* was Śaṅkara Miśra, a

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great Naiyāyika of his time. His deep learning and scholarship are embedded in his writings and his influence on the Sanskrit literature of Mithilā is immense. In the beginning of the *Gaurīdigambara-prahasana* he writes :—

> Didīdindindīdikdhakikatanadan-nandimurajaṁ
> raṇadrāṇadrāṇadraṇaraṇaraṇad-ghargharavam ।
> sphurat-phūphūphūphū-phaṇipati-phaṇā-phūtkṛtiśataṁ
> śivaṁ bhūyo bhūyaḥ prathama-naṭanāṭyam diśatu vaḥ ॥

Uṣāharaṇanāṭaka was written by Devānanda during the time of Mahāraja Mahīnātha Ṭhākura and Narapati Ṭhākura.

Govinda Jhā, the author of *Nalacarita nāṭaka*, composed the drama in Sanskrit with songs in Maithilī.

Vaṁśamaṇi Jhā of Mithila wrote two dramas, *Muditamādālasā* and *Gītadigambara* in the court of the Prātāpamalla and Lakṣmī-narasiṁhamalla of Kāntipura, Nepal. The drama was composed to entertain the princes and Panditas who had assembled to see the Tulāpuruṣa-dāna of the King.

Rāmadāsa Jhā wrote the famous *Ānandavijayanāṭaka* during the time of Mahārāja Sundara Ṭhākura of Darbhanga. This drama is in Sanskrit, Prākṛta and Maithilī.

The dramatist Hariharopādhyāya was one of the famous Sanskrit writers of Mithilā. His *Bhartṛhari-nirveda* is a glorification of the Yoga philosophy. It teaches us that our ultimate ideal is the discrimination and separation of the spirit from the matter, thus leading through renunciation of the world to isolation of the ego. Another drama of Harihara is *Prabhāvatī-pariṇaya* in seven acts. Here he writes :—

> Eṣā tayoḥ prathamajena nijānujātā
> Śrīnīlakaṇṭhakavikaṇṭhavibhūṣaṇāya ।
> Govindasūnuguṇagumpha-niṣakta-sūkti-
> muktāvalī Harihareṇa cireṇa dīrṇā ॥

In the long list of dramatists of Mithilā, Kṛṣṇadatta, who hailed from the village Ujān in Darbhanga is one of the noted names. He wrote two allegorical nāṭakas, *Purañjanacarita* and *Kuvalayāś-vīyanāṭaka*. His style is like that of Jayadeva. A ms. of *Kuvalayāś-*

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vīya-nāṭaka is in the Bihar Research Society Library, Patna. The beginning runs thus :—

> Bhālaprajjvaladakṣikaitavasatīviśleṣa-vaiśvānara-
> jvālāvartitasaurasaindhavapayaḥ-phenaikalekheva yā ।
> sā gaurīmilane punaḥ puraripoḥ premapradīpe rasam
> dātuṁ sūktirupāhiteva kalikā cāndrī kalā pātu vaḥ ॥

The *Jānakīpariṇaya* of Devakīnandana is a four-act drama available in a ms. in the Raja Library, Darbhanga.

Gaurīsvayaṁvara is a drama written by Lālakavi who flourished during the period of Mahārāja Narendra Simha. In the beginning of the play the Sūtradhāra says:-

Śriviśveśvarasya sarasapadapaṅkaja - parāyaṇamuddiśya jyotirvitkavilālena śrīgaurīsvayaṁvaranāṭakamasti.

This one-act play deals with the marriage of S'iva and Pārvatī.

Ramāpati Upādhyāya, the author of *Rukmiṇīharaṇa*, flourished in the 18th century. His six-act play is very interesting for the spirit of Indian nationalism seen in the songs. The drama gives pictures of many places in India.

Like Kṛṣṇadatta and Kṛṣṇamiśra, Gokulanātha Upādhyāya has also rendered his services to this field. Though he was a master in several branches of learning and chiefly of Nyāya, here I mention only his play *Amṛtodaya nāṭaka*. This drama was written to establish the superiority of Nyāya system over others and to effectively contradict the views of other schools. The drama treats of the story of *Jīvātman* from creation to ultimate salvation. He wrote another drama *Mudita-madālasā*.

The most prominent dramatist of Mithilā during the 19th and 20th centuries was Mm. Harshanatha Jha who wrote *Uṣāharaṇa-nāṭaka*. Besides the above-mentioned, Mithila can claim a number of dramatists and commentators on drama like Pt. Riddhinatha Jha, Sivanandana Misra, Bhanudatta Misra, Jagaddhara, Rucipati Upadhyaya, Viresvara, Gangānanda, Bhāna Jha, Balakrishna Misra and Lutti Jha. In the Ms. Library of Nepal, more than a hundred

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plays in Sanskrit written by Maithila scholars have been preserved, though at several places the patrons are mentioned as authors of the plays. Thus the works of Maithila scholars in the field of Sanskrit drama claim special attention for further research.

The *Hastamuktāvalī* of Śubhaṅkara is on dance (*Abhinaya*).

Maithila scholars did not spare themselves in other fields also. They devoted themselves to fields like Śṛṅgāra. *Śṛṅgārasāriṇī* of Citradhara Upādhyāya, *Pañcaśāyaka* of Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākura, *Rasamañjarī* of Bhānudatta, *Rasamahārṇava* of Mm. Gokulanātha Upādhyaya, and *Rasakaustaubha* of Veṇīdatta are some of the many works in this field.

In the field of Jyotiṣa *Muhūrtasāra* of Bhānudatta, *Grahaṇamālā* of Hemāṅgada Ṭhākura, *Jyotiṣa-pradīpāṅkura* of Madhusūdana, *Tithinirṇaya* and *Dikkāla-nirūpaṇa* of Mm. Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, *Jyotiṣaratna* of Makala Upādhyāya, *Jyotiṣatattva* of Narahari Miśra, *Golaprakāśa* of Nīlāmbara Jhā, *Lagnavicāra* of Yadunandana Miśra and *Lagnavicārananda* of Nandakiśora, and works of Jyotiṣa. Bāsudeva Jhā, Mm. Haladhara Miśra and Jyotiṣa Apūcha Jhā are praiseworthy.

In the field of Vyākaraṇa also Mithilā produced scholars like Padmanābha Miśra, author of *Supadmavyākaraṇa*. Mm. Harṣanātha Jha's *Śabdenduśekhara-ṭīkā*, *Paribhāṣārtha-dīpaka*, *Bhāvadīpaka* and *Śabdaratnārtha-dipaka* are excellent commentaries on Vyākaraṇa texts.

Jāsū Miśra, Muktinātha Ṭhākura, Sarvatantra Svantantra Dharmadatta Bacca Jha (who commented on *Vyutpattivāda*), Mm. Jayadeva Miśra (whose *Jaya* is on *Vyutpattivāda* and *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*), Śrotrīya-pravara Hemapati Jha, Mahāvaiyākaraṇa Khaḍganatha Jha, Vaiyākaraṇa Lalaji Jha, Pt. Kisori Jha, Mahāvaiyākaraṇa Narasiṁha Jha, Pt. Visvanātha Jha, Mahāvaiyākaraṇa Khuddi Jha (author of *Nāgokti-prakāśa* on *Vyutpattivāda*), Mahāvaiyākaraṇa Sivasaṅkara Jha, Mm. Lakṣmīnatha Jha. Mm. Padārtha Miśra, Mahāvaiyākaraṇa Cumme Jha, Mahāvaiyākaraṇa Judāna Jha, Pt. Gulabha Jha, Mohana Misra, Vaiyākaraṇa Duhkhamocana Jha, Vaiyākaraṇa Harivamsa Jha, Vaiyākaraṇa Mahesa Jha, Vaiyākaraṇa Dinabandhu Jha, Vaiyākaraṇa Nirasa Misra, Pandit Sadānanda

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Jha and others have rendered great services in this field and have kept the tradition of Vyākaraṇa alive.

Kapila was the propounder of Sāṁkhya Philosophy. His birth-place is said to be near Kakaraura of Mithilā where there is a still a temple of Kapileśvara.

Vibhāṇḍaka Muni was a great preacher of Yoga.*

So there is no field of Sanskrit literature not dealt with by Maithila scholars. Besides the above-mentioned names more than 500 great scholars are on record and the works of nearly a thousand great scholars of Mithila are too numerous to be included in this brief paper.

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* There is one Āśrama of Vibhāṇḍaka called Yogivana near the hermitage of Gautama in Mithilā. In *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* we get a reference :—

Vibhāṇḍako mahāyogī dakṣiṇe nivasatyasau ।
gautamasyāśramāt puṇyāt yāmya-paścima-koṇake ॥

संस्कृत-काव्यशास्त्रे विहारस्य योगक्षेमः

CONTRIBUTION OF BIHAR TO SANSKRIT RHETORIC

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श्रीजानकीजानि-यशोऽभिशोभितस्य, जनक - याज्ञवल्क्य - गौतम-कपिल-मण्डन-वाचस्पति-उदयन-हलायुध - महीधर-गङ्गेश - पक्षधर - विद्यापति - भवनाथ-शङ्कर-वर्द्धमान - पार्थसारथि - गोकुलनाथ - धर्मनाथ - गङ्गानाथ-यदुनाथ - शशि - नाथ-विश्वनाथाद्यनेकपद-वाक्य-प्रमाण-पारावारीण- पण्डितप्रवर- जन्मयशोभासुरस्य, शौद्धोदनि-तपो-विभूति-विश्रुतस्य विश्वविख्यात-योगक्षेमो न केवलं वेदान्त-न्याय-सांख्य-मीमांसा-बौद्ध - नव्यन्यायादिविविधदर्शनेष्वेवातिशेते, अपि तु साहित्य-शास्त्रपारदृश्वनामनेकेषां रससिद्धमनीषिणां विविधरचनाभिर्विख्यातस्य विहारस्य काव्यशास्त्रेऽपि योगक्षेमो न परिहीयते। न केवलं विहारस्य मिथिलामहीमण्डले मीमांसा-न्याय-वेदाध्ययन-पटुतरैः पण्डितैर्मण्डिते सदने 'स्वतः प्रमाणं परतः प्रमाणम्' इति शुकाङ्गनागिरो गिरन्ति स्म, अपि तु 'रसो वै सः रसं ह्येवायं लब्ध्वाऽऽनन्दी भवती'ति तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदनुसारं साहित्यसारं रसतत्त्वं विजानतां विदुषां शेमुषी काव्यशास्त्रालोचनेऽपि नोदास्ते स्म इति जानत एव विपश्चितः।

विहारस्यैव मिथिलामहीमण्डले ख्रिष्टीयत्रयोदशशतके सुमित्रा-महादेव[1]-तनुजस्य पक्षधरापरनाम्नः पीयूषवर्ष-जयदेवस्य चन्द्रालोकः काव्यालोचकानामालोक इति विजानते विद्वांसः। प्रसन्नराघव-नाटककृज्जयदेवस्य चन्द्रालोकंकृज्जयदेवस्य [2]चाभिन्नत्वमेवेति निश्चिन्वन्ति विपश्चितः। अयं हि पक्षधरा-

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[1] महादेवः सत्रप्रमुखमखविद्यैकचतुरः
सुमित्रा तद्भक्तिप्रणिहितमतिर्यस्य पितरौ।
चन्द्रालोके १, १६

[2] जयदेवः श्रवणयोरयासीदातिथ्यं न किमिह महादेवतनयः॥
लक्ष्मणस्येव यस्यास्य सुमित्रागर्भजन्मनः।
रामचन्द्रपदाम्भोजे भ्रमद्भृङ्गायते मनः॥
प्रसन्नराघवे १, १४-१५

परनामा पीयूषवर्षजयदेवः कोमल-काव्यकौशल-कलाकुशलस्तथैव [३]कर्कशतर्कवचनोद्गारीति विजानन्ति विपश्चितः ।

खैष्ट-पञ्चदशशतके विद्यमानस्य मैथिलपण्डितप्रवर - गोविन्दठक्कुरस्य काव्यप्रदीपनाम्नी काव्यप्रकाशस्य व्याख्यापि स्वतन्त्रग्रन्थरूपैवेति मन्यन्ते मनीषिणः, यत्र च काव्यप्रकाशेऽपि निगूढं रहस्यं काव्यप्रदीपेनैव प्रकटितं भवति । एवमेवास्य श्लोकदीपिकापि काव्यप्रकाशं समुद्दीपयतितराम् ।

विहारस्य एतस्मिन्नेव भूमिभागे दरभंगामण्डलान्तर्गते ख्याते सरिसवग्रामे [४]हलायुध-महीधर-वंशावतंसः शाण्डिल्यगोत्रीयः मैथिलश्रोत्रियः सोदरपुर-सरिसव-वंशोद्भव-महामाहोपाध्याय-शङ्करमिश्रानुज - महादेवमिश्रतनुज - कविविरुदविभूषित-कविचक्रचूडामणिर्गणेश्वरापरनामगणपतिमिश्रतनूजः खिष्टीय - पञ्चदशशतकान्ते षोडशशतकादौ च विद्यमानः सकलालंकारिकाशेखरः काव्यकला - कुशलः रसशास्त्रनिपुणः कविशेखरस्तत्रभवान् भानुदत्तमिश्रः रसतरङ्गिणी - रसमञ्जरी - रसपारिजात - गीतगौरीपति - गौरीभार्गवीय - अलंकारतिलक-मुहूर्तसार - शृङ्गारदीपिकाद्यनेकग्रन्थरत्नानि विरचयाञ्चकार।

कविशेखरस्यास्य काव्यकलाचातुरी अधोलिखितेन रसतरङ्गिणी-मङ्गलश्लोकेनैव शक्यतेऽवगन्तुम्-

लक्ष्मीमालोक्य लुभ्यन्निगममुपहसञ्छोचयन् यज्ञजन्तून्
क्षत्रं शोणाक्षि पश्यन् समिति दशमुखं वीक्ष्य रोमाञ्चमञ्चन् ।
हृत्वा हैयङ्गवीनं चकितमपसरन् म्लेच्छरक्तैर्दिगन्तान्
सिञ्चन्दन्तेन भूमिं तिलमिव तुलयन् पातु नः पीतवासाः ॥

अत्र लक्ष्मीमालोक्य लुभ्यन् इत्यनेन शृङ्गारस्य, निगममुपहसन् इत्यनेन हास्यस्य, यज्ञजन्तून् शोचयन् इत्यनेन करुणस्य, क्षत्रं शोणाक्षि पश्यन् इत्यनेन

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[३] येषां कोमल-काव्य-कौशल-कलालीलावती भारती
तेषां कर्कशतर्कवक्रवचनोद्गारेऽपि किं हीयते ।
यैः कान्ताकुचमण्डले कररुहाः सानन्दमारोपिता-
स्तैः किं मत्तकरीन्द्रकुम्भशिखरे नारोपणीयाः शराः ॥
तत्रैव १, १७

[४] द्रष्टव्यः काव्यात्ममीमांसायां ग्रन्थकार-वंशपरिचयः ।

रौद्रस्य, समिति दशमुखं वीक्ष्य रोमाञ्चमञ्चन् इत्यनेन वीरस्य, हृत्वा हैयङ्गवीनं चकितमपसरन् इत्यनेन भयानकस्य, म्लेच्छरक्तैर्दिगन्तान् सिञ्चन् इत्यनेन बीभत्सस्य, दन्तेन भूमिं तिलमिव तुलयन् इत्यनेनाद्भुतस्य च रसस्याभिव्यक्तिर्भवति ।

एवं हि रससिद्धकवीश्वरस्य भानुदत्तमिश्रस्य काव्यशास्त्रनिष्णातत्वं प्रकटितं भवति । अयमेव हि आचार्यः रसतरङ्गिण्यां जृम्भाख्यं नवमं सात्त्विकभावं निरूपयामास[५] ।

कविशेखरभानुदत्तमिश्र - तनूजस्य जानुदत्तमिश्रस्य दौहित्रेण कविवरगङ्गानन्दमिश्रेण षोडशशतकपूर्वार्द्धे विद्यमानस्य वीकानेर-नरेश - श्रीकर्णस्य सभापण्डितशिरोमणिना कर्णभूषणं - नाम ग्रन्थरत्नं रचयाञ्चक्रे, यस्मिन् विभावानुभाव व्यभिचारिभाव - स्थायिभाव - रसानां वैदुष्यपूर्णं विवेचनं भानुदत्तमिश्र-प्रतिपादित-नवम-जृम्भाख्यसात्त्विकभावस्य चर्चा च वरीवर्ति । एतेनैव कविवरगङ्गानन्देन काव्यडाकिनी विरचिता यत्र कियतां नवीनानां दोषाणां निरूपणं दोषज्ञानां मनांसि चमत्करोति ।

मैथिलकविकोकिलविद्यापति-समकालिकेन षोडशशताब्द्यां विद्यमानेन न्यायशास्त्रप्रवीणेन केवलमिश्रेण साहित्यशास्त्रेऽपि विविधानि ग्रन्थरत्नानि रचयाञ्चक्रिरे, येषु अलंकारशेखर - काव्यरत्न - अलंकारसर्वस्वादीनि प्रसिद्धानि । अलंकारशेखरे एतेन मैथिलीरीतिरपि न्यरूपि ।

ख्रिस्टीयसप्तदशशतकान्ते विद्यमानेन पद-वाक्य-प्रमाण-पारावारीणेन पदवाक्यरत्नाकरकारेण साहित्यतत्त्वमर्मज्ञेन गोकुलनाथोपाध्यायेन अन्वर्थनामा रसार्णवो नाम ग्रन्थो व्यरचि ।

महादेवमिश्रेण विरचितां रसमञ्जरी-व्याख्यां भानुभावप्रकाशिनीं रसतरङ्गिणीव्याख्यां रसोदधि-नाम्नीं विद्वांसः प्रायेण जानते एव ।

सुखदेवमिश्रस्य शृङ्गारलता भावमिश्रस्य शृङ्गाररससरसी श्रीकरमिश्रस्य अलंकारतिलकः भास्करमिश्रस्य साहित्यदीपिका सुबुद्धिमिश्रस्य तत्त्वपरीक्षा तथा

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५. रसतरङ्गिण्याम् ६६-तमे पृष्ठे ।

साहित्यसर्वस्वनामिका काव्यालंकारसूत्रवृत्ति-व्याख्या च अध्ययनाध्यापनादावप्रचलिता अपि प्रेक्षावतां समालोचकानां समक्षं प्रत्यक्षायमाणा एव। इमानि च ग्रन्थरत्नानि विहारप्रान्तीयमैथिलमनीषिभिर्विरचितानि ख्रिष्टीयोनविंशशतकान्तात् पूर्वमेव भारतभुवं विभूषयाञ्चक्रुः।

वर्तमानशताब्द्यां च दिवमुपयातानामनल्पगुणगणशालिनां विरचितकाव्यशासनग्रन्थानां सुविहितसाहित्यशास्त्रव्याख्यानां विहारप्रान्तीयविपश्चितां व्यञ्जनावादकृद् यदुनाथ झा, काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्याकारः खुद्दी झा, काव्यप्रकाशाङ्गलभाषाव्याख्याकार - महामहोपाध्याय - डाक्टर - सर् - गङ्गनाथ झा- प्रभृतिमहाभागानां नामानि एतत्प्रसङ्गे समुल्लेख्यानि।

अधुनातनेषु लब्ध-साहित्य - शास्त्र - विषय-रचनाप्रतिष्ठेषु ध्वन्यालोक-रसमञ्जरी-रसगङ्गाधरादि - व्याख्याकृत् कविशेखर-बदरीनाथ झा, ध्वनिसाहस्रीकार-श्रीपदानन्द झा, रसगङ्गाधर-हिन्दी-व्याख्याकार-श्रीमदनमोहन झा, भामह-विरचित-काव्यालंकार-हिन्दी-व्याख्याकार-प्राध्यापक-श्रीदेवेन्द्रनाथशर्मा, काव्यदोषसमीक्षक-वामनविरचितकाव्यालंकारसूत्र - व्याख्याकार - प्राध्यापकश्रीयेचन झा, काव्यात्ममीमांसा-काव्यस्वरूपमीमांसा-निबन्धकुसमाञ्जलि-लेखक-प्राध्यापक-श्रीजयमन्तमिश्रः काव्यादर्श-रुद्रटालंकार-कुवलयानन्दादिग्रन्थ-व्याख्याकार-श्रीरामचन्द्र झा, साहित्यदर्पण - व्याख्याकार-श्रीमोहनठक्कुर इत्यादिविदुषां नामानि प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन् समुल्लेख्यान्येव।

THE CONTRIBUTION OF TWENTIETH CENTURY MITHILĀ TO SANSKRIT KĀVYA-SĀHITYA

TRILOKANATHA JHA

jānakījananabhūmirīkṣyatām
ambujākṣi mithile 'yaṁ agrataḥ |
atra vijñavadaneṣu darpitā
nṛtyati pratigṛhaṁ sarasvatī ||[1]

The above eulogistic reference to Mithilā by Kavikarṇapūra in his *Pārijātaharaṇamahākāvya*[2] may appear to be an example of hyperbole but it remains an indubitable fact that the land of Mithilā extending from the Himālaya in the north to the Gaṅgā in the south, from the Kośī in the east to the Gaṇḍakī in the west[3] has all along been a famous seat of Sanskrit learning. The sons of the soil have kept the glow of their intellectual luminosity undiminished through the ages and earned an undying fame for Mithilā. To claim that the land has maintained its academic standard uniformly right from the age of Janaka and Yājñavalkya to Dharmadatta and Kaviśekhara Badarīnātha of the present century borders on absurdity. For, no country in the world has ever maintained its standards and values uniformly through thousands of centuries. There have always been ups and down in every walk of life. The literary history of Mithilā has also seen several rounds of periods of glory and decadence. Even the present century had contributed its mite to the advancement of Sanskrit learning. We give below a brief account of some of the twentieth century litterateurs of Mithīlā who have enriched the vast store of Sanskrit *Kāvyasāhitya* by their valuable contributions.

Dharmadatta alias Baccā Jhā

Dharmadatta hailed from village Navānī. Born in March 1860, he was the son of Durgādatta and the grandson of Ratnapāṇi. He was the Principal of Dharmasamāja Sanskrit College, Muzaffarpur. He was a *sarvatantrasvatantra*, a great scholar possessing equal proficiency in all systems of philosophical discipline. There are

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1. *Pārijātaharaṇamahākāvya* XVII. 59.
2. Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1956.
3. *Aj keśa tā gosa|aj gaṅga ta saṅga*.||

over fifteen works of Dharmadatta on Navyanyāya. But his unique fascination for *Kāvyasāhitya* is evident from his solitary *Sulocanāmādhavacampū*, which is being published by the Mithila Research Institute. His only contribution to Sanskrit prosody is his *Prastāravicāra* dealing with a large variety of metres. He is definitely different from his namesake cited in *Rasapradīpa* of Prabhākara and discussed by De[4] and Bhattacharya[5]. He died in 1918.

Bālakṛṣṇa

An inhabitant of village Navaṭola Mm. Bālakṛṣṇa, born in 1888, was the son of Gosāñi Miśra[6]. Jānakī was his mother[7]. He served as a professor of Indian Philosophy at Rameśvaralatā Vidyālaya, Darbhanga, D. S. S. College, Muzaffarpur and Benares Hindu University, Benares. Philosophy was his forte but he had also an inclination towards literary compositions. In addition to the verses composed on different occasions he is credited with the authorship of the *Lakṣmīśvarīcarita*[8], the *Śrīrameśvarakīrtilatā* and a commentary on the *Rādhānayanadviśatī* of Mm. Mohana. Published with an autocommentary styled *Sūkṣmārthavivecikā* the *Lakṣmīśvarīcarita* of Mm. Bālakṛṣṇa is an *ākhyāyikā* complete in six *ucchvāsas*, the last of which is solely dedicated to the life and beneficence of Mahārāṇī Lakṣmīśvarī, the youngest of the three wives of Mahārāja Lakṣmīśvara Siṁha of Darbhanga.

The *Śrīrameśvarakīrtilatā* deals with the life and attainments of Mahārāja Rameśvarasiṁha.

Mm. Bālakṛṣṇa expired on 1947.

Kṛṣṇasiṁha Ṭhākura

Mm. Kṛṣṇasiṁha Ṭhākura came of the illustrious *Khaṇḍabalā* family. He lived in village Bhaura. Born in the year 1848 he was the son of Jagatsiṁha Ṭhākura. He studied at the feet of Hari

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4. *History of Skt. Poetics*, pp. 216, 291.
5. Introduction to *Kāvyaprakāśaviveka*. Vol. I, p. 57 and *JOI.* III, No. 4, pp. 557 : 565.
6. Vide *Lakṣmīśvarīcarita*, Introductory verse No. 13.
7. *Ibid.* verse No. 19.
8. Sri Rameshwar Press, Darbhanga, 1921.

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Miśra of Pacāḍhī, Bhaiyeśarman of Balāṭa-Rāghavapura and Mm. Rājārāma Śastri of Varanasi. He was a grammarian of note. He was gifted with a unique talent of justifying even words of foreign origin by suitable application of Pāṇini's aphorisms. He was a great devotee and a poet also. The following Stotras composed by him bear testimony to it. (1) *Gaṅgāśrīlaharī* (2) *Amaranātha-śataka* (3) *Tryambakapañcāśikā* (4) *Kāmākhyāstotra* (5) *Vaiṣṇavī-stotra* (6) *Kāśīvarṇanā*.

In addition to the works mentioned above Mm. Kṛṣṇasiṁha Ṭhākura has two poetic works to his credit. His *Khaṇḍabalākula-dīpikā*[9] and *Banailīrājyavarṇanā* give an account of the two flourishing royal families of Darbhanga and Banaili. Besides, we have also got a good number of verses composed by him on the occasion of felicitating George the Vth and Queen Mary, Queen Victoria and Lord Curzon, Mahārāja Lakṣmīśvarasiṁha Mahāraja of Kāśī and Rājā of Banaili. He died on October 9, 1921.

Kṣemadhārisiṁha

A scion of the same *Khaṇḍabalā* family Kṣemadhāri Siṁha was born in March 1894. He graduated from Patna University in 1918. His scholarship of the Vedānta Philosophy fetched for him the title of 'Vedāntavinoda'. He was well versed in the Tantras and above all, he was a poet. His *Surathacaritamahākāvya*[10] published with financial assistance from Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, is complete in eighteen cantos. It deals with the life of King Suratha and the glorious deeds of Goddess Durgā performed for the protection of the people against the atrocities of demons. The story is narrated in the *Devīmāhātmya* portion of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.

Besides, there are nineteen other Sanskrit works to his credit[11]. On a survey of these works it becomes evident that his contribution to Stotra–literature deserves special attention. Kṣemadhārī breathed his last in March, 1961.

Lekhanātha

An inhabitant of village Sarisava, Lekhanātha was born in 1886. He studied under Kapileśvara Uhā of Belārī and enjoyed the patronage of the late Mahārājādhirāja Sir Kāmeśvara Siṁha of Darbhanga. Keenly interested in *Kāvya-sāhitya* Lekhanātha wrote a treatise on Sanskrit poetics entitled *Rasacandrikā*[12] dealing with various types of heroes and heroines. The author has supplied his own definitions and illustrations, all in verse. In addition to this, he also composed poems styled *Varṣāharṣakāvya* and *Mānasapūjākāvya* and edited the *Rasakaustubha* of Veṇīdatta and the *Govindadāmodarastotra* of Vilvamaṅgala. He died in in April, 1965.

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[9] Sri Rameshwar Press, Darbhanga, San 1322 Fasli.

[10] Madhubani, 1967.

[11] *Vide* Introduction to *Surathacarita*, p. 5.

Bālabodha

Bālabodha Miśra lived in the village Kokana near Corauta. An erudite scholar of Mīmāṁsā Philosophy, he was a Professor of Mīmaṁsā in Queen's College, Vārānasī. He wrote a work named *Rāmalaṣaṇacarita* at the instance of Mahantha Rāmalaṣaṇadāsa of Corautam.

S'ivanandana

Śivanandana Miśra was an inhabitant of the village Dabhārī. He was born in 1880. He was a pupil of Mm. Kṛṣṇasiṁha Ṭhakkura of the *Khaṇḍabalā* family. Janeśvarasiṁha of the same family was his patron. The only work of S'ivanandana available to us is preserved in the manuscript library of the Mithila Research Institute, Darbhanga[13]. It is a drama entitled *Gajānanacarita*[14]. It is complete in seven acts. It depicts the valour of Lord Gaṇeśa. The chief sentiment of the play is the heroic. The verses are all composed in a forceful style. The dialogue between Skanda and Gaṇeśa is amusing.

Śivanandana died in 1930.

Yadunātha

Yadunātha, the veteran scholar of grammar and logic was born in 1885, in the illustrious Sarisava branch of the *Sodarapura* family. An inhahitant of the village Lālagañja, Yadunātha studied

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[12] Vidyapati Press, Darbhanga, San 1347 Fasli.

[13] Ms. No. 499/589.

[14] The drama has been referred to by R. K. Chowdhary in his article 'Sanskrit Drama in Mithila', p. 59, JBRS. XLIII. p. 2.

Funding by IKS-MoE

grammar under Juḍāona Jhā and logic under Lokanātha Jha. He died prematurely in 1928. Among his Sāhitya works the *Vyañjanāvāda*[15] deserves special mention. This small treatise discusses *in extenso* the nature of suggestion (Vyañjanā) and its place in the realm of the belles-lettres. The ground for the admission of suggestlon have been established with remarkable perspecuity.

Devīkānta

Devīkānta Ṭhakkura of the village Atharī was the son of Jīvanātha Ṭhakkura. He was a professor of Sāṁkhya-Yoga at D. S. S. College, Muzaffarpur. *Mahiṣāsuravadhamahākāvya* (also called *Devīcarita*) and *Devīstuti* are famous among his poetic compositions.

Cakradhara

Son of S'atrughna Jhā of *Narona* family of the village Sāgarapura, Cakradhara wrote a commentary on the *Virudāvalī* of Mm. Raghudeva Sarasvatī. It is called *Vibudharājirañjinī*[16].

Ayodhyānathā

Ayodhyānātha Miśra was the son of Mīlana Miśra, a grammarian of the village Gamaila but he made his abode in village Canaura. He was one of the devoted disciples of Mm. Kṛṣṇasiṁha Ṭhakkura. He wrote a commentary styled *Prakāśikā*[17] on the *Khaṇḍabalākuladīpikā* of his teacher.

Cetanātha

Son of Gaṅgānātha of the famous *Narona* family, Cetanātha lived in the village Navaṭola. He enjoyed the patronage of Mahārāja Rameśvarasiṁha of Darbhanga. He wrote a commentary entitled *Rāmeśvaraprasādinī*[18] on *Bhṛṅgadūta* of Kavīndra Gaṅgānanda of Mithilā.

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[15] Vaishali Press, Muzaffarpur, Vikrama Samvat 1922.

[16] Published with *Virudāvali*, Prabhākarayantralaya, Kashi, Saṁvat 1960.

[17] Published with text in Fasli 1322.

[18] Published with the text from Raj Press, Darbhanga, 1915.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Lūṭana

Born in the *Dariharā* family Lūṭana Jhā was an inhabitant of the village Koilakha. He was a great grammarian. He had received the patronage of Tantradharī Siṁha of the *Khaṇḍabalā* family. The Mithila Research Institute preserves a manuscript copy of his *Rasavilāsa*[19], a collection of 55 verses composed in different metres. The poet has also added explanatory notes with peculiar interpretations which bear testimony to his command over Sanskrit grammar.

Mukunda

Mm. Mukunda Jhā Bakśī was the son of Bakśī Nandalāla alias Muśalī Jhā of the famous *Karamahā* family. He lived in the village Haripura. He was a professor of Karmakāṇḍa at D. S. S. College, Muzaffarpur. He wrote a *Khaṇḍakāvya* styled *Śrīmatkaramahāsukulakīrtikaumudī*[20] dealing with the origin and development of his family. He wrote another entitled *Śrīmatkhaṇḍabalākulapraśasti*[21]. In addition to these, there are commentaries by Mm. Mukunda Jhā Bakśī, *Sukhobodhinī*[22] on the *Bhartṛharinirvedanāṭaka* of Mm. Harihara and *Saralā*[23] on the *Amṛtodayanāṭaka* of Mm. Gokulanātha.

Dīnabandhu

Dīnabandhu Jhā son of Phekū Jha of the *Māṇḍara* family was an inhabitant of the village Iśahapura. For long he served as the Pradhānādhyāpaka of Mahārāṇī Lakṣmīvatī Saṁskṛta Vidyālaya, Sarisava. Towards the end of his life he also accepted the post of the traditional Pandit at Mithila Research Institute, Darbhanga. That he was a grammarian of note is evident from his *Liṅgavacanavicāra*[24] *Rāmeśvarapratāpodaya*[25] and *Rasikamanorañjinī* bear testimony to his poetic talent.

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[19] Ms. No. 1195.

[20] Chowkhamba, Saṁvat 1993.

[21] Chowkhamba.

[22] Vidyavilas Press, Kashi.

[23] Vijaya Press, Muzaffarpur, 1925.

[24] Mithila Institute.

[25] Yajñeśvara Yantralaya, Kaśī.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Gaṅgānātha

Mm. Dr. Sir Gaṅgānātha Jha hardly requires any introduction to the world of orientalists. A man of versatile genius, he contributed a lot to the different branches of Sanskrit learning. In the field of *Kāvyasāhitya*, in addition to his translation of standard *Sāhitya* texts, we have his Sanskrit commentary on *Prasannarāghava*, a drama by Jayadeva.

Badarīnātha

Mm. Kaviśekhara Badarinātha Jhā of the *Simaravāra* branch of the *Khauāla* family was born in January, 1893. Vidyānātha was his father and Māyā Devī his mother. He is an inhabitant of the village Sarisava. He is the representative Sāhityika of the present-day Mithilā. He is a great poet and a prolific writer. His erudition has fetched for him the honorific title Kaviśekhara and Mm. Among his contributions to Sanskrit poetry, the *Pramodalaharī*[26], the *Rājasthānaprasthāna*[27], the *Rādhāpariṇayamahākāvya*[28], the *Anyoktisāhasrī*,[29] the *Kāśyapakulapraśasti*[30], the *Śokaślokaśataka*[31], the *Saṁskṛtagītaratnāvalī*[32] and the *Kāvyakallolinī*[33] deserve special mention. His *Sāhityamīmāṁsā*[34] is an independent treatise on Sanskrit poetics. Besides he has also written learned commentaries on standard texts of Sanskrit poetics. Prominent among them are *Surabhi* on the *Rasamañjarī* of Bhānudatta[35], the *Dīdhiti* on the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana[36] and the *Candrikā* on the *Rasagaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha[37]. In addition to these Kaviśekhara has written a *Campū* entitled

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[26] 1911.

[27] 1915.

[28] Vijaya Press, Muzaffarpur, 1931.

[29] 1938.

[30] Vaishali Press, Muzaffarpur, 1938.

[31] Darbhanga Press Co., Darbhanga, 1953.

[32] Mithla Press, Darbhanga, 1954.

[33] By Mithila Research Institute.

[34] *Jha Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1937.

[35] Varanasi, 1929.

[36] Varanasi, 1937.

[37] Varanasi, 1955.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Guṇeśvaracaritacampū[38]. His editions of the *Vyañjanāvāda* of Yadunātha, the *Rasapārijāta* of Bhānudatta, the *Rasataraṅgiṇī* of Rāmānanda, the *Alaṅkāramañjarī* of Veṇīdāta and the *Kāvyaprakāśavivaraṇa* of Mm. Gokulanātha are well known to the students of Sanskrit *Kāvya-sāhitya*.

Jīvanātha

Son of Dīnabandhu of the village Iśahapura, Jīvanātha Jhā is the author of many Sanskrit works. Prominent among them is *Kāmeśvara-pratāpodaya*[39], a fine specimen of *Viruda* literature composed in the *Campū*-style. It contains in all 125 verses. It is a laudatory discourse on the magnanimity of character of Mahārājādhirāja Kāmeśvarasiṁha, the last Mahārāja of Darbhanga. Written in fine Sanskrit and interspersed withchoicest figures of speech, it depicts the qualities of head and heart of the Mahārāja.

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[38] Raj Press, Darbhanga, 1952.

[39] Raj Press, Darbhanga, Samvat 2001.

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CONTRIBUTION OF GUJARAT TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE (ŚĀSTRAS)

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The present State of Gujarat comprises the regions earlier known as Ānarta (North Gujarat), Lāṭa (South Gujarat), Surāṣṭra and Kaccha (Western Gujarat) and portions of Avantī and Anūpa (East Gujarat). When the name Gurjatrā or Gurjaradeśa came to be given to these regions is still not determined; but there is no denying the fact that it is connected with Gurjaras whom Bāṇa refers to in his *Harṣacarita* when he calls Harṣa's father 'Gurjara-prajāgara'. The dynasty of Gurjara-pratīhāras is well known in Indian history. Bhinnamāla or Bhillamāla, more popularly known as Śrīmāla, was their first capital. Though the political boundaries of Gujarat have kept on changing from time to time, Bhinnamāla or Śrīmāla cannot be denied the claim of being the first capital of Gujarat as such. And the political, literary and cultural history of Gujarat cannot be fully understood unless Bhinnamāla or Śrīmāla in Rajasthan is considered as intimately connected with it at least for historical purposes.

Gujarat is historically known to have had five capitals—Girinagar or Junagadh and Valabhī in Surāṣṭra, Bhinnamāla or Bhillamāla or S'rīmāla in Rajasthan, Aṇahillapura-pattana and Karṇāvatī or Ahmedabad in Ānarta. On the basis of the Purāṇas it is known to have had Ānarttapura, Ānandanagara or Vaḍanagara in Ānartta and Dvārikā in Surāṣṭra also as its capitals.

Girinagar was the capital of Ānartta-Surāṣṭra for more than seven centuries, from the time of Candragupta Maurya (B.C. 321–397) to the time of Skandagupta (A.D. 480). It is well known to Indologists because of the two Sanskrit inscriptions inscribed by the side of Aśoka's Dhammalipis on a rock at the foot of the Girnar—the inscription (A.D. 151–2) of the Kṣatrapa ruler Rudradāman in ornate Sanskrit prose; and the inscription (A.D. 457–458) of Skandagupta, which reads like a *sarga* of a *mahākāvya*.

Valabhi seems to have been a place of learning for Brahmins, Buddhists and Jainas from very early times. Valabhī, it seems, was an important port being then situated on the Bhavanagar creek at the mouth of the river Ghelo. From Ptolemy's reference to Valabhī as Balai and from certain seals we can infer its existence in the second century A.D. It had become sufficiently famous to be taken as a place for a story in the *Daśakumāracarita.*

> *Asti Saurāṣṭreṣu Valabhī nāma nagarī* । *Tasyāṁ Gṛhagupta-nāmno guhyakendratulyavibhavasya nāvikapater duhitā Ratnāvalī nāma* ॥ —*Daśakumāracarita*, p. 225, Nirṇaya Sāgara Ed., 1913.

Similarly in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* it is referred to as a place where young men used to go for higher learning. Viṣṇudatta, sixteen years of age and hailing from Antarvedī is said to have gone to Valabhī for learning.

> *sa Viṣṇudatto vayasā pūrṇaṣoḍaśavatsaraḥ* ।
> *gantum pravavṛte vidyāprāptaye Valabhīm purīm* ॥
> p. 141, Nirṇaya Sāgara Ed.

The epoch-making work of redacting the Jaina Āgamas was executed in Valabhī first under the editorship of Nāgārjuna (circa A. D. 300-313) and then of Devarddhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (A.D. 454 or 467). The Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsang tells us about the existence of hundreds of Saṅghārāmas with about 600 priests studying Hīnayāna as taught in the Sammatīya school. In the copper-plate of Dharasena of the Valabhī era 259 (i.e. A. D. 578) there is a reference to Śrī Bappapādīya Vihāra got constructed by Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati. Hiouen Tsang also says that not far from the city was a Saṅghārāma built by O-cha-lo. While residing there the Bodhisattvas Guṇamati and Sthiramati composed treatises which gained high renown. Guṇamati and Sthiramati are well known Buddhist philosophers who commented on the works of Vasubandhu. Some of these works must have been written while they were in the Saṅghārāma in the vicinity of Valabhī. Guṇamati is said to have gone all the way from Valabhī to Ayodhyā to enter into a debate with the Sāṁkhya 'doctor' Mādhava who was defeated and who died while the debate was in progress. It-sing tells us that ' Nālandā in south Bihar and Valabhī were two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China and were frequented by crowds of eager students who commonly devoted two or three years on attendance at lectures on Buddhist philosophy.' Incidentally it may be mentioned, that Śāntideva, the author of *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, was, according to Tārānantha and Buston, the son of king Kalyāṇavarmam of Saurāṣṭra. He lived in the period between the departure of Itsing from India in A. D. 625 and before Śāntarakṣita's first visit to Tibet in A. D. 743[1].

After Girinagara Valabhī became the capital of Ānartta Surāṣṭra in the time of the Maitrakas who were lovers and promoters of learning. We shall return to this later. After the downfall of Valabhī in about A.D. 788-789 the glory of Ānartta Surāṣṭra was eclipsed for a time. And so we turn to Bhillamāla or Bhinnamāla or Śrīmāla as the next cultural city interesting from our point of view. This city, if local tradition could be relied upon, was in existence before the second century A. D. Its position on an important trade-route seems to have helped in making the city culturally and materially rich from early times. Hiouen Tsang seems to have come in about 641 A. D. to the kingdom of Kiu-Che-lo which is rendered into Sanskrit as Gurjara. Its capital was Pi-lo-mo-lo (Bhillamāla). According to him, a Kṣatriya prince, about twenty years of age and strongly devoted to Buddhism, was ruling there. He might have been a descendent of Vyāghramukha, whose Cāpa dynasty was perhaps one of the clans of the Gurjaras. According to Hiouen Tsang there was a Saṅghārāma in the city where about a hundred Bhikkhus lived, teaching the Sarvāstivāda of the Hīnayāna school of Buddhism. The most powerful dynasty which ruled over Gurjaratrā was that of the Gurjara Pratihāras, who with the expansion of their empire, later took their capital to Kānyakubja.

Aṇahillapura was founded by Vanarāja Cāvaḍā-Capotkaṭa in A. D. 746 on the site of an old town called Lakkhārāma on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. The Cāvaḍās ruled in Aṇahillapura from A. D. 746 to 942 and the Solanki or Cālukya period starting with Mūlarāja lasted from A. D. 942 to 1300. The Solanki Kings were such great patrons of learning that even a brief review here of

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1. P. 100, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, T. R. V. Murti. George Allen and Unwin, 1955

works written in this period would be well nigh impossible. The cultural and literary rivalry, besides the political one, between Gujarat and Mālava, gave to some extent a fillip to the development of Sanskrit literature in this period. We shall have occasion to refer to this later.

Ānarttapura or Ānandapura (modern Vaḍanagar) seems to have been an important centre of learning from ancient times. The grants of the Maitrakas give us some idea of the large number of donees of Ānandapura who were well versed in different branches of Vedic learning.

After thus briefly describing some of the important centres of learning in Gujarat, we shall now see in what way the atmosphere in Gujarat was congenial to the proliferation of Sanskrit studies and literary, philosophical and technical works.

We have already referred to the two Sanskrit inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa ruler Rudradāman and of Skandagupta at the foot of the Girnar. In Rudradāman's inscription, literary prose and verse is characterised as 'sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-citra-kānta-śabdasamayodārālaṅkṛta',—undoubtedly something very significant for the history of Sanskrit Poetics. Moreover, Rudradāman is characterised as a scholar, practitioner and promoter of *Śabda-vidyā* (grammar), *Arthavidyā* (politics), *Gāndharva-vidyā* (music) and *Nyāya-vidyā* (logic-philosophy): Śabda-artha-gāndharva-nyāyādyānām vidyānām mahatīnām pāraṇa-dhāraṇa-vijñāna-prayogāvāpta-vipulakīrtinā...). Rudradāman might not have been so proficient in all these lores, but this is culturally significant in as much as it shows that it was a matter of prestige amongst the people to be so and to be regarded as such. This was the people's conception of an enlightened man. The inscriptions of Rudradāman and Samudragupta are very good specimens of the classical style though they were meant to be public documents. Would we not then be justified in saying that Sanskrit was very well known to educated people and that Sanskrit literature was well cultivated in this region of India?

From the copper-plates of Valabhī ranging from A.D. 502 to A.D. 767 we find that both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit literature flourished under the Maitraka rule in Gujarat. The kings them-

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selves seem to have taken pride in being known as learned and as lovers and patrons of learning.

The epithets of those to whom grants were made during this period are even more important for the history of Vedic and Sanskrit learning. For example, in the copper-plates of Dhruvasena I we find such references: 'Nagaraka-vāstavya-Śāntiśarmaṇe Ātreya-gotrāya Vājasaneya-sabrahmacāriṇe tathā asyaiva bhrātre Deva-śarmaṇe', and 'Ānandapura-vāstavya-brāhmaṇa-Skandatrāta-Guha-trātābhyām Bhāradvāja-sagotrābhyāṁ Chandoga-sabrahmacāri-bhyām'. An analysis of such references in the copper-plates shows that the largest number is that of the students of the *Śukla-Yajurveda* of the Vājasaneyi-Mādhyandinī Śākhā and Kāṇva Śākhā, the majority being those of the former. There are a few donees of the Maitrā-yaṇī Śākhā and one of the Taittirīya Śākhā also. The next in number are the students of the *Sāmaveda*, Chandogas of the Kauthuma Śākhā. Next come the students of the *Ṛg Veda* of the Bahvṛca Śākhā. A few Ātharvaṇas pursuing the study of the *Atharva Veda* are also mentioned. These donees appear to be spread over the whole Gujarat, quite a big number being from Ānarttapura or Ānandapura (the modern Vaḍanagar) which was an important centre of Vedic learning for centuries. Jaṁbusara near Bharooch is also well represented. Certain donees are referred to as 'Cāturvidya-Sāmānya' or 'Traividya-Sāmānya' of certain places. Dr. H. G. Sastri has, in his *Maitraka-Kālīna Gujarāta*, Pt. II, p. 356, explained the words *Cāturvidya* and *Traividya* as the Pariṣads of the masters of the four Vedas and the masters of the three Vedas respectively, and *Sāmānya* as a member of these Pariṣads.

The use of Sanskrit in these copper-plates for governmental purposes shows that Sanskrit was the official language for important records during the Maitraka period also. It is interesting to know how Siddharṣi, who flourished in the vicinity of Bhinnamāla, justifies why he wrote his *Upamitibhavaprapañcā Kathā*, the first exclusive and elaborate allegory in Indian literature, according to Jacobi, in Sanskrit. He says there are two principal languages, Sanskrit and Prākrit. The sophisticated high-brows are conceited about Sanskrit; and though Prākrit is soft to the ear and capable of giving wisdom to the 'bālas' (the not-so-much educated and trained) it does not seem to appeal to them even; that is to say, even these 'bālas' do not appreciate Prākrit. Now, if there is a way, one must try to please all. So he decided to write his work in Sanskrit but in a simple and lucid style. He evolved a style which would be 'sarvajanocita' (fit for all) and not too much loaded with hidden meaning. He shunned the use of very obscure and hard words and very long sentences.

> Saṁskṛtā Prākṛtā ceti bhāṣe prādhānyam arhataḥ |
> tatrāpi Saṁskṛtā tāvad durvidagdha-hṛdi sthitā ||
> bālanām api sadbodhakāriṇī karṇa-peśalā |
> tathā'pi Prākṛtā bhāṣā na teṣām api bhāsate ||
> upāye sati kartavyaṁ sarveṣām citta-rañjanam |
> atas tadanurodhena Saṁskṛteyaṁ kariṣyate ||
> na ceyam atigūḍhārthā na dīrghair vākyadaṇḍakaiḥ |
> na cāprasiddha-paryāyais tena sarvajanocitā || (51-54)

The reference to 'atigūḍhārtha', 'dīrgha-vākyas' and 'aprasiddha-paryāyas' seems to be a fling at the prevalent fashion of writing Sanskrit.

The work was completed in A.D. 908. Siddharṣi also translated into Sanskrit the Prākrit *Candrakevalicarita* (A. D. 9I8) and wrote a Sanskrit commentary *Laghuvṛtti* on a Prākrit work (*Upadeśamālā* of Dharmadāsagaṇi) which has the colophon : "Kṛtir iyam Jina-Jaimini-Kaṇabhuk-Saugatādidarśanavedinaḥ sakalagranthārthanipuṇasya S'rīsiddharṣer mahācāryasyeti."

We also know of Haribhadrasūri (lived and worked round about Bhinnạmāla between 700 A. D. and 770 A. D.), who was probably the first to start the fashion of writing Sanskrit commentaries on the Prākrit Jaina Canon. That is to say, Sanskrit was regarded as the court-language, the language of all serious discussions and authoritative documents and writings. It had very much the same place as English has with respect to the modern Indian languages. The cultural rivalry between Anahillapurapattana and Malva, as said above, gave a fresh impetus to the writing of works on all important subjects in Sanskrit. We may now take a brief review of works written in Gujarat.

Vedic literature :

Durgācārya's commentary *Ṛjvartha-vṛtti* on the *Nirukta* of Yāska is well known to Vedic scholars. Durgācārya belonged to Lāṭa. At the end of the vṛtti on each adhyāya the colophon reads :

Jambūmārgāśramavāsinaḥ ācārya-Bhagavad-Durgasya kṛtau Ṛjvarthāyāṁ Nirukta-vṛttau.........

Dr. Lakshman Sarup at first identified Jambū with Jammu in Kashmir, but later realised his mistake and on the strength of references in the *Mahābhārata* he identified Jambū-mārga as a sacred place situated on the western part of Narmadā and therefore near Bharooch[2]. In fact, it can be identified with the modern town of Jambusar in the Bharooch district. Sarup moreover assigned Durga to the fourteenth century A.D., but later on he found evidence to put him before Skandasvāmin, and so according to him, the fifth century A.D. became Durga's lower limit. The upper limit, according to Sarup, is the first century A.D., because Durga uses the word Dīnāra as equivalent to money. Sarup is inclined to assign him to the first century A.D., because Barygaza or Bharooch was a famous port in the first century A.D., and declined as a port after that century.

In the article 'Gujarāta nā keṭalāka prācīna paṇḍito' (printed in *Buddhi-prakāśa*, 1952, pp. 302–308) Dr. Umakant P. Shah argues that the term 'Jambū-mārga must have been current at the time of the final recension of the *Mahābhārata*, that is to say, in the second century B.C. We do not find this term in the Purāṇas of the Gupta age. So Durga could not have been nearer the Gupta age, but must have lived in the final quarter of the first century A.D., or in the beginning of the second century A.D. Durga is prior to Skanda-svāmin, the guru of Harisvāmin who was the *dharmādhyakṣa* (minister of laws) of Vikramāditya Candragupta II of Avantī and wrote a commentary on the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in 407 A.D. Skandasvāmin can, therefore, be said to have lived in the period 350–415 A.D. So Durga must certainly have lived before 350 A.D.. and as said above, can be said to have lived in the end of the first century A.D., or the beginning of second century A.D. Durga refers to himself as 'Kāpiṣṭhala Vāsiṣṭha' : (Yasmin nigame eṣa śabdaḥ sā Vasiṣṭha-dveṣiṇī ṛk ; ahaṁ ca Kāpiṣṭhalo Vāsiṣṭhaḥ; atas tāṁ na nirbravīmi |

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[2] Introduction (pp. 97-101) to the commentary of Skandas-vāmin and Maheśvara on the *Nirukta*, Volumes III and IV, University of Lahore.

–*Nirukta-vṛtti*, 414. Durga wrote this in connection with *Ṛg Veda* III. 53. 20).

It is interesting to note that the earliest manuscript of *Durga-vṛtti* (hitherto discovered) was written in 1387 A.D. in Bharooch (Lakshman Sarup, *Introduction to Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta*, p. 50).

Skandasvāmin was the author of a commentary on the *Ṛg Veda* (upto the first three Aṣṭakas), as also of a commentary on the *Nirukta* of Yāska. Different parts of the *Ṛg Veda Bhāṣya* have been written one after the other by Skandasvāmin, Nārāyaṇa and Udgītha. Veṅkaṭa, son of Mādhava writes in his commentary on *RV*. 8. 4 :

> Skandasvāmī Nārāyaṇa Udgītha iti te kramāt ।
> cakruḥ sahaikam Ṛgbhāṣyam padavākyārthagocaram ॥

This Skandasvāmin, as we have seen above, must have lived in the period 350–415 A. D. He must have stayed and worked for the major part of his life in Ujjain, the capital of the Gupta kings. But he calls himself an inhabitant of Valabhī and son of Bhartṛ-dhruva[3]. A Brāhmaṇa Skanda is mentioned in the copper-plate of Valabhī of 528 A.D.; and one 'Brāhmaṇa Skandavasu' in the copper-plate of Dhruvasena II. The first is a Vājaseneya and the second and third are Chandogas. We have no evidence to say whether Skandasvāmin, son of Bhartṛ-dhruva was one of these.

Ānarttapura or Ānandapura (modern Vaḍanagar) seems to have been a great centre of Vedic learning from early times. The grants of the Maitrakas to a number of Brāhmaṇa donees give us some idea of the spread of Vedic learning and of the experts in various branches of it. As the late Dr. A. B. Dhruva said in a lecture on the Sanskrit literature in Gujarat, Patan and Vaḍanagar were resounding with *Veda-dhvani* of *Śrotriyas* like Varadatta

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[3] Valabhīvinivāsyetām Ṛgarthāgamasaṁhṛtim ।
Bhartṛdhruvasutaś cakre Skandasvāmī yathāsmṛti ॥
Iti Bhartṛdhruvasutasya Skandasvāminah kṛtau Ṛgveda-bhāṣye prathamo' dhyāyah—*Ṛksaṁhitā Skandasvāmi-kṛtabhāṣyeṇa sahitā*, p. 133, edited by Sāmbaśiva Sāstrī, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum, 1929.

Ānarttīya, Viṣṇu, Vajraṭa, Uvaṭa and Dyā-Dviveda[4], in the eleventh century. Uvaṭa, the author of a *Bhāṣya* on the *Śukla Yajurveda* hailed from Ānandapura. He wrote this *Bhāṣya* while living in Avantī in the time of Bhoja.

> Ānandapura-vāstavya-Vajraṭākhyasya sūnunā |
> Uvaṭena kṛtam bhāṣyam padavākyaiḥ suniścitaiḥ ||
> Ṛṣyādīṁś ca namaskṛtya Avantyām Uvaṭo vasan |
> mantrāṇāṁ kṛtavān bhāṣyam mahīm Bhoje praśāsati ||
> —p. 690, Nirṇaya Sagar Press Edition.

Uvaṭa has commented on the *Prātiśākhya Sūtras* also.

According to some Uvaṭa and Kaiyaṭa who commented on the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali were brothers of Mammaṭa and so were Pandits of Kashmir. But in view of the clear description of Uvaṭa as the son of Vajraṭa this cannot be upheld. Āmaṭa with a similar name-ending was an expert in sacrificial ritual.

"Adhvaravidhau paṭīyān Āmaṭa-nāmā tato ' bhavat tanayaḥ ".

It is likely that due to cultural contacts between Gujarat and Kashmir, for which there is ample evidence, such names came to be popular in Gujarat.

Dyā-Dviveda, a contemporary of Uvaṭa and also living in Ānandapura wrote a work called *Nīti-mañjarī* which he finished in 1054 A.D. He says in the colophon that on the basis of historical incidents narrated in the *Veda*, he wrote this poetical work in the form of delightful historical narratives with a view to illustrate the *Vedas* and to propound ethical virtues.

> Vilokya saṁhitā-madhye itihāsān purātanān |
> kṛtā vai dharma-saṁyuktā śloke baddhā subuddhidā ||
> Veda-dṛṣṭāntarūpeyaṁ Dyā-dvivedakṛtā śubhā |
> nītidharmaparā ramyā setihāsakathātmikā ||

It may be noted that both Uvaṭa and Dyā-Dviveda, like Durgācārya and Skandasvāmin, preceded the famous Sāyaṇācārya who has utilised the works of these writers in the commentaries on the Vedas,

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[4] *Digdarśana – Gujarāta nuṁ Saṁskṛta Sāhitya*, p. 8. Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, 1942.

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written by him or prepared under his supervision. Viṣṇu who wrote the *Śāṅkhāyana-paddhati* belongs to the same period. He has given a genealogy of his forefathers who were all according to him, very learned. One of them, Vāmana, it is interesting to know, returned from his travels to other regions, and found that, as ill luck would have it, his entire family had perished. Though he was 65 years old, he brought a wife from Vidarbha-nagara and thus continued his family-line.

It is claimed by some that Yājñavalkya of Upaniṣadic fame originally belonged to Ānandapura as this *gotra*-name is found only here ; but we have no sure evidence in support of this.

Vyākaraṇa :

We have seen above that it was considered a matter of prestige to be known as proficient in grammar, logic, philosophy, poetics, fine arts and politics, and *Śālāturīyatantra* is even referred to in the copper-plates of the Maitrakas. But we have a very interesting account of the circumstances that led to the composition of the *Siddhahema-śabdānuśāsana*. The *Prabhāvakacarita* (completed in 1278 A.D.) relates that once upon a time when Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.), after his conquest of Malva, was in the company of Hemacandra and other learned men, he was shown books of the Avantī library by his officers. He saw a *Śāstra* work and asked what it was. Hemacandra replied that it was the grammar of Bhoja and that work on the science of language was in current use, the king of Malva being the crest-jewel among the learned and the author of works on grammar, poetics, astrology and logic. The jealousy of Siddharāja was roused and he asked : "What, have we no such *Śāstra* works in our collection, and is there no learned man in the whole of Gurjaradeśa?" Every-body looked at Hemacandra and so the king requested him to write a new grammar which could stand comparison with all the extant grammars, especially the Pāṇinian. Hemacandra replied that he wanted to write one and that the encouraging words of the king served as a reminder. Then he said : " There are eight grammars. The books of these grammars surely exist in the library of S'rī Bhāratī Devī. Get them from the Kāśmīra region through your men so that a good work on grammar could be composed." The king despatched important officers who went there and invoked the

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Goddess of Speech who was pleased and said: "This S'vetāmbara Hemacandra has won my highest favour. So send servants with the collection of books to him, who is another image of mine." It was done accordingly and Utsāha Paṇḍita was also sent. Hemacandra studied these works on grammar thoroughly and critically and wrote his *Śabdānuśāsana* with the *Laghu-vṛtti* and *Bṛhad-vṛtti*, *Śabdamahārṇava Nyāsa*, *Liṅgānuśāsana* with his own commentary, *Uṇādigaṇavivaraṇa*, *Dhātu-pārāyaṇa-vivaraṇa* and other works.

Malayagiri, the well known commentator of the Jaina *Āgamas* and other works, has also written an independent work on grammar *Śabdānuśāsana* with his own commentary. It is also known as *Muṣṭi-vyākaraṇa* and seems to have been written during the reign of Kumārapāla (1142–1173 A.D.). Malayagiri was a junior contemporary of Hemacandra and seems to have been very much influenced by the grammars of S'ākaṭāyana (Pālyakīrti) and Hemacandra.

Vardhamāna Sūri wrote his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* with his own commentary in 1141 A.D. In this work, the author has compiled the gaṇas of S'ākaṭāyana-Vyākaraṇa and given an exposition of the words. He has referred to a number of grammarians but surprisingly not to Hemacandra, who also does not mention him. Vardhāmanasūri seems to have also written a work *Siddharāja-varṇana*.

Buddhisāgara wrote a work on grammar, *Buddhisāgara-vyākaraṇa*. It is also known as *Pañca-granthī Vyākaraṇa* (because it is based on the works of five grammarians-Pāṇini, Candra, Jinendra, Viśrānta and Durga). It was finished in Jābālipura (modern Jhalor in Rajasthan) in 1024 A.D. Buddhisāgara also says that he composed this work as the Brāhmaṇas were ridiculing the Jainas for having no work on grammar or logic of their own. It may be noted that Jineśvara wrote a work called *Pramāṇa-lakṣaṇa*. It is interesting to know that in the reign of Bhīma (A.D. 1022-1064) it was his purohita Someśvara and S'aiva guru Jñānadeva who made possible the residence in Aṇahillapura of these two ascetic Jaina monks-Jineśvara and Buddhisāgara. Their right to stay there was challenged by the Caityavāsin Jaina abbots who alone amongst Jaina priests had the prescriptive right to reside in the capital. Jineśvara and Buddhi-

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sāgara were Brāhmaṇas of Madhyadeśa,-their names being respectively Śrīdhara and Śrīpati before they were converted to Jainism, and they were masters of Vedic learning. Buddhisāgara thus seems to have been the first S'vetāmbara Ācārya to have written a work on grammar, but it does not seem to have gained much prestige though it is referred to in a few works[5]. It also has *Sūtra-pāṭha*, *Dhātupāṭha*, *Gaṇapāṭha* and *Uṇādisūtra* in verse. It is yet unpublished.

Another interesting work on grammar is *Gaṇadarpaṇa* attributed to king Kumārapāla himself[6]. It was written to teach Sanskrit to the Daṇḍanāyaka Vosari and the Pratihāra Bhojadeva. Whether Kumārapāla himself wrote it or not, it certainly shows his concern about giving a grounding in Sanskrit to his officers. There are such lines as:

> ' Śritvādyair vā dvitīyāntam vetrin Bhoja samasyate '.

We may briefly mention a few more works on grammar that were written in Gujarat. One Kākala, a kāyastha was appointed to teach Hemacandra's *Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana* during the life-time of Hemacandra. He wrote a commentary on it which was known as *Laghu-vṛtti* or *Madhyama-vṛtti.* Ācārya Guṇacandrasūri wrote *Hema-vibhrama-ṭīkā* or *Tattvaprakāśikā* on the twenty-one *kārikās* of *Hemavibhrama* of unknown authorship. The use of many allegedly ungrammatical forms is attempted to be justified and they are proved to be grammatically correct. The author was a pupil of Ācārya Devasūri.

Akāri Guṇacandreṇa vṛttiḥ sva-para-hetave |
Devasūrikramāmbhoja-cañcarīkeṇa sarvadā ||

Probably this Guṇacandrasūri was identical with Guṇacandra, pupil of Hemacandrācārya and collaborator of Rāmacandrasūri in respect of the *Dravyālaṅkāra-ṭippaṇa* and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa.*

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5. See *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihāsa*, Bhāga 5, *Lākṣaṇika Sāhitya*, pp. 22-23. Pārśvanātha Vidyās'rama Śodha saṁsthāna, Vārāṇasī 5.

6. See Dr. B. J. Sandesara's article in *The Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University*, Baroda, Vol. II. No. 1, March, 1953,

Ācārya Amaracandrasūri, a honoured poet of the court of the Gujarat King Viśāladeva wrote a *Syādiśabda-samuccaya* in the thirteenth century, in which he explained the case-formations on the basis of the *Sūtras* of the *Siddhahema-śabdānuśāsana*. Some commentaries also were written on this work which proved to be very useful to students of the *Siddhahema*.

Ācārya Guṇaratna Sūri wrote the *Kriyāratnasamuccaya* in 1409 A.D. in which he explained the different conjugations of verbs and tense-formations and forms of the Desiderative, etc. and the use of tenses and moods. He has made use of the Gujarati medium also wherever he thought it necessary to drive a point home. Ācārya Yaśovijaya Upādhyāya also wrote *Tiṅanvayokti*. Dānavijaya wrote *Śabdabhūṣaṇa* in 1713 A.D. for Baḍemiyān, son of Śekha Fate who was well known in Gujarat.

One Vardhamāna was the author of *Kātantra-vistara*, based on the Kāntantra grammar. This work is believed to be prior to 1401 A.D. The work ends with 'Iti Śrīmat-Karṇadevopādhyāya-Śrīvardhamāna-viracite Kātantravistare......'. A pupil of the Purohita of the Gujarat King Karṇadeva had the name Vardhamāna. It is not known whether he was identical with the author of the *Kātantra-vistara*.

A number of works generally known as 'auktikas' were written to impart instruction of Sanskrit grammar through the medium of the Gujarati language. The main purpose of such works is to show how the Sanskrit language can be spoken. *Mugdhāvabodha-auktika* of Kulamaṇḍanasūri (1352–1398 A.D.) and *Vākyaprakāśa* of Udayadharma written in Siddhapura in 1450 A.D. (in it Gujarati poems and their translations are given by way of suggestions) are two 'auktika' works.

We may at the end just mention that Ajitayaśas, a brother of the great Mallavādin, is said to have written a work on logic and a *Nyāsa* on a work of grammar called *Viśrānta-vidhyādhara* (See *Prabhāvakacarita*, pp. 77–79, Singhi Jaina Series).

Alaṅkāra and Nāṭya

Hemacandra was very much influenced by Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* as he himself acknowledges in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* and his own commentaries thereon. This shows that *Kāvyaprakāśa* must have been studied as an important text-book of poetics in Gujarat within a few years of its composition. The *Kāvyaprakāśa* was composed in about 1143 A.D. and the *Kāvyānuśāsana* in about of 1100 A. D. This itself speaks of the cultural contact between Gujarat and Kashmir in those days and the alertness of the learned. One of the earliest and most authoritative commentaries on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, viz. the *Saṅketa* was written by the Jaina Ācārya Māṇikyacandra, a friend of Minister Vastupāla in the thirteenth century A.D., the earliest commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* being written by the Kashmiri scholar Ruyyaka, the author of *Alaṅkārasarvasa* (12th century A.D.). Another early commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* was written in Gujarat in 1294 A.D. by Jayantabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of S'ārṅgadeva Vāghela, this being the third in chronological order. Ratnakaṇṭha (1648–1681 A.D.), a later commentator, attaches prime importance to this *Jayantī*. Three more commentaries on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* were written in Gujarat by Jayānandasūri (date not known), by the well known Yas'ovijaya (17th cent A.D.) and *Sāradīpikā* by Guṇaratnagaṇi (before 1686 A.D.; it was written after consulting previous commentaries). It is interesting that the earliest manuscript of *Kāvyaprakāśa* known so far is on palm-leaf; it was written by Paṇḍita Lakṣmīdhara in V. S. 1215, Āśvin Śudi 14, Budha (Wednesday, October 8, 1158) in the reign of Kumārapāla in Aṇahillapāṭaka.

We may mention here casually that Bhānucandra and his pupil Siddhicandra were important Jaina writers of Gujarat attending also at the Mughal court at Delhi under the rule of Akbar and Jehangir. Bhānucandra and Siddhicandra are well known for their commentary on Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. Siddhicandra wrote the life of his guru Bhānucandra and also works on poetics, grammar, etc. He wrote *Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana* (in about 1657 A. D.) which has been edited by Prof. Rasiklal Parikh, and is published in the Singhi Jain Series. He refers twice to his own *Bṛhaṭṭīkā*; so he must have written a detailed commentary on the *Kavyaprakāśa*, which is not extant. In his *Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana*, he gives a critique of Mammaṭa's views and shows where they are untenable. We may mention some of his other works that are relevant to the subject of

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this paper - *Tarkabhāṣā-ṭīkā, Saptapdārthī-ṭīkā, Anekārthasarga-vṛtti, Dhātumañjarī, Ākhyātavādaṭīkā, Lekhalikhanapaddhati.*

Before we come to Hemacandra, we may take note of Namisādhu's useful and learned commentary, Ṭippaṇa (written in 1069 A. D.) on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra.* Namisādhu was a pupil of Śālibhadra of the Thārāpadra gaccha.

Hemacanadra wrote his *Kāvyānuśāsana* in eight *adhyāyas* and with his own commentaries *Alaṅkāra-cūḍāmaṇi* and *Viveka* thereon. Hemacandra was a very conscientious and painstaking writer, and as in the *Siddha-Hema vākaraṇa*, so here also one can very clearly see the influence of his predecessors in the field of poetics; and yet one is struck by his assimilative power and eagerness to arrange and classify figures of speech, etc. so as to leave out nothing and still make things more convincing. His rational approach is worth emulating. Though he has been criticised by some as being just a good compiler, one is certainly impressed if one cares to study his works carefully and critically, and compare them with earlier works. Upādhyāya Yaśovijaya wrote an *Alaṅkāra-cūḍāmaṇi-vṛtti* (as can be seen from: 'prapañcitaṁ caitad Alaṅkāra-cūḍāmaṇivṛttāvasmābhiḥ' in his own commentary of his *Pratimāśataka*) but this has not been discovered yet.

Vāghaṭa or Bāhaḍa (1123 A. D.), a contemporary of King Siddharāja and much honoured by him, wrote the *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra.* Vāgbhaṭa has given verses composed by himself as illustrations in this work of five *parricchedas.* A number of commentaries have been written on this work.

Narendraprabhasūri wrote the *Alaṅkāramahodadhi* with his own commentary in 1226 A. D. at the instance of Vastupāla, a highly enlightened minister of the Vāghela king Vīradhavala of Dholka. On the basis of a palm-leaf manuscript of *Kalpapallava-śeṣa* one can say that there were two commentaries *Kalpalatāpallava* and *Kālpapallavaśeṣa* on a work *Kalpalatā* in poetics. This manuscript is dated Vikram Samvat 1205; so the *Kalpalatā* must have been written prior to 1149 A. D. There is no mention of the author of the *Kalpalatā.* But Vādi Devasūri has made the following statement in his *Syādvādaratnākara* (l. 2. p. 29) on his own *Pramāṇanayatattvālokālaṅkāra;*

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Śrīmad-Ambāprasāda-sacivapravareṇa Kalpalatāyāṁ tat-saṅkete Kalpapallave ca prapañcitam astīti tata evāvaseyam.

We can therefore say that a minister Ambāprasāda was the author of *Kalpalatā* as also its commentary *Kalpapallava*. That he was the author of *Kalpapallavaśeṣa* or *Viveka* can be seen from the first stanza:

> Yat Pallave na vivṛtaṁ durbodham mandabuddhes' cāpi |
> kriyate Kalpalatāyām tasya Viveko'yam atisugamaḥ ||

That a learned man like Vādi Devasūri has referred to a minister Ambāprasāda's works indicate that he had studied them and had reverence for the author who must have indulged in philosophical discussions in his works. Now one Ambāprasāda is known to have been the chief minister of the Gujarat King Siddharāja Jayasimha; he occupied the same position even during the reign of Kumārapāla. Ambāprasāda aleo seems to have had great respect for Vādi Devasūri, for in the *Prabhāvakacarita* (*Vādi-Devasūricarita*, 61–65), we are told that when one *Bhāgavata*-scholar challenged the Paṇḍitas of Aṇahillapura-pattana to explain a certain stanza and for six months no scholar succeeded in doing so, the Chief Minister Ambāprasāda suggested to King Siddharāja the name of Vādi Devasūri, who was invited and he proved to be successful in explaining the stanza. It is really unfortunate that neither the *Kalpalatā* nor the *Kalpalatā-pallava* is now extant[7].

A number of works on *Kaviśikṣā*, giving instruction and useful and practical suggestions to poets in the making, were written in Gujarat. We may mention some of them here. Jayamaṅgalasūri, a pupil of Vādi Devasūri has composed a work called *Kaviśikṣā* in which he has given besides others, verses in praise of Siddharāja as illustrations.

Amaracandrasūri was patronised by the Gujarat King Viśaladeva (1187 1205 A.D.) as he had proved his poetic skill and successfully faced the challenges put forth by poets like Someśvara, Nānāka Paṇḍita and others by composing 108 *samasyā*-verses on the spot. He wrote a work known as *Kaviśikṣā*, keeping in view the *Kavitā-rahasya* written by his preceptor Arisimha, who was patronised by the minister Vastupāla, whose greatness he has sung

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[7] See *Jaina Sāhitya Kā Bṛhad Itihāsa*, Vol. 5, pp. 103–105.

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in his *Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana-kāvya.* Amaracandra also wrote a commentary *Kāvyakalpalatā* on his own *Kaviśikṣā.* Herein he acknowledges his indebtedness to the *Kavitārahasya* of his preceptor and states that some of the *Sūtras* in his *Kaviśikṣā* were those written by his preceptor Arisiṁha. Instructions regarding the composition of poetical stanzas can be found in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Kṣemendra's *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Halāyudha's *Kavirahasya*, Jayamaṅgala's *Kaviśikṣā* and Vinayacandra's *Kāvyaśikṣā*, but the treatment in these texts is either partial or not fully comprehensive. Amaracandrasūri's *Kāvyakalpalatā* and Deveśvara's *Kāvyakalpalatā* alone are found to be useful in every way to those who want to practise the art of poetry-writing. Deveśvara's work can be regarded as almost an abridgement of Amaracandra's work. Amaracandra has also written his own commentaries *Kāvyakalpalatāmañjarī* (not yet discovered) and *Kāvyakalpalatāparimala*, on his *Kāvyakalpalatā.* Yaśovijaya wrote a commentary on Amaracandra's *Kāvyakalpalatā.* Amaracandra seems to have written *Alaṅkāraprabodha* to which he refers in his *Kāvyakalpalatā.*

Jñānameru, pupil of Mahimasundara of the Kharatara Gaccha wrote *Kavimukha-maṇḍana* for Daulatkhan as the writer himself says. A number of works on Poetics have been written in Gujarat, but we have mentioned only some of the important ones. It may also be borne in mind that the Jaina monks in particular were obliged by their religious vow to be on Vihāra, walking tour, from one place to another except in the rainy season. So it is quite likely that a work begun in Gujarat might have been completed elsewhere and *vice versa.*

In the field of Dramaturgy, two of Hemacandra's pupils—Rāmacandra (also a good poet, dramatist and scholar) and Guṇacandra jointly wrote the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, a very useful and scholarly work, having its own contribution to make in the field of Dramaturgy.

It is interesting to note that there is one *Lāṭī Rīti* in Poetics, and it was first recognised by Bhoja in *Saraṣvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.* It is said to have predominantly compounds of five to seven padas. Had there not been a number of poets in Gujarat before the 11th century A.D., this peculiar *Rīti* with a name from a region of Gujarat

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would not have been given due recognition. Simhadeva-gaṇi, who has commented on Vāgbhaṭa's work, connects this rasa with the Lāṭī Rīti when he says : Lāṭī Hāsyarase prayoga-nipuṇai rītiḥ prabandhe kṛtā '. Lāṭānuprāsa (a sub-variety of alliteration) also has found a place in Poetics.

Chandas (*Metres*)

Buddhisāgara is known to have written a *Chandaḥśāstra* besides his *Pañca-granthī* Sanskrit Grammar ; this work is not extant. But we have Hemacandra's *Chandonuśāsana* in eight *adhyāyas* along with his own commentary. Hemacandra wrote this after he had written the *Śabdānuśāsana* and the *Kāvyānuśāsana*. Hemacandra has not treated the Vedic metres, but he has treated the different metres used in classical Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa. He has given certain sub-varieties which were not mentioned in earlier works on metre. Upādhyāya Yaśovijaya wrote a commentary, it is said, on the *Chandonuśāsana*, but it is not extant.

Amaracandra-sūri also wrote a work called *Chandoratnāvalī* on Metre. Mention may also be made of the *Āryā-saṁkhyā-uddiṣṭa-naṣṭavartana-vidhi* of Upādhyāya Samayasundara (17th century) and commentaries on *Vṛttaratnākara* of Kedārabhaṭṭa by Somacandra gaṇi (1273 A. D.) and by Samayasundaragaṇi (1328 A. D.)

Kośa (*Lexicons*)

Hemacandrācārya in his zeal to educate the people of Gujarat and to have every type of literature written in Gujarat, prepared some lexicographical works. His *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi-nāmamālā* is one such work which he wrote after he had written his *Siddhahema* with its different ' aṅgas '. A good vocabulary enables one to be a good poet and an orator. The *Ahhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* is written according to the pattern of the *Amarakośa* and contains words that are *rūḍha* (whose etymology cannot be shown), *yaugika* (etymologically derived) and both. Hemacandra wrote a separate work for gender, the *Liṅgānuśāsana*. Hemacandra has Sanskritized words taken from the Prākrit, Apabhramśa and *deśī* languages and thus enriched his work as also the Sanskrit language. Hemacandra also wrote his own commentary known as *Tattvābhidhāyinī* on this work, in which he has discussed some additional words. Hemacandra has made ample use of earlier works and even referred to them when he has reason to differ from them.

Hemacandra also prepared a work known as *Anekārthasaṁgraha* in which are given words having many meanings. His pupil Mahendrasūri wrote a commentary *Anekārtha-kairavākarakaumudī* on it and ascribed the authorship to his preceptor. Similarly Hemacandra has written *Deśīśabda-saṁgraha* (known as *Deśīnāmamālā* or *Rayaṇāvalī*), a collection of *Deśya* words and *Nighaṇṭuśeṣa*, a dictionary giving the names of medicinal herbs.

Amaracandrasūri, the court-poet of King Viśāladeva composed the *Ekākṣaranāma-mālikā* in 21 verses.

Jyotiṣa (*Astronomy and Astrology*)

One Lāṭadeva was among the chief disciples of the well known astronomer Āryabhaṭa I. He lived prior to Varāhamihira and can be said to have flourished in about 285-303 A. D. This Lāṭadeva was one of the very well known Paṇḍitas of Gujarat as his very name suggests and must have received this appellation because he belonged to the Lāṭa region. The Jain *Cūrṇis* mention one Lāṭācārya; the Jaina *Cūrṇis* were written before Vikram Samvat 733 (677 A. D.).

In view of a reference in Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 1. 3 (pañcabhyo dvāv ādyau vyākhyātau Lāṭadevena), Lāṭadeva seems to have written works giving an exposition of the *Paulīśa* and the *Romaka Siddhāntas*. In the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 15, 18 while giving the calculation of *ahargaṇa*, Varāhamihira refers to the view of Lāṭācārya. This Lāṭācārya was the pupil of the famous Āryabhaṭa I, and had received the title 'Sarvasiddhāntaguru'.[8] The mid-region of Gujarat did come into contact with the Romans; so it should not surprise us if Lāṭācārya wrote a work on *Romaka Siddhānta*.

Brahmagupta, the famous astronomer, completed his *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* in Śrīmāla in 628 A.D. when a King named

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[8] See *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, 362. Calcutta; also *Buddhi-prakāśa*, 1952, Vol. 99, pp. 302–308 and *Gujarāta na ketālāka Paṇḍito*, Umakant P. Shah.

Vyāghramukha of the Cāpa dynasty was ruling. Brahmagupta calls himself *Bhillamallakācārya*.

Durlabharāja started writing in 1160 A.D. during the reign of Kumārapāla a work on Jyotiṣa *Sāmudrikatilaka* and his son Jagaddeva completed it. Jagaddeva has also written *Svapnacintāmaṇi*. During the reign of Ajayapāla, Narahari, the son of Āmradeva wrote the *Narapatijayacaryā-svarodaya* about good omens for a King. Udayaprabhasūri (the preceptor of Malliṣeṇa and Jinaprabhasūri) wrote in 1224 A.D. under the patronage of Minister Vastupāla the *Ārambhasiddhi* giving a description of good and bad omens. There is a commentary *Sudhīśṛṅgāra* on it by Hemahaṁsagaṇi written in 1450 A.D.

Ācārya Naracandrasūri, a pupil of Devaprabhasūri of the Maladhāri Gaccha wrote a work named *Jyotiḥsāra* in 1224 A.D. Sāgaracandra wrote a commentary on it. Jayaratnagaṇi wrote *Doṣaratnāvalī* in Tryambāvatī (Khambat, Cambay). He wrote the *Jvaraparājaya* (on Medicine) in 1606 A.D. A number of other works mostly pertaining to astrology, horoscopes, auspicious and inauspicious signs, etc. have been written, but they need not be enumerated here. We may casually mention here that Yakṣa, a brother of Mallavādin, who flourished in Valabhī is credited with a work on astrology *Nimittāṣṭāṅga-bodhinī* (See *Prabhāvakacarita*, pp. 77–79, Singhi Jaina Series).

Nyāya and Darśanas

Yājñavalkya of Upaniṣadic fame is believed by some to have hailed from Vaḍanagara in Gujarat, as this *gotra*-name is not to be found elsewhere. Similarly Nakulīśa or Lakulīśa, regarded as the founder of the Pāśupata system was born in Kāyārohaṇa (modern Kāravaṇa in the Babhoi Taluka near Baroda). But we will concentrate mainly on known historical facts.

Mallavādin, a great Jaina dialectician, flourished in Valabhī in the fourth-fifth century A.D. His work *Dvādaśāra-nayacakra* is one of the most important works establishing the *Anekāntavāda* (theory of Non-absolutism) of the Jainas. Mallavādin also wrote his own commentary. No manuscript of the original work has been found, but its text is preserved in the form of lemmata in the text of

Siṁhasūri's commentary. This work can be compared with Siddhasena Divākara's *Sammatitarka* and its *Tattvabodhavidhāyini* commentary by Abhayadevasūri. One Mallavādin has written a *Ṭippaṇa* on Dharmottara's *Ṭīkā* on Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu,* but it is difficult to say whether he was the same Mallavādin as the author of the *Nayacakra*, because the latter is said to have lived about 884 Vīra Saṁvat (= 414 Vikrama Saṁvat = 358 A.D.) by the *Prabhāvakacarita* (p. 74), while the former should be posterior to Dharmottara. As said above, Ajitayaśas, a brother of Mallavādin, is said to have written on logic.

Haribhadrasūri, whose time has been fixed by Ācarya Jinavijaya as between 700 and 770 A.D., is an outstanding Jaina-ācārya in many respects. As Jacobi has shown he was probably the first to start the fashion of writing Sanskrit commentaries on the Ardhamāgadhī Jaina Āgamas. His major contribution is in the field of Jaina philosophy by means of such works as *Anekānta-jayapatākā* and in that of Yoga philosophy through such works as *Yogadṛṣṭi-samuccaya* and *Yoga-bindu.* He was perhaps the first to give an account, brief though it might be, of all the *Darśanas* in his *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* and an elaborate one in the *Śāstra-vārtā-samuccaya.* Haribhadra mainly worked in Bhinnamāla, which seems to have been a centre of the proselytizing activity of the Jainas. Haribhadra is said to have converted many S'rīmālīs-Rajputs and merchants-to Jainism[9]. Abhayadevasūri wrote a voluminous commentary, *Tattvabodhavidhāyinī* also known as *Vādamahārṇava* on the *Sammati-tarka.* It is almost an encyclopaedia of the Sanskrit *Darśanas,* and one finds in it references to, and quotations from, a number of earlier works. Śāntisūri of Thārāpadra Gaccha received training under him. This Śāntisūri was one of the great men of learning of the times of Bhīmadeva I. He had thirty-two pupils studying *Pramāṇa-śāstra* including Buddhist logic. He had a thorough understanding of philosophical problems[10]. He died in 1040 A. D.

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9. P. 173, *Jaina Sāhitya No Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa,* Mohanlal Desai.
10. Atha pramāṇaśāstrāṇi śiṣyān dvātriṁs'ataṁ tadā |
adhyāpayanti S'rī S'āntisūrayaś caityasaṁsthitāḥ ||
prabhedā duḥparicchedyā bauddha-tarkasamudbhavāḥ |
tenāvadhāritāḥ sarve'nyaprajñānavagāhitāḥ ||
—*Prabhāvakacarita.* vv. 70, 73, p. 135.

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It may be noted that there was another Śāntisūri of the Candrakula Gaccha, who wrote the *Nyāyāvatāravārttika-vṛtti*, besides the *Ṭippaṇa* on Dhanapāla's *Tilakamañjarī*, and other commentaries. He lived between 894 and 1119 A.D[11].

The former Śāntisūri of Thārāpadra Gaccha was given the title Vādivetāla by King Bhoja as he was victorious in an intellectual contest at his court. It is recorded in the *Prabhāvakacarita* that one Kaula Kavi Dharma who hailed from Bhṛgukaccha in Lāṭa and claimed that no body could match him in Tarka, Lakṣaṇa and Sāhitya, came to Aṇahillapura and had a dialectical contest with this Vādivetāla S'āntyācārya. We are told that Kaula Kavi Dharma took his arguments from a work called *Tattvopaplavasiṁha*. A *Tattvopaplavasiṁha* of Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa, edited from a single palm-leaf manuscript copied in Dhavalakka (modern Dholka) in Gujarat in Vikram Saṁvat 1349 (=1293 A. D.), is known to us. It is the only work of Cārvāka school so far discovered and propounds scepticism.

Vādi Devasūri (1087-1170) and Hemacandra (1089-1173) are outstanding names in the Cālukya period. According to the *Prabhāvakacarita* (p. 172) Vādi Devasūri, a great Jaina dialectician had a dialectical contest with a Kashmirian named Sāgara in Satyapura-Sachor in Marwad. A contemporary dramatic work *Mudṛita-kumudacandra* of Yaśaḥpāla commemorates a debate between the Digambara Ācārya Kumudacandra and the S'vetāmbara Ācārya Vādi Devasūri held on the full moon day of Vaiśākha V. S. 1181 (=1125 A. D.). Historical personages like Utsāha and Sāgara are mentioned as judges in the Paṇḍita Sabhā of Siddharāja. In the course of the debate Utsāha explains a Sūtra from Pāṇini ; so he must have been a grammarian,–perhaps identical with Utsāha, who brought grammatical works from Kashmir for Hemacandra. But Vādi Devasūri is best known for his *Pramāṇanayatattvālokālaṅkāra* and his own voluminous and learned commentary *Syādvādaratnākara* on it.

That Hemacandra is known as 'Kalikāla-sarvajña' is a sufficient indication of his scholarship. He has written literary as also *śāstraic* works, some of which have been mentioned above. The *Pramāṇa-mīmāṁsā* is a well known work on Jaina logic written by Hemacandra after he wrote the *Śabdānuśāsana*, *Kāvyānuśāsana* and *Chandonuśāsana*. It originally had five *Adhyāyas*; but only a fragment-the first *adhyāya* with two *Āhnikas*, and the first *Āhnika* of the second *adhyāya* is extant along with the author's own commentary. The work is in the *sūtra*-style. Hemacandra's *Anyayoga-vyavaccheda* and *Ayoga-vyavaccheda*, each of thirty-two stanzas, though of the form of eulogies of Vardhamāna, are replete with logical and philosophical terminology, as can bc seen from the fact that the former gave Malliṣeṇa (1292 A. D.) a pretext to write his learned philosophical work *Syādvādamañjarī* by way of a commentary on it. Other works of Hemacandra are *Vedāṅkuśa* or *Dvijavadana-capeṭā*, *Yogaśāstra* with his own-commentary *Vītarāgastotra*, etc.

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[11] See *Nyāyāvatāra-vārttika-vṛtti*, Introduction, pp. 146-151, Pandit Dalsukh Malavania (Singhi Jaina Granthamālā).

Maladhārī Hemacandra (different from *Kalikālasarvajña*) of the time of Siddharāja is known for his commentaries on early Jain works—*Āvaśyaka-ṭippaṇaka*, *Vivaraṇa* on a *Karmagrantha* called *Śataka*, *Anuyogadvāra-sūtravṛtti*, *Jīvasāmāsavivaraṇa*, *Nandīsūtra-ṭippaṇaka* and *Viśeṣāvaśyakasūtra-bṛhadvṛtti*. *Upadeśa-mālāsūtra* (or *Puṣpamālā*) and his own commentary are independent works written by him. In his commentary on the *Viśeṣāvaśyaka* he has mentioned the names of seven collaborators, two of them being nuns—Abhayakumāragaṇi, Vibudhacandra Muni, Ānanda-śri-Mahattarā and Vīramatī Gaṇinī.

We may mention here that Ānandasūri and Amaracandrasūri were given the titles 'Vyāghraśiśuka ' and 'Siṁhaśiśuka' by Siddharāja for defeating rival dialecticians even in their childhood.

Saiśave ' pi madamattavādavid-
vāraṇa . . nivāraṇakṣamau |
Yau jagāda Jayasimha-bhūpatir
Vyāghrasimhaśisukāviti svayam ||
—V. 20, p. 30, *Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana* of Arisimha.

Also,

Ānandasūrir iti tasya babhūva śiṣyaḥ
pūrvo'parah samadharo'maracandrasūriḥ |

bālye'pi nirdalitavādigajo jagāda
yau vyāghra-simhaśiśukāv iti siddharājaḥ ॥
—Pras'asti of Udayaprabhasūri's *Dharmābhyudayamahākāvya*
—See *Jaina Sāhitya No Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa.*
p. 249, fn., 282, Mohanlal D. Desai.

Of these, Amaracandra wrote a voluminous work called *Siddhāntārṇava*. Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya probably referred to these two while defining *vyāpti* in his *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (See pp. 47-48, *History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic* of Satīs'candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa). The chief disciple Haribhadrasūri of Ānandasūri was given the title 'Kali-kāla Gautama'. He wrote *Tattva-prabodha* and other works.

Dholka became a centre of learning in the time of the Vāghelā King Vīradhavala, especially because ot the love of learning of his chief Minister Vastupāla and his able brother Tejapāla. A number of good poets and writers flourished during this period. But we have here to consider only those who have written works on Logic and Philosophy. Naracandra wrote during this period besides other works, a commentary on the *Nyāyakandalī* of S'rīdhara. He got help from Vimalasūri in this work. Rājaśekharasūri (1349 A. D.) wrote the *Pañjikā* on the *Nyāyakandalī*.

Though hundreds of commentaries have been written in Gujarat on poetical and other works throughout the centuries, only some of the important ones on S'āstraic works have been mentioned. Special reference could be made to Guṇaratnasūri's *Tarkarahasyadipikā* on Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarsana-samuccaya*, written in the beginning of the fifteenth eentury. 1t is a learned work and the author has referred to important works and writers of the different *darśanas*. Bhuvanasundarasūri (1399–1460 A. D.) wrote *Mahāvidyāviḍambana-vyākhyānadīpikā* (on Vādīndra's *Mahāvidyāviḍambana* and *Laghumahāvidyāviḍambana* and *Mahāvidyāvivaraṇa-ṭippaṇa*. These two latter works centre round the *Daśaślokīmahāvidyāsūtra* of Kulārka Paṇḍita (11th cent.), containing sixteen definitions or modes of formulation of sixteen *mahāvidyā*-syllogisms (establishing the non-eternality of sound).

The last illustrious name in Gujarat is that of Yaśovijaya (17th cent. A. D.) who has written a number of works in different

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śāstras in Sanskrit. Some of these are—*Nayapradīpa*, *Nayarahasya*, *Nayopadeśa* with *Nayāmṛtataraṅgiṇī*, *Syādvādakalpalatā*, *Paramarahasya*, *Syādvādarahasya*, *Vādarahasya*, *Bhāṣārahasya*, *Upadeśarahasya*, *Mangalavāda*, *Vidhivāda*, *Jaina-tarka-bhāṣā* and *Jñānabindu*. It can be seen that Yaśovijaya has been influenced by Brāhmanical writers, even in naming his works. The endings 'rahasya' and 'vāda' have their parallel in the titles of many Brāhmanical works. Yaśovijaya was well versed in Navya-Nyāya and he has at a number of places attempted to refute its tenets.

Vinayavijaya, a contemporary of Yaśovijaya, has written, besides other works, the *Lokaprakāśa* in verse, in which he propounds Jaina cosmology. Meghavijaya, another contemporary of Yaśovijaya, was proficient in *Nyāya*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Sāhitya* and Astronomy and Astrology. Some of his works are *Mātṛkāprasāda* (an exposition of 'Aum namaḥ siddham'), *Tattva-gītā*, *Brahmabodha*, *Candraprabhā* (or *Haimakaumudī*, in *Vyākanaṇa*, written in 1701 A. D. in Agra), *Udayadīpikā*, *Vārṣaprabodha* or *Megha-mahodaya*, etc.

Even in modern times scholars like Bhagavadācārya, Satvalekar and others including some *sannyāsins* have made significant contributions.

Arts

Amaracandrasūri is said to have written a work called *Kalākalāpa* which was śāstraic in character, but this work is not extant.

Hundreds of works have been written in Sanskrit in Gujarat, but this would be a subject of an independent research project. I have only made an humble attempt to draw the attention of scholars to some outstanding works and writers of Gujarat. The most striking thing in Gujarat has been the establishing of *Grantha Bhāṇḍāras* wherein since early times some rare manuscripts of works, Brāhmanical, Buddhist, Jaina and of works pertaining to different sciences and arts have been preserved. And the credit for this goes to a large extant to Jaina *Munis* and their patrons. This arrangement for the preservation of rare manuscripts, getting copies made and the like was encouraged especially by Siddharāja and his successors, and then by the ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla. As a result some rare manuscripts have been discovered in the *Grantha Bhāṇḍāras* in Gujarat[14].

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14. I have mainly based my article on the following :—
    (i) Prof. Rasiklal C. Parikh's Presidential Address to the Classical Sanskrit section, All India Oriental Conference, 1971.
    (ii) *Jaina Sāhitya Kā Bṛhad Itihāsa*, Vol. 5, Banaras.
    (iii) *Jaina Sāhitya No Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa*, Mohanlal Desai,

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CONTRIBUTION OF SOUTH GUJARAT TO SANSKRIT

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The history of South Gujarat, variously known as the Lāṭa, Aparānta and Paraśurāmakṣetra, is yet to be investigated and written. References to it are found in ancient literature and copper-plate inscriptions. The Dangs are said to have been sanctified by the lotus-feet of Rāma and Sītā, who stayed in the Daṇḍakāraṇya. Bhṛgukaccha or Broach is stated to have been connected with the learned and mighty Bhṛgus. Though Surat is comparatively modern, the names like Sūryapura, Tapatī, Rannāde and Aśvinīkumāra show that they are connected with the myth of the Sun-god. The history of the region is however found only in patches. After the advent of Muslim invaders in Gujarat and southern India, and especially during the Moghul regime, south Gujarat, with its prosperous ports and wealthy cities, came to the limelight. But it witnessed thousand feuds and fights among the princes and Navabs, whose names and fame hardly went beyond the limits of their petty principalities. Washed by the waves of the sea and waves of the rivers, the ports brought prosperity and wealth along with the adventures of aliens, who wanted to fry their own cakes, taking advantage of the political turmoil in the country. The glory of South Gujarat however did not last long. Floods, fires and droughts added to the man-made calamities and slowly the wealth of the region dwindled. Broach, which was well known from the times of yore, gave way to Surat and Surat again bowed down before the rise of Bombay.

The people at large took these chaotic conditions quite easily and with a grace peculiarly their own. They developed a sort of serenity of outlook and even during the age of unsteadiness, South Gujarat had to its credit outstanding scholars and authors, social workers and saints. As in other fields of activity, so in Sanskrit learning also, scholars worked quietly and contributed to the study and advancement of knowledge in various branches of learning.

There are strong reasons to believe that Durgasimha, the famous commentator on the *Nirukta* of Yāska was from South Gujarat.

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Durga's date is generally fixed on the basis of its earliest ms. in the Bodleian Library. It is dated 387 A. D. and the date is accepted as genuine by Prof. A. B. Keith. The ms. was copied at Bhṛgukṣetra in the reign of Mahārāṇa Durgasimhavijaya. The colophon at the end of the 16th chapter reads—ऋज्वर्थायां निरुक्तवृत्तौ जम्बूमार्गाश्रमनिवासिन आचार्यभगवद्दुर्गसिंहकृतौ षोडशाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः समाप्तः ।

As only this colophon contains the honorific titles 'Ācārya' and 'Bhagavat', and not the preceding colophons, Prof. L. Sarup suggests that this colophon is written by one of the disciples of Durga rather than by Durga himself. The colophon shows that the full name of the commentator was Durgasimha, that he lived in a hermitage and that he was an ascetic. While explaining the word 'Lodham', he refuses to explain the verse *ṚV* III. 53. 23, where the word occurs, saying—यस्मिन्निगम एष शब्दः सा वसिष्ठद्वेषिणी ऋक् । अहं च कापिष्ठलो वासिष्ठः । अतस्तां न निर्ब्रवीमि । This means that Durga was a Vāsiṣṭha belonging to the Kāpiṣṭhala branch.

Prof. Sarup and others think that Jambūmārgāśrama refers to a hermitage near Jammu. According to Sarup, the Bhṛgukṣetra is somewhere between the Sarasvatī and the Jumnā. Ācārya Satyavrata Sāmaśrami in his Sanskrit work *Niruktālocana* tries to prove that Durgasimha like Sāyana, was a southerner. As for Jambūmārgāśrama, he says—दक्षिणपथीयप्रदेशेभ्यो जम्बूदेशं गन्तुं प्रस्थितानां पान्थानां मार्ग एव स्थितस्तदाश्रमः । तत एव तथा विशेषणमुपपद्यते । न ह्येतेन तस्य दाक्षिणात्यत्वं निरस्यते ।

I have already noted above that South Gujarat is also known by the name Paraśurāmakṣetra. Even to-day the brahmins of South Gujarat, while asking their *yajamānas* for *saṁkalpa* in rituals use the word Paraśurāmakṣetra for the region. The very name Bhṛgukaccha for Broach would show that Bhṛgukṣetra stands for this region. Again, there are two towns named Jambusar and Kavi in Broach District. The brahmins of Kavi are known as Kāpiṣṭhala brahmins and the similarity between the names Kavi and Kapiṣṭhala is self-evident. Can we not then believe that Jambūmārgāśrama refers to a hermitage near Jambusar, that Kāpiṣṭhala brahmin means an inhabitant of Kavi and that Bhṛgukṣetra refers to the whole region rather than Jummu, the region between Sarasvatī and Jumna? It may also be noted that the Budhval or Valer Rajputs who ruled over the region west of Khandesh called themselves Mahārāṇas, and in the present instance the said ms. was copied during the reign of Mahārāṇa Durgasimhavijaya. The similarity in the names of the author and the king is striking but it is difficult to accept their identity, as the commentator calls himself a Kāpiṣṭhala Vāsiṣṭha, Durgasimha is indeed a strange name for a brahmin. I am therefore, inclined to hazard a conjecture that Durga belonged to the region of South Gujarat, that he was a native of Kavi and stayed in a hermitage in or on the way to Jambusar. The said ms. was also copied during or immediately after his life-time. If this is conceded, South Gujarat can boast of having produced one of the greatest scholars of *Nirukta*.

Coming to minor works after the 14th century I would like to mention *Vaṁśānucaritakāvya*, written by a descendent of Rāmamantrin, an ancestor of Malek Gopi, who died in 1514 A.D. Written in faulty Sanskrit and in still faultier metre, it describes the wealth and power of the forefathers of Malek Gopi whose name is invariably connected with the rise of Surat to its height of prosperity.

Rāṣṭroḍhavaṁśamahākāvya in twenty *sargas* was written by Rudra in A.D. 1596. Rudra's patron was King Nārāyaṇas'āha of Mayūragiri and thus though he does not belong to the region of South Gujarat proper, the poem gives valuable information about the historical events in South Gujarat.

Jyotiṣa was studied in and around Jambusar during and before the 16th century. Yājñikanātha Daivajña, son of Balabhadra and grandson of Hara flourished in the latter half of the 15th century. His work *Jātakacandrikā* was written in S'aka 1500 (i.e. 1578 A.D.). Containing 312 verses, divided into six chapters called *prabodhas*, it is an authoritative work on astrology-astronomy and most of the *jyotiṣis* of Gujarat base their study on this work. In the verses at the end, the author describes Jambusar as धरणिभूषणमार्यनिकेतनम्.

Another writer of repute was Viśrāma, also of Jambusar. He wrote in Jyotiṣa, *Jātakapaddhati* and *Yantraśiromaṇi*; the former is dated Śaka 1529.

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In the seventeenth century, we find intense intellectual activity in the region. Three names are particularly outstanding during this period, Vinayavijayagaṇin, Bhūdeva S'ukla and Puruṣottama.

Since the days of Solankis, and especially during the rule of Kumārapāla, who accepted Jainism as his faith at the behest of Ācārya Hemacandra, Gujarat became a centre of Jainsm, with its beautiful and rich temples. With the rise of Surat, the Jain mercantile community naturally established itself firmly in the city, making it a seat of many Jain scholars and teachers. Vinayavijayagaṇi belonged to the Tapāgaccha and stayed in Surat for a fairly long time with his teacher Vijayaprabhasūri. He wrote 36 works in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Gujarati. A list of his Sanskrit works with their dates is given below :—

Ānandālekha (V. S. 1694), *Śrikalpasūtrasubodhikā* (V. S. 1696), *Śrīvijayadevasūrivijñapti* (V. S. 1705), *Lokaprākāśa* (V. S. 1708). *Haimalaghuprakriyā* (V. S. 1710), *Śāntasudhārasa* (V. S. 1723), *Jinasahasrarāmastotra* (V. S. 1731), *Haimaprakāśa* (V. S. 1737), *Nayakarṇikā*, *Indudūta*, *Ṣaṭtriṁśatjalpasaṁgraha*, *Arhannamaskāra-stotra* and *Śrī-ādijinastavana*.

Of these the last five are not dated. The third is written in both Sanskrit and Prākrit. A study of these works would reveal that Vinayavijaya was a great Jain scholar. *Indudūta*, written in imitation of *Meghādūta* shows that the author is capable of embellished literary style. We find in it a beautiful description of aging and ailing Broach and youthful wealthy Surat.

Bhūdeva Śukla, who is known for his *Rasavilāsa* (*RV*) and *Dharmavijayanāṭaka (DV)* is considered a minor writer on *Alaṅkāra-śāstra*. Nārāyaṇa Shāstri Khiste who has edited his *DV* thinks that he hails from Jammu in Kashmir. This is not corroborated by colophons of *RV* from which we know that he belonged to Jambusar in South Gujarat. He was the first son ot Śukladeva and his teacher was Śrīkaṇṭha, who taught him *Kāvyaprakāśa*. He also refers to one Rāmarāma as his teacher, but we do not know who this Rāmarāma is. Miss Premlata Sharma believes that Śrīkaṇṭha may be the same as the author of *Rasakaumudi*, and was patronized by S'atrus'alya, the Jam of Navanagar (1569–1608 A. D.).

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Different views are expressed regarding the date of Bhūdeva Sukla. P. K. Gode and following him P. V. Kane, think that he lived in about 1550 A. D. as he refers to Śrīvatsatāñchana, who wrote *Kāvyaparīkṣā* and commented on *Kāvyaprakāśa*. Nārāyaṇa Shāstri Khiste believes that *DV* was written by him to counteract the slackness in morality during the reign of Akbar. Bhūdeva also refers to one Keśavadāsa, who may be identified with the famous Hindi poet of that name. Premlata Sharma has compared *RV* with *Rasagaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha and has shown how Bhūdeva borrows fully from other writers on *Alaṅkāra* including Jagannātha. It would not, therefore. be wrong to fix the composition of *RV* between 1660 and 1720 A.D.

The following works of Bhūdeva S'ukla have been listed by Miss Sharma.

(1) *Dharmavijayanāṭaka*, an allegorical drama in five acts.

(2) *Rasavilāsa*, a manual on *Alaṅkāraśāstra*. It has seven *Stabakas* and not four, as stated by P. V. Kane,

(3) *Ātmatattvapradipa* in twenty verses, with a commentary thereon.

(4) *Īśvaravilāsadipikā*, a sub-commentary on no. 3 above.

(5) *Rukmiṇīvilāsa*, not traced, but verses from it are quoted by the author as his own in *RV*.

(6) *Rāsacarita* not traced. It is very likely that some of the verses quoted in *RV* as author's own may be from this work.

(7) Stray stanzas which do not fit in no. 5 or no. 6 above.

Besides these I have noted an incomplete ms. *Mañjārīmakaranda*, a commentary on *Nyāyasiddhānta-mañjarī* of Cūḍāmaṇi Bhaṭṭācārya. The note is published in *Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan Bulletin* No. 2 (1955).

Miss Premlata Sharma does not seem to rate the author very highly. She thinks that we should look upon Bhūdeva's work not for any originality but for a mediocre manual on Rasa. I do not here intend to discuss the point in all its details. It should however be noted that though Bhūdeva Śukla has written a manual on Rasa, an allegorical drama and two kāvyas, his main contribution lies in

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the field of Nyāya. This can very easily be seen from his works like *Ātmatattvapradīpā*, *Īśvaravilāsadipikā* and *Māñjarīmakaranda*, all of which are preserved in ms. form only. It is necessary, therefore, that Bhūdeva's contribution to Sanskrit be assessed on the basis of all his works.

Fortunately more details are known about Puruṣottama, the greatest Vaiṣṇava author of the *Śuddhādvaita* school. Puruṣottama was seventh in line from Vallabhācārya. His father was Pītāmbara, grand-father Yadupati, teacher Kṛṣṇacandra and uncle Vrajarāya. The traditionally accepted year of his birth is V. S. 1724. I have been able to find out his horoscope which gives the year of his birth as V. S. 1714 (1658 A. D.). This date is now accepted as correct in the *Sampradāya*. His uncle Vrajarāya came to Surat from Ahmedabad with the idol of Bālakṛṣṇa and built a temple in 1671 A.D. He died childless and Puruṣottama succeeded him. Puruṣottama also lost both his sons during his life-time and gave his Gadi to another Puruṣottama, son of Muralīdhara, in 1725 A.D. A ms. of *Tattvadīpanibandha* owned by Puruṣottama is found. It is dated V.S. 1810. We may thus say that Puruṣottama lived a long life of about 96 years.

Puruṣottama was a prolific writer of great repute and is said to have written nine lakhs of ślokas :

यः सर्वं नवलक्षपद्यकमितं प्रौढप्रबन्धं व्यधात् ।

He was called Lekhavālā Puruṣottamjī or even *Vedapaśu*. I have been able to trace 67 of his works, in all. Out of these, 27 are *Vādagranthas*, 6 are independent works, 29 are commentaries on the works of Vallabha and Viṭṭhaleśa, while the rest are commentaries on other works, I will note here a few of them which are very important in my opinion.

(1) *Prahastavāda* in three chapters is mainly directed against Śaivaite theories and practices.

(2) *Prasthānaratnākara* is unfortunately incomplete. The extant portions, *Pramāṇaprakaraṇa* and a part of *Prameyaprakaraṇa* are so valuable that the loss of the remaining portions is really a matter of regret.

(3) *Utsavapratāna* and (4) *Dravyaśuddhi* deal with the topics connected with *Dharmaśāstra* and religious festivals aud practices of the *Sampradāya.*

(5) *Aṇubhāṣyaprakāśa*, a voluminous commentary on Vallabhācārya's *Aṇubhāṣya.* This commentary is essential for a proper understanding of the terse and laconic passages of Vallabha. S. T. Pathak says about this: वयं त्वेतत्कथने न साहसमङ्गीकुर्मो यत् भाष्यप्रकाशप्रणयनेन श्रीपुरुषोत्तममहाराजा जीवातुभूता एव शुद्धाद्वैतमतस्य ।

(6) *Suvarṇasūtra* on *Vidvanmaṇḍana* of Viṭṭhalanātha.

(7) *Āvaraṇabhaṅga* on *Tattvādīpanibandha* of Vallabha.

(8-9) *Dīpikā*-cammentaries on *Māṇḍūkya* and *Nṛsimhottaratāpinī* Upaniṣads.. The former comments on the first two chapters of *Gauḍapādakārikās* also.

(10-11) *Arthasaṅgraha*-commentaries on *Kaivalya* and *Brāhma* Upaniṣads

(I2) Indroduciion to the *Amṛtataraṅgiṇī* commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā.* The commentary is fathered upon Puruṣottama by the tradition of the *Sampradāya*, but after a careful examination of the work, I have come to the conclusion that only the introduction is written by Puruṣottama, while the commentary proper is from the pen of Vrajarāya.

Puruṣottama is very brilliant in the exposition of the *Śuddhādvaita.* His greatest contribution lies in this that he has placed the *Śuddhādvaita* theory on a firm dialectical basis, which was not done by his predecessors. He analysed the theories taught by Vallabhācārya and his son, and this analysis led him to believe that the *Śūddhādvaita* is the theory of *Tādātmya* which in his view means मेदसहिष्णुरभेदः । As a commentator he can be compared with Vācaspati Miśra, Sudarśana and Jayatīrtha.

Puruṣottama was a typical conservative *ācārya* and believed that women and untouchables should not be allowed to study those portions dealing with *Brahman*, even from the *Mahābhārata* and

Purāṇas. He hits out hard at the laxity of morals in his days and stresses the need for *indrīyanigraha*.

According to the *Śuddhādvaita* tradition Puruṣottama came in direct contact with Appaya Dīkṣita and Bhāskararāya alias Bhāsurānandanātha. While I am not inclined to believe that Puruṣottama met Appaya Dīkṣita, there is all possibility that he had a *Śāstrārtha* with Bhāskararāya, whose *Saubhāgyabhāskara* was written in 1728 A. D. and *Setubandha* in 1732 A. D. He was a disciple of Śivadatta Sukla of Surat. Puruṣottama lived in Surat after 1671 A. D. and it is quite possible that the met Bhāskararāya and the meeting was perhaps not a very cordial one. It is also likely that the *Nīlācalacapeṭikā* referred to in v. 43 of *Saubhāgyabhāskara* was written by Bhāskararāya as a rejoinder to Puruṣottama's *Prahastavāda*.

While Bhāskararāya did not belong to South Gujarat, his teacher S'ivadatta Śukla lived and worked in Surat. His father was Mahādeva and his mother Gaṅgā. He was a profound scholar of Sanskrit and Persian and was given the *Pūrṇābhiṣeka* and *Mahāsāmrājya Dīkṣā* by a Siddha yogin of the Nātha Pantha. He was then named Svāmi Prakāśānandanātha. Many miracles are recorded in his name. Though his disciples like Bhāskararāya were writers of repute, Śivadatta does not seen to have written any work, or probably, his works have not been traced. In Surat even to-day there is a street named after him and the temple of Bhavānī where he performed his religious practices is one of the holy places in Surat.

Of the successors of Puruṣottama in the Vaiṣṇava temple in Surat, Gokulotsava who came to occupy the gadi in V. S. 1850 was a good scholar, besides being a good speaker. He has written some commentaries in Sanskrit, out of which the following are known:

Saundaryanijapadyaṭīkā, *Vivekadhairyāśrayaṭīkā*, *Sannyāsanirṇayaṭīkā* and *Śṛṅgārarasamaṇḍanaṭīkā*.

Dinmanishanker Shastri, born in 1807 A. D. was a well-known Shastri and *Karmakāṇḍa* Pandit of his time and a great scholar of Vedānta, Nyāya, grammar and other branches of Sanskrit learning. He was an authority on Hindu law and it is said that courts and judges depended upon his opinions. He had a very big Mss. Library and I am informed that when Dr. Buhler was in Surat, he visited his library and used one of his mss. for his edition of *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*.

Vāsudevānanda Sarasvatī, son of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa and Ramābāi, was born in Mangaon in Ratnagiri dist. in 1854 A. D. He lived in Garuḍeshvar near Broach for a long time and died there in 1914 A. D. A devoted follower of Guru Dutta, he wrote in Sanskrit *Gurucarītra*, *Gurusaṁhitā*, *Datta Purāṇa* and many stotras. His disciple Pāṇḍuraṅga, popularly known as Raṅga Avadhūta, son of Viṭṭhala Pant and Rukmiṇī was born in Godhra in 1898 A. D. He died just four years back. He founded an *āśrama* at Nareshvar near Broach and spent most of his life there. He has written many stotras in Sanskrit, and also a Sanskrit commentary on *Sadbodha-śataka*, compiled from the three *śatakas* of Bhartṛhari. Both these scholars were highly respected as saintly persons.

Prof. K. P. Trivedi (1857–1925 A. D.) hailed from Surat and is a well-known name in the field of modern Sanskrit scholarship, especially for his critical editions of *Ekāvalī*, *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*, *Pratāparudrīya* and other texts.

One of the most outstanding names in the field is Pandit S. D. Satavlekar, who expired in 1968 at the age of 101. Though not a native of South Gujarat, he was closely connected with the region. He established the Svādhyāya Maṇḍala at Pardi near Bulsar, and worked for the propagation of Sanskrit throughout his life. His contribution to Vedic Studies and Yoga is so well known that it need not be mentioned here. He was awarded 'Padmabhushan' by the Government of India.

Some institutions which are contributing to Sanskrit Studies in their own way: Sūryapura Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā in Surat and Vidyāmṛtavarṣiṇī Pāṭhaśālā at Bulsar are centres of traditional learning. Svādhyāya Maṇḍala at Pardi holds examinations in Sanskrit and publishers works for the propagation and study of Sanskrit. Bālakṛṣṇa Śuddhādvaita Mahāsabhā in Surat holds examinations in Puṣṭimārgīya Vaiṣṇavism and publishers *Sampradāyic* texts. Chunilal Gandhi Vidyābhavan, an institute of higher learning and research, has a library of about 2000 Sanskrit mss. It publishers works of research value and also brings out an annual bulletin.

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It will thus be seen that though a comparatively small region, South Gujarat has produced scholars who have made valuable contributions to various branches of Sanskrit learning, such as Nirukta, grammar, Vedānta, Alaṅkāra, Dharmaśāstra and Jyotiṣa.

I do not claim that the list of scholars given above is complete but it is sufficient to show that the region has remained a centre of Sanskrit scholarship since the times of yore.

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SOME LESS-KNOWN NON-JAINA SANSKRIT WRITERS FROM GUJARAT

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Boundaries of the Gurjara-deśa have been changing in different periods of mediaeval history. The name Gurjaratra or Gujarat seems to have been fixed sometime after the sixth century for the mainland of modern Gujarat but prior to that, South-western Rajasthan including the area around Bhillamāla perhaps comprised the mainland of Gurjara-deśa. The exact boundaries of this Gurjara-deśa could have been much wider including perhaps the region around Jodhpur and Mandor and almost the whole area ruled by the Gurjara-Pratīhāras before they made Kanauj their capital. The contribution to Sanskrit by writers from Gujarat might therefore include a survey of writers from all these areas. For a time the Solanki rule extended upto Jalor etc. in Marwar and eastwards upto Malwa. But usually from the Sultanate period, Gurjara-deśa came to be limited to the area covered by modern Gujarat.

It may be noted that the earliest known Sanskrit inscription is that of Rudradāman at Junagadh inscribed in circa middle second century B. C. This inscription is a beautiful piece of literature. Carved as it is on the boulder containing the Girnar copy of Aśoka's edicts, it was meant for the information of the general population and travellers who, therefore, had Sanskrit as a popular spoken language. Literary activity in Sanskrit in this region was thus well advanced and it is not unreasonable to believe that Sanskrit learning in Gujarat dates from at least a few centuries earlier than the age of Rudradāman.

On the same boulder we have the inscription of Skandagupta, also in chaste Sanskrit and composed in the 6th century A.D.

Copper-plate grants of the Maitrakas of Valabhī, who ruled over Saurāshṭra and several parts of modern Gujarat, are composed in Sanskrit. More interesting however are the references to several learned Brāhmaṇas of different Vedic *śākhās* and of different *Gotras*. Sylvain Levi long ago gave a good account of the information derived from the charters of Maitraka rulers.

It is therefore quite certain that Sanskrit learning has been widespread in this region at least from the beginning of the Christian era and even earlier, and it will be shown here that writing activity in Sanskrit in various fields of knowledge has continued almost without a break throughout the centuries till to-day.

The *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* perhaps represents Vedic tradition of the ancient Lāṭa country possibly composed by an *ācārya* who hailed from Lāṭa. Lāṭa is identified with Larike of Ptolemy which included Western Indian coastal regions from Sindh to further south in Gujarat. In mediaeval period, Lāṭa was generally the name of the region between Mahī and Tapti rivers. This inference about *Lāṭyāyana Sūtras* is further supported by the fact that even later we have reference to a Lāṭācārya in the Jaina *Cūrṇis* and in the *Bṛhat-kalpa-bhāṣya*. Also a Lāṭadeva, pupil of Āryabhaṭa I has been referred to as an eminent astronomer.

Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra (*ŚGS*) is supposed to have been composed in North Gujarat. Brahmins of the *Śāṅkhāyana-śākhā* are still living in North Gujarat and perhaps Saurāṣṭra. According to the second *kaṇḍikā* of the *Caraṇavyūha*—

उत्तरे गुर्जरे देशे वेदो वह्वृच ईरितः ।
कौषीतकब्राह्मणं च शाखा शाङ्खायनी स्मृता ॥

Varadatta Ānartīya, a commentator of the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* hailed from Ānarta, i.e. North Gujarat.

One Mīnarāja composed a voluminous work called *Yavana-jātaka* in Western India in about the fourth century A. D.

Sthiramati, the famous Buddhist scholar lived in one of the monasteries at Valabhī. Mallavādi, the famous Jaina logician in *c.* fourth century A. D. defeated the Buddhists in a debate at Valabhī. S'āntideva who lived in Nālandā hailed from Saurāshṭra.

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*Bhagavad-Durga or Durgācarya, the commentator of Yāska's Nirukta*1

The colophons at the end of the various chapters of Durga's *Nirukta-vṛtti* say that Bhagavad-Durga was a resident of Jambumārgāśrama. Cf: इति ऋज्वर्थायां निरुक्तवृत्तौ जम्बूमार्गाश्रमवासिनः आचार्यभगवद्-दुर्गस्य कृतौ षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।[1]

Dr. Lakshman Sarup has discussed the colophons at the end of the various *adhyāyas* and has come to the conclusion that at least the commentary upto eleven chapters was eomposed by Bhagavad-Durga himself whose other name was Durgasiṁha[2].

Durga does not seem to refer to any other commentator on *Nirukta* and probably his is the earliest commentary known to us so far. Durga is certainly earlier than Skandasvāmin, who refers to Durga in his own commentary on *Nirukta*: तस्य पूर्वटीकाकारैः बर्बरस्वामिदुर्गप्रभृतिभिर्विस्तरेण व्याख्यातस्य.........वृत्तिः क्रियते । (comm. of Skanda-Maheśvara, ed. by Sarup, 1. 4).

Even if the above remarks is a later addition in Skanda's comm., as suspected by Lakshman Sarup, Skanda lived after Durga, and referred to divergent views of Durga in several places, as has been pointed out by Dr. Sarup himself[3].

Skandasvāmin lived in about 325–405 A. D. and was the teacher of Harisvāmin, the commentator of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Skanda also wrote a *bhāṣya* on *Ṛgveda* which was completed by Nārāyaṇa and Udgītha. Pandit Bhagvaddatta has quoted a verse which says that Skanda hailed from Valabhī[4].

Skanda's own comm. on *Nirukta* was revised, enlarged and re-edited by Maheśvara in c. 12th century A.D.

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1. *Nirukta*, published in two volumes, with comm. of Durga in Anandasrama Sanskrit Series (No. 88), Poona.
2. Sarup, Lakshman, *Introduction to Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta* (Oxford, 1920), p. 52.
3. *Skanda-Maheśvara's Commentary on Nirukta*, Vol. II (ed. by Dr. Lakshman Sarup), Intro., p. 82.
4. Cf. वलभीविनिवास्येतामृगर्थागमसंहतिम् ।
   भर्तृध्रुवसुतश्चक्रे स्कन्दस्वामी यथामति ॥
   Quoted by Bhagavaddatta, *Vaidika Vāṅmaya Kā Itihāsa*, Bhāga I, Khaṇḍa 2, pp. 9–16.

Durga can therefore be assigned to a period between *c*. 200–350 A. D.

Bhartṛyajña, one of the earliest known commentators on the *Śraūtasūtra* of Kātyāyana, *Gṛhyasūtra* of Pāraskara and *Dharmasūtra* of Gautama, was a native of Gujarat. He was so famous and his tradition was so alive that the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa* of *Skanda Purāṇa*, recast in the mediaeval period, devoted four chapters to narrate his miraculous life and activities. According to the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa*, he belonged to *Saṃkṛtya Gotra* and was the son of Nimi. He was Trijāṭa by birth and was known as Prabhavadatta also. On account of his supernatural powers he was held in high esteem and was called Bhartṛyajña. He was a Nāgara brāhmaṇa and re-established 64 families of Nāgara Brahmins in Camatkārapura (Vaḍanagara) and was their leader.

Bhartṛyajña is quoted by Medhātithi in his *Bhāṣya* on *Manusmṛti* (VIII. 3). Medhātithi flourished between *c*. 825–900 A.D. Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, who flourished before 1100 A.D.. refers to the views of Bhartṛyajña in his *Āpastambasūtradhvanitārtha-kārikā* (1, 41). From Ananta's *Bhāṣya* quoted by Weber in his Preface (p. 7) to the *Śrautasūtrā* of Kātyāyana with extracts from the commentaries of Karka and Yājnikadeva, it appears that Bhartṛyajña composed a *Bhāṣya* on the *Śrautasūtra* of Kātyāyana which had been almost lost in the days of Anantadeva. Bhartṛyajña is referred to by Devayājñika in his commentary on the *Śrautasūtra* of Kātyāyana. From the quotation it appears that the commentary of Bhartṛyajña on the 2nd adhyāya of *Śrautasūtra* of Kātyāyana was known to Devayājñika, who must have flourished in the 12th century A.D. Bhartṛyajña is quoted by Gadādhara (1550 A.D.) frequently in his commentary on the *Gṛhyasūtra* of Pāraskara. Caṇḍeśvara in his *Gṛhastharatnākara* (1314-1324 A. D.) quotes Bhartṛyajña's explanation of the word *samvibhāga* occurring in *Gautama Dharmasūtra* XI. 31. Lakṣmīdhara (1100–1150 A. D.) in his *Kṛtyakalpataru* has also quoted Bhartṛyajña at several places.

From all these referenees it appears that Bhartṛyajña was an ancient commentator of the *Śrautasūtra* of Kātyāyana, *Gṛhyasūtra* of Pāraskara and *Dharmasūtra* of Gautama. Since Bhartṛyajña is quoted by Medhātithi who flourished between *c*. 825–900 A. D. it follows that Bhartṛyajña must have flourished at least before *c.* 825 A. D. He was followed by Sthapati Garga who composed a *Paddhati* on the *Gṛhysūtra* of Pāraskara.

Manuscripts of Bhartṛyajña's commentaries are rare and not widely known. In the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Aufrecht two mss. of the 3rd *Adhyāya* of the commentary on *Kātyāyana-Śrauta Sūtra* and two on the *Śrāddhakalpa* of Bhartṛyajña are noted. There is no mention of his commentary on the *Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra* and *Gautama Dharma-sūtra*.

In the manuscript collection of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, one incomplete manuscript of his commentary on the *Śrautasūtra* of Kātyāyana and one complete manuscript of his commentary on the *Gṛhyasūtra* of Pāraskara are deposited. The first was copied in Surat in Samvat 1577 (1520 A. D.) and the second also in Surat in Samvat 1547 (= 1491 A.D.). Both are being edited by Shri P. H. Joshi for the G. O. Series of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.

Ācārya Pitṛbhūti: Karkācārya has referred to him in his *Bhāṣya* on *Kātyā, Śrau. Sū.* 1. 24 (*Yatra Pitṛbhūtyācārya* āha Yathāsamkhya-lakṣaṇakramam prakṛtya etc.). Pitṛbhūti calls himself a resident of Ānarta in his colophon at the end of the ninth chapter of his *Bhāṣya* on *Kātyā. Śrau. Śū* (iti Ānartīya-Pitṛbhūtikṛte Kātyāyana-sūtra-bhāṣye etc.). Karka possibly flourished in *c.* 4th century A. D. according to Ware Shastri. But he may be later.

Brahmagupta, also known as Bhillamālakācārya, composed his *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* during the reign of Cāpotkaṭa King Vyāghramukha (Śaka 550–628).

Māgha, the author of *Śiśupālavadha*, was the son of Dattaka and grandson of Suprabhadeva, the minister of King Varmalāta of Cāpotkaṭa dynasty in Bhillamāla, in *c.* sixth-seventh century A.D.

Bhaṭṭi wrote his *Rāvaṇavadha-kāvya* or *Bhaṭṭikāvyā* during the reign of Śrīdharasena in Valabhī in the seventh century A.D.

Ānandashankara Dhruva has suggested that between the eighth and the eleventh centuries A.D. there must have flourished several creative writers whose style was recognised as Lāṭī Rīti by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*. This must have been the

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style of Lāṭa. Mammaṭa also referred to a Lāṭānuprāsa, which derived its name from the Lāṭa country.

Vedic learning continued to be honoured during this period. In the eleventh century Uvaṭa, son of Vajraṭa in Ānandapura (Vaḍanagara) wrote his *Bhāṣyas* on *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* and the *Prātiśākhya Sūtras*.

Dyā Dviveda completed his *Nītimañjarī* containing didactic stories from *Saṁhitās, Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* in *c*. 1064.

Soḍhala, son of Sūra and patronised by Cittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummaṇirāja of Thāṇā (S'ilāharas) composed *Udayasundarīkathā* in the court of Vatsarāja of Lāṭa between *c*. 1026 and 1080.

In the court of Siddharāja Jayasimha, amongst non-Jaina scholars, three bearing the name of Keśava are mentioned in *Prabhāvakacarita*. Also names of four more scholars called Maharṣi, a Naiyāyika Utsāha, a grammarian Rāma, a scholar of Logic and Alaṅkāra and a learned Paṇḍita named Sāgara are mentioned by the author of *Mudritakumudacandraprakaraṇa*.

Vāgbhaṭa, the author of *Vāgbhṭālaṅkāra* and son of Soma, was a contemporary of Siddharāja. S'rīpāla, a great friend of Siddharāja and a great poet, composed the *Praśasti* of Sahasralinga and Rudramahālaya. He also wrote *Vairocanaparājaya Nāṭaka*.

Vijayapāla, son of poet Siddhapāla (son of Śrīpāla), composed *Draupadīsvayaṁvaranāṭaka* in the age of Bhīma II which was enacted in Patan in the Tripuruṣa-prāsāda.

Paṇḍita Lakṣmīdhara of Vaḍanagara composed in circa 11th to 12th century A. D. a work called *Bhagavannāmakaumudī*. His son Anantācārya composed a *Ṭīkā* on it called *Vedārthacandrikā*.

Haripāla, the author of *Saṅgīta-sudhākara*, calls himself a Calukya prince well versed in several languages. He was called Vicāra-caturmukha. Kumārapāla also was called by the same title. Haripāla lived in the twelfth century. One Somarāja, the head of Pratīhāras of the Calukyan court also composed a work on music in this age.

Durlabharāja, son of Mahattama Narasimha, and a contemporary of King Kumārapāla of Patan in the twelfth century A. D.,

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composed a work called *Sāmudrika-tilaka.* He was Prāgvaṭa (Porvāḍa) by caste. His ancestor was one Cāhila, a minister of Bhīma I. His son was Śrīpāla whose son was Durlabharāja. A ms. of this work exists in the collections of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society. Another copy from a ms. from Patan exists in the Oriental Institute, Baroda.

Soḍhala. the author of *Gadanigraha* calls himself 'Jyotiḥśāstravicārasāracatura.' He composed *Siddhāntasāra* on Astronomy. A ms. of this work was exhibited in Surat in 1915.

Someśvara, Purohita of the Cālukya kings of Gujarat was a friend of minister Vastupāla in the 13th century A. D. His ancestors were family priests of the Solankīs from the time of Mūlarāja onwards. The family hailed from Vaḍanagar. They were Nāgara Brahmins of Gulecha *gotra.*

Someśvara was the priest of Bhīmadeva II, Vīradhavala and Viśāladeva. Someśvara composed poems like *Kīrtikaumudī*, *Surathotsava* and *Rāmaśataka* and was also the author of the play *Ullāgharāghava.* Some of the *praśastis* composed by him for Vastupāla were inscribed at Abu, Girnar, Dholka etc.

Harihara: He was born in the family of Srī Harṣa, the author of *Naiṣadhīyacarita.* He obtained patronage in the court of Vīradhavala in Dholka. Except a few verses quoted in *Prabandhas* or his *Stutis* addressed to Somanātha at Prabhāsa none of his other works are available. Madana, Subhaṭa (author of *Dūtāṅgada*) and Nānāka Paṇḍita also lived in Dholka.

Candupaṇḍita, a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa residing at Dhavala (Dholka) and disciple of Śrī Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, composed his famous, yet unpublished commentary on the *Naiṣadhīyacarita.* He was the son of Āliga Paṇḍita and grandson of Paṇḍita Śrī Tāta Kṣīravaṭa. Candupaṇḍita had performed various sacrifices like Vājapeya, Bṛhaspatisava etc. and was called 'Samrāṭ'. He was a great *Śrauta* scholar. He composed his comm. in 1299 A. D.

Someśvara Bhaṭṭa, son of Bhaṭṭa Devaka, composed the com. *Kāvyādarśa* or *Saṁketa* on *Kāvyaprakāśa* in Samvat 1283 (=1226 A. D.).

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Purohita *Jayanta Bhaṭṭa* composed in V. S. 1350 (=1293 A. D.) a *Kāvyaprakāśa-dīpikā* in the court of Śārṅgadeva Vāhela in Gujarat. Jayanta was the son of Bhāradvāja who was Mahāmātya Purohita of Śārṅgadeva.

Gujarati writers on *Āyurveda* are not known before the twelfth century A. D. Hemacandra composed his lexicon on *Āyurveda* called *Nighaṇṭuśeṣa*.

Vaidya Soḍhala was a Rāyakavāla Brahmana and son of Vaidya Nandana. He is famous for his work *Gadanigraha*. His other work, a *Nighaṇṭu*, recently discovered, was also known as *Guṇasaṁgraha*.

In the thirteenth century Govindācārya composed *Rasasāra*. He was a disciple of Dhīradeva, an expert in *Rasakarma*, and was the son of Surāditya, the son of *ācārya* Sahadeva of Moḍha-jñāti.

Yas'odhara was a Śrī-Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa of Junagadh (in Saurāṣṭra), which was adorned with Brāhmaṇas well versed in *Vedas* and *Śāstras*.His father Padmanābha was a devotee of Viṣṇu. Yaśodhara composed *Rasaprakāśa-sudhākara* in the latter half of the thirteenth century A. D.

Devadatta, son of Hari of Gurjara deśa, composed a small work, *Ratnamālikā* in *c.* latter part of the 14th century. His father Hari Vaidya composed *Rasaratnamālā*.

In the fifteenth century Vaidya Nārāyaṇa, son of Vaidya Bhamala of Nāgaravaṁśa, filled up the gaps in *Kusumāvalī*, a *ṭikā* on *Vṛndamādhava* by Śrīkaṇṭha.

Śārṅgadhara, son of Divarāja composed his *Triśatī*, passages from which are available in *Bhāvaprakāśa*. The *Triśatī* was composed in *c.* late fifteenth century.

One Nāgara Raṇakesarī composed a *Yogadīpikā* of about 390 verses, probably in the fifteenth century or even earlier.

Durgashankar Shastri has shown that Kalyāṇa who composed *Bālatantra* in 1645 V. S. and his father Mahīdhara who composed *Mantramahodadhi* in 1645 V. S. were Prasnora Nāgara Brahmins

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who called themselves of Ahicchatra *jñāti*. Their great-great-grandson Veṇīdatta composed *Rasataraṅgiṇī* in V. S. 1718.

Deveśvara, son of Murāri of Śrī-Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa caste composed a *Strī-vilāsa*. He should have been a Gujarati since he has used some Gujarati words. He flourished in the seventeenth century A.D.

Upādhyāya Mādhava composed *Āyurvedaprakāśa* and *Bṛhatpākāvalī* in the 17th century. He says that he was born in Saurāṣṭra.

Mādhava, son of Harirāma and grandson of Gopajita of Vaṭapaṭṭana, and S'rī-Gauḍa by caste, composed *Yogasamuccaya* in *c.* 17th century.

Prahlādanadeva, brother of Paramara Dhārāvaṁśa, composed *Pārthaparākramavyāyoga* in the reign of Ajayapāla (*c.* 13th cent.), Yaśaḥpāla, minister of Kumārapāla, wrote *Moharājaparājaya Nāṭaka* which was enacted in the Mahādeva temple at Acalagadha (Mt. Abu). Yaśaḥpāla is said to be a Moḍha Bania. A Paṇḍita Yaśodhara of Saurāṣṭra wrote *Rasaprakāśasudhākara* in this age.

Dharaṇīdhara, the author of *Tripurāntaka-praśasti* and Śrīdhara of Ānandanagara, the author of S'ārngadeva-inscription at Vanthali were great Sanskrit scholars.

Vyāsa Mokṣāditya, disciple of Harihara, composed *Bhīmavikrama-vyāyoga* in V. S. 1385 (= 1328 A.D.). This Harihara is said to be the foremost among poets and Mokṣāditya seems to have hailed from Gujarat.

Dvivedi Gaṅga in *c.* 14th century A,D., composed *Mukhyārthaprakāśikā-bhāṣya* on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* published from Berlin. He was called 'Vidvaj-jana-tilaka'. Sri Pavagi and Ware S'āstri believe that he hailed from Gujarat.

Mahādeva, an Atharvavedin was a great scholar of the fifteenth century. He composed a *bhāṣya* on Kātyāyana's *Śrautasūtra*. He was of Audīcya-sahasra caste.

Mantri Salakṣa, Prāgvāṭa by caste, composed a *Yavananāmamālā* in Iḍar. He was the author of a work on *Chandaḥ-śāstra* and some other works. He lived in the early fifteenth century. His son,

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minister Mahīpa, composed *Anekārtha-tilaka*. He was a minister in a court at Nandod.

Gaṅgādhara in the fifteenth century composed *Gaṅgādāsa-pratāpavilāsa-nāṭaka* which was enacted in the Mahākālī temple on Pavagadh near Campaner. He also composed a *Māṇḍalika-kāvya* in honour of King Maṇḍalika of Saurāṣṭra.

S′rīmat, the eldest son of Kānhaḍādeva, who was the son of Padmanābha, composed *Karmavipāka-sārasaṁgraha* (O. I. ms. no. 9082) at Nandapadra (Nandod in Broach district) when King Durgasimha was ruling. The ms. in Oriental Institute collections was copied at Kapika-grāma (modern Kavi, near Jambusara, on the sea-coast) in Samvat 1496 (= 1439 A.D.).

Rāmadeva Vyāsa, composed a *Chāyā-Nāṭaka* called *Subhadrā-pariṇayana*. He says that he was patronised by King Haribhrama (Harabhamji in Gujarati). Rāmadeva Vyāsa also wrote *Rāmābhyudaya* and *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*. M. Krishnamachariar thought that he was patronized by Kalachuri Kings of Raipur, and that he wrote his work around *c.* 1402–1415 A.D. But from his *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya* we understand that this was written and acted under the patronage of Raṇamalla, grandson of Haribhrama, according to information supplied by Sri Khiste in his Introduction to *Subhadrāpariṇayana*. Khiste also mentions Saṁvat 1527 (=1470 A.D.) as the date of the composition of *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*. A ms. of no. 1433 in O. I. records Saṁvat 1572 as the date of copying of *Subhadrāpariṇaya*.

Kīkabhaṭṭa, the author of a commentary on the *Khaṇḍapraśasti-kāvya* of Hanumat Kavi was a brahmin from Gujarat. His ancestry given by him is as under :—

Mahādeva Dvija (of Gurjara Pradeśa, resident of Nagara)
|
Kīka
|
Bhila
|
Mādhava
|
Balabhadra
|
Nārāyaṇa | Kīka (author of com. on *Khaṇḍapraśasti*).

The Oriental Institute has two mss., nos. 10617 and 4268, of this work.

Jayaśaṅkara Dvivedi, son of Govindarāma and Kṛṣṇa wrote a play called *Navananda-nandanarati* in Dakore, for obtaininig the grace of the Lord of Dakore-Rāṇāchoḍji. The author says in the prologue that his ancestors lived on the southern bank of the Narmadā in Tārārāma-kṣetra. Jayabandhu, possibly the author's brother, wrote a gloss on this drama (O. I. ms. no. 9147). The author perhaps lived in the eighteenth century A. D.

Hari Kavi, a Deccani (Mahārāṣṭrī) Brāhmaṇa by birth, settled in Surat. Being patronised by King Sāmbhāji, he wrote *Sāmbhāji-carita* and *Haihayendracarita*. A ms. of his third work, namely, *Sūktītaraṅgiṇī* in six *taraṅgas* (chaps.) exists in O. I. (no. 11956) wherein the date of composition is mentioned as 1723 V. S. (=1667 A. D.)

Bhūdeva Śukla composed in circa 16th cent. a play called *Dharmavijaya*. He also wrote a work *Rasavilāsa* on Rasaśāstra.

Śrīkaṇṭha in the sixteenth century wrote in Jamnagar a work music called *Rasakaumudī*.

Daivajña Keśava and his son Daivajña Gaṇeśa have composed many works on Astrology and Astronomy.

Keśava wrote a *Vivāhavṛndāvana*, on which Gaṇeśa wrote a *ṭīkā* (O. I. ms. no. 3302, dated 1747 V. S. = 1690 A. D.). In this work Gaṇeśa says that he completed the comm. in 1476 Śaka = 1554 A. D. We can therefore safely place Keśava around 1480–1550 A. D. and Gaṇeśa between 1500 and 1570 A. D.

In this comm. Gaṇeśa says that the stayed at Nandigrāma on the coast of the Western sea, in the place shaded with plantain, mango and other trees. They belonged to Bhāradvāja-vaṁśa and Audīcya Brāhmaṇa caste. Their ancestor Janārdana was a Yājñika-cakravarttin.

Gaṇeśa also wrote a comm. on *Muhūrtatattva* composed by Keśava, son of Kamalākara. Keśava's *guru* was Vaijanātha (O. I. mss., nos. 1462, 3235).

Gaṇeśa also composed in Śaka 1460=1538 A. D. a *Līlavatī-vyakhyā* (O. I. ms. no. 10996). He stayed at Nandigrāma. He also composed a *Parvanirṇaya* (The O. I. ms. no. 9298 is dated in Śaka 1617=1695 A. D.).

Haridāsa, son of Puruṣottamadāsa of Khāragaḍha composed in V. S. 1664 = 1614 A. D. a work on *Nīti* called *Prastāraratnākara.* The work was started at Gadha.

Viṣṇu Kavi, son of Dvivedi Śrīpati composed a *Śāṅkhāyana-sūtrapaddhati-kraturatnamālā*. He belonged to Pāṭalā in Gurjara-maṇḍala (cf. O. I. ms. no. 10469 copied in V. S. 1693=1636 A.D.). Viṣṇu calls himself Ānartīya. According to some he was a eontemporary of Uvaṭa in the 11th century.

Śivarāma Śukla, son of Viśrāma Śukla, composed several works called *Śānti-cintāmaṇī*, (O. I. ms. no 8109), *Rudra-cintāmaṇī* (O. I. ms. no. 8118) etc. He says that he was a Moḍha Brāhmaṇa by caste. Śivarāma also composed a *Karmapradīpa-vivṛtt* (ms. no. 10295, O. I. dated Samvat 1744=1687 A.D.). He also composed a *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi*, O. I. ms. no. 12842) at the end of which he says that he completed it in 1562 Śaka=1640 A.D. The O. I. ms. no. 1128 is *Śrāddha-cintāmaṇī* which was also composed by Śivarāma. His works are on *Gṛhyaprayoga* and *Dharmaśāstra*.

Gaṇapati Rāvala, son of Hariśankara Rāvala wrote a *Parvanirṇaya* in Mulher fort in V. S. 1742=1685 A.D. (O. I. mss., nos. 558, 10548 and 9222). The author says that his grand-father Rāmadāsa, famous in the Gurjaradeśa, was honoured by the King of Gauḍa.

Harikavi, alias Bhau Bhaṭṭa of Surat composed *Sūktitaraṅgiṇī* in six chapters, a devotional *kāvya* dealing with various *rasas*. At the end of the second chapter the author says that he completed it in Samvat 1743=1686 A. D. He calls himself a Dākṣiṇātya and says that he was residing at Mihiranagara (=Sūryapura=Surat). The ms. was obtained from Surat by the Oriental Institute (no. 11956). On pp. 36-37 he again gives the date.

Viśvanātha, Nāgara Brāhmaṇa by caste, and son of Narasimha, grand-son of Āśādhara (the son of Sūryadatta, who was the son of Lakṣmīdhara and grandson of Muñja) of Kāśyapa *gotra*, hailing

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from Nandapura (Naṇḍod in Gujarat?) composed a *bhāṣya* on *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*. It seems that this was left incomplete and that the *bhāṣya* on the last five *khaṇḍas* was completed by Lakṣmīdhara, hailing from Cambay and residing in Kāśī. This Laksmīdhara was the great-grandson of Ananta, the elder brother of Narasiṁha and uncle of Viśvanātha. Lakṣmīdhara completed this comm. in Samvat 1692=1635 A.D. It may therefore be presumed that Viśvanātha wrote his commentary in *c*. 1590-1610 A.D. The *Praśasti* giving these details is quoted by Sri Ware Shastri (in his *Yājñvalkya-caritra*, Nasik, Saka 1858, p. 66).

Śaṅkara, son of Someśa or Somnāth composed in Vijayapura (Vijapur) a *Saubhāgyalaharīstava* in Samvat 1566=1509 A. D. He is said to have been born in the family of poet Śrīmat Sat (or in a family of poets). (O. I. ms. no. 7153, of date 1798 Samvat).

Hara Kavi wrote a *Phaladīpikā* while residing at Alindrendupuri which is Alindra in Gujarat. The O. I. ms., no. 3387 is dated in Samvat 1712=1655 A. D.

Gaṇeśa, son of Gopāla, wrote a small work *Jātakālaṅkāra* in Vṛddhapura (Vaḍanagara) in Śaka 1535 = 1613 A. D. (O. I. ms. no. 11774).

Paṇḍita Āśādhara Bhaṭṭa hailed from central Gujarat. He was the son of a learned Brahmin Rawji Bhaṭṭa and pupil of Dharaṇīdhara. He composed several works, namely, *Triveṇikā*, *Kovidānanda* (with comm.), *Advaitaviveka*, *Alaṁkāradipikā*, *Prabhāpaṭala*, a work on Nyāya called *Āśādharī*, a small work *Rasikānanda* (on Alaṁkāra). The first two are published; fragments of his *Vṛtti* on Mallinātha's comm. on the *Kirātārjunīya* are available in the O. I. He also composed a *Kuvalayānandakārikāṭīkā*. Recently two more works of his, namely *Vyākaraṇakārikā* and *Punarāvṛttivivecana* were discovered from Surat. He lived in *c*. 1720–1790 A.D. and was patronized by Lallubhai of Broach.

Malaji alias Vedāṅgarāya of Siddhapura composed several works including *Giradharānanda* and *Pārasikaprakāśa* in the 18th cent.

Haṃsamiṭṭhu born in 1738 at Mahisā in the Mahi valley, wrote several works of which *Haṁsavilāsa* was published in G. O. S.

Paṇḍita Durgeśvara, a Moḍha Brāhmaṇa by caste, composed a Rūpaka called *Dharmoddharaṇa*. The play was composed after 1696 A.D., or perhaps after 1785 A.D.

Padmanābha wrote a commentary on the *Bhuvaneśvarī-stotra* of Pṛthvīdhara. The Oriental Institute contains a late copy of this commentary transcribed in Saṁvat 1844 (1787 A.D.) at Kurālagrāma in Gujarat. (O. I. ms. no. 10541 dated in V. S. 1640).

Viśvanātha Deva, son of Sri Puruṣottama (or of Śrī Mukunda) wrote his *Kuṇḍa-maṇḍapa-kaumudī* some time before 1769, the date of O. I. ms. no. 4613.

Śilpimalla, residing in Malapura (Sabarkantha district, old Idar State) composed in Samvat 1761 = 1704 A.D. a small work called *Kuṇḍanidhāna*, on the construction of sacrificial altars etc. (ms. no. 4611, O.I.; extent 200 gr.).

Bhaṭṭa Devaśaṅkara Purohita hailed from Rander near Surat but migrated to Olpad in the Surat district and wrote a work called *Alaṁkāra-mañjūṣā* in Poetics. Most of the verses in this work are panegyric in praise of Peshwas Raghunath Rao, Madhava Rao I and Nārāyaṇa Rao. A ms. in O. I. clearly mentions in the colophon, that Devaśaṅkara was born in Raner and had migrated to Urahpattan (Olpad) and that he was the son of Purohita Nahnabhai. The author belonged to the eighteenth century A. D. The work has been published from Ujjain.

S'iva Kavi, the author of the play *Viveka-candrodaya*, belonged to Raner (modern Rander) near Surat, on the opposite bank of the Taptī. The colophon of a ms. of this work in O. I. bears the date Śaka 1685 = Samvat 1819 = A. D. 1765. He is also the author of *Rāmacarita*. A ms. of this work, was copied in Kapiśapurī (modern Kavi) in Samvat 1819 (= A.D. 1765). Perhaps S'iva Kavi lived in the late seventeenth and/or eighteenth century A.D.

Śivaprasāda Bhaṭṭa seems to be a writer from Gujarat staying in Yerandavalli-nagara probably in Khandesa. He composed a work *Śrautollāsa* of 4165 granthas. A ms. dated in V. S. 1946 = 1889 A.D. copied at Vapi in South Gujarat by one Yadurāma S'arman, son of Śukla Haradatta is preserved in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The author might have lived in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Gopālarao is the author and commentator of the work named *Gaṇeśa-vijaya-kāvya* in 6 *Sargas*. He has mentioned, in the beginning of his *Kāvya*, that he belongs to Kauśika Gotra, his surname is Jambekar, his grand-father's name is Nārāyaṇa and his own father's name is Mairala. It is known from heresay that his family used to give loans to the Maharaja of Baroda. From the benedictory verse and from the current tales about him it is known that he was a devotee of Gaṇeśa. This work was copied by Viśvanātha Gogate, the son of Kṛṣṇa in Samvat 1909 = Śaka 1774 (1853 A.D). There are 163 folios of half-sheet of full-scape paper and nearly 1750 *granthas* in this ms.

Svāmi Śāstri is the author of *Khaṇḍerāya Kāvya* which is in 111 *ślokas* and 46 folios and he has himself written a commentary named *Bhāratīvṛtti*. There is no mention of the place of copying or date in the ms. but the author was the contemporary of Khanderao, the Maharaja of Baroda. There is a mention of one Svāmi Śāstrulu in Krishnamachariar's *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (p. 608) as the commentator of *Mudrārākṣasa*. Probably both may be identical. Svāmi Śastri says that he was requested by the King to write this work.

Pītāmbara Tripāṭhi is the author of *Reṇukā-satkīrti-candrodaya*, a small *kāvya* of 50 verses. The author says that he belongs to Mohaharaka-jñāti. As the poet mentions Ajayadeva (probably the founder of Ajmer, 12th cent.) the author must have lived in that period or later. It is not unlikely that this Ajayadeva may be a later king of some small state of Gujarat.

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CONTRIBUTION OF GUJARAT TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE (20th CENTURY)

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Gujarat is generally known as a commercial area. Of course, this is not far from truth. But it should be remembered also that the Gujarat, which knows how to make money, also knows how to spend this money for the propagation of our culture and learning, as is evident from the many institutes established in Gujarat to look after the spread of Sanskrit and allied subjects. Thus, the Oriental Institute of Baroda, Gujarat Vernacular Society (later the Gujarat Vidya Sabha and now the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research) at Ahmedabad, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, Institute of Indology, Dwaraka, and Anandashram in Bilkha (Saurāṣṭra), Hemacandrācārya Jain Jñāna Mandir, Patan, Svādhyāya Maṇḍal (Pardi, Dist. Billimora), Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Surat, etc. are some of the University and non-University bodies which have published many works in Sanskrit etc. during the present century.

As far as the teaching of Sanskrit is concerned there were many Pāṭhaśālās (and some exist even to-day) in Gujarat which were financed either by the State or privately by some rich patrons. Thus the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā of Baroda was founded by the rulers of Baroda first in the Viṭṭhal Mandir and later on independently. Other States in Gujarat had also the State-owned Pāṭhaśālās, e.g. the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā at Jamnagar. This is now taken over by the Government. Similarly, the S'rīnagara Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā and the Rajanagar Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā were founded at Ahmedabad by Sir Chinubhai, Baronet, and Sri Bhaisankar, Solicitor, respectively. The Pāṭhas'ālās at Petlad (financed by Datar Sheth Ramanlal) and at Dakor are still working.

There were also private Pāṭhaśālās. Some of the Vedapāṭhins and S'āstris taught in their own houses free of charge. Thus in Baroda, the families of Mahashankar Santokaram Shukla, of Prakashkar Shastri, of Dongre Shastri etc. taught different branches of the Veda and also various Śāstras to students who stayed with them.

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A Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā for the teaching of *Atharva Veda* has recently been started by H. H. Śaṅkarācārya of Kāñcīpīṭha at Sinor.

There were many Ghanapāṭhins scattered all over Gujarat especially in Baroda, Chandod, Sinor, Barkal, etc. Gujarat has preserved the recitation of the *Sāma Veda* and the *Atharva Veda* which have become defunct in some other parts of North India. A few Vaidikas of these two Vedas in Banaras to-day are originally from Gujarat.

Gujarat has also preserved the Śrauta sacrifices. There are references to show that such sacrifices were performed in Gujarat at least upto the 13th century. Thus Cāṇḍu Paṇḍita of Dholka (Commr. on the *Naiṣadha*) and Someśvara of Patan had performed many Śrauta sacrifices. There were and even now are brahmins who know the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* by heart.

Skandasvāmī of Valabhī has written a *bhāṣya* on the *Ṛg Veda* (620 A. D.) and Durgācārya of Jambusar (dist. Broach) has written a commentary on the *Nirukta*. Maharṣi Dayānanda has also contributed a great deal to the Vedic studies.

Among the authors of *darśanas* it must be mentioned that Kapila, the propagator of the Sāṅkhya system hailed from Siddhapur.

Out of the three towering personalities of Buddhism viz., Asaṅga, Vasumati and Sthiramati, the third one hailed from Gujarat.

Mallavādi (3rd-4th century A.D.) and Siddhasena Divākara, the two important pillars of Jainism and the Kalikālasarvajña Hemacandrācārya, the Jain polymath, were from Gujarat.

In the field of poetry, drama and rhetoric the names of Bhaṭṭi (Valabhī), Māgha (Bhinnamāla), Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra, Someśvara, etc. are too well known.

Rasakaumudī of Śrīkaṇṭha (16th century) is a valuable contribution of Gujarat (Jamnagar) in the field of musicology.

The period of Chaulukyas in Gujarat is a golden period as far as Gujarat's contribution to Sanskrit is concerned. For, when the other parts of India were not so active during this period, Patan, the then capital of Gujarat, was throbbing with Sanskrit and Prakrit

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learning. The Solanki kings, minister Vastupāla, scholars like Someśvara and Hemacandrācārya and their literary circle had outshone those in other parts of India in the literary output during the period of about 300 years.

Valabhi was a great centre of learning. It was a Sanskrit University like its counterparts in Taxila and Nālandā. Nāgārjuna established the readings of the Jain canonical works in Valabhī as early as the 4th century A. D. In the latter half of the same century a Jain conference met at Valabhī and Devardhi Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa prepared the authentic readings from those of Nāgārjuna and Skandilācārya.

After the Muslim period the rulers of different States seem to have taken up the responsibility of propagating Sanskrit learning. The Gaekwads of Baroda and Jam Saheb of Navanagar deserve special mention.

During the present century also Gujarat has contributed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

One of the most valuable contributions is the critical edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the Oriental Institute, (M. S. University) of Baroda. The efforts of Pandit S. D. Satavalekar in propagating Vedic study and of Sri Nathuram Sharma (Bilkha, Saurashtra) in the field of Vedānta and ritual are equally praiseworthy. Different sects of Gujarat, such as Āryasamāja, Puṣṭimrāga, Svāminārayaṇa and Kabir, have also enriched Sanskrit literature by their valuable contributions.

Some of the important writers of the present century are given below:

(1) Mm. Ramakrishna Sastri: He was the son of Harakhaji—a poor brahmin who came from Saurashtra with his son Rāmu to Baroda due to difficulties in earning his livelihood there. Both the father and the son were sitting on a verandah of Kantareshwara temple near Champaner Gate (Baroda). One Anuparam Sukla happened to see them in this plight. He gave them shelter and got young Rāmu admitted to the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā to study grammar under Krishna Sastri. The boy Rāmu flowered into a great Pandit

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of grammar and was an expert in *prakriyā* technique. His scholarship in grammar was so outstanding that even during the life-time of Sivakumar Sastri of Banaras, Ramakrishna was called a Sivakumar of Gujarat. His scholarship was appreciated by the British Government by conferring upon him the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. All the scholars in grammar in Gujarat to-day are directly or indirectly the disciples of this great genius. He was perhaps the first Gujarati Pandit to compose songs in Sanskrit in popular tunes, which were occasionally sung by the Maharashtrian classical singer of Baroda, Rokadnath Maharaj. Ramakrishna Sastri later on left Baroda to establish the S'rīnagara Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā at Ahmedabad under the patronage of Sir Chinubhai, Baronet. His son Lakshmisankar was Āyurvedācārya.

(2) Vishnuram Sastri: He was from Kamjej on the bank of river Tapi. He came to Baroda to study under Mm. Ramakrishna Sastri. He was staying in Ghantiada as a tenant of Sri Gaurisankar Sukla. Once in an assembly of Sanskrit scholars at the premises of the Ramanatha Mahadeva temple in the Kamati garden, he tried to poke his nose in a S'āstrārtha. The enraged *guru* snubbed him in bitter words for his audacity. The boy took it to heart and left Baroda directly from the temple itself. He went to Banaras and returned arter 10 years as a full-fledged Pandit. On his return he asked about the whereabouts of Mm. Ramakrishna Sastri and wherever he got an opportunity, he attacked Mm. Ramakrishna Sastri vehemently and tried to refute him at every step.

His thirst for vengeance was never quenched and when Mm. Ramakrishna Sastri went to Ahmedabad to take charge of S'rīnagara Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā, Vishnuram pursued him there and he got Rājanagara Sanskrit Pāṭhaśalā opened under the patronage of Bhaishankar, Solicitor. He was an adept in the *pariṣkāra*-technique as against the *prakriyā*-technique in which Mm. Ramakrishna Sastri was at home.

(3) Rajaram Sastri Topre: A co-student of the famous Sitaram Sastri (Banaras) and Principal of the State Government Sanskrit College at Baroda (Viṭṭhal Mandir). He lived in Ānandapura area opposite the Ganesh temple (near Falia, opposite to the Duffrin Hospital-now S. S. G. Hospital). He wrote *Kaṇṭakatrayoddhāra* to refute the views of Krishnananda Sarasvatī of Surat. As this

work was challenged by Krishnananda Sarasvati, Topre Sastri defended his own position in another work called *Kaṇṭakatrayoddhārapradīpa*. He was orthodox and resigned his post when he was forced to teach grammar by the State to a bania boy. Thereafter he used to coach Jain Sadhus at Chhani, a village near Baroda.

(4) Amritaram Narayan Sastri (Baroda): He had studied under Sudhākara Dvivedi of Banaras and was patronised by the King of Palitana State. The expenses of the marriage of his daughter were borne by the same King. Equally an expert in all branches, he was well known as an astrologer and *pañcāṅga*-writer. He was held in high esteem by Lokamanya Tilak and other contemporary scholars. He was awarded the title of Jyotiśśāstramārtaṇḍa by Śrī S'aṅkarācārya of Dwaraka for his outstanding essay 'Pañcāṅgasaṃśodhananibandha.'

(5) Krishnananda Sarasvatī (Surat) : Author of *Vicāratrayī*, a work having three essays on Varṇāśramadharma, Advaitavedānta and Brāhmaṇatvavicāra. In one of the sections called 'Toparāṭopavimarśa' the author refutes the *Kaṇṭakatrayoddhāra* of Sri Topre Sastri of Baroda.

(6) Mm. Sankarlal Mahesvara Sastri (1843–1917): He was a native of Morvi and was patronized by the local king. He had studied under Kesava Sastri of Jamnagar. His scholarship was recognized by the British Government by conferring upon him the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya (1914). Of his works 18 have been published and ten are yet to be published.

His unique feature was that he was a *śīghrakavi*. His first work was *Ravājirāva-kīrtivilāsa*. After the death of this King a Pāṭhaśālā was established in Morvi by his queen at the instance of Śāstrī, who worked there upto his last.

(7) Mulsankar Maneklal Yajnik (31–1–1886 to 13–11–1965): He was born in a Nagara family at Nadiad, studied at Nadiad and had graduated from the Baroda College. After serving in different capacities at Bombay, Indore and Broach, became a teacher at Sinor (1924). At the invitation of H.H. Sayajirao Gaekwad he became the Principal of the State Sanskrit Pāthaśālā in Baroda and served the Oriental Institute for about 16 years. He passed his retired life in Nadiad till he expired in 1965. He has written three dramas ;

(1) *Chatrapatisāmrājya* (1928)
(2) *Saṃyogitāsvayaṃvara* (1929)
(3) *Pratāpavijaya* (1931)

These works are commented upon by Sri Sridhar Pade Sastri who has also given the notation of songs in the drama. English translation of these was done by another assistant of his, Sri Laxminath B. Sastri.

(8) Sastri Ramanath Bholanath (1869–1938). His Published works are:

(1) *Çandrikā*—comm. on *Pañcalakṣaṇī*.

(2) *Sidhhāntaratnamañjūṣā*—on Dharmaśāstra.

Unpublished works:

(1) *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, comm. on the *Nyāyasūtras* of Gautama.

(2) *Brahmasūtravṛtti* (according to Kevalādvaita).

(3) *Yaduvaṃśa-mahākāvya*—8 cantos, incomplete.

(4) *Jagadīśamanoramā*—comm. on *Jāgadiśī*.

(9) Badarinath Kashinath Sastri (born, 1898)—Studied in Baroda under his uncle Ramananath Sastri. His published works are:

(1) 4 small one-act plays: *Ratnāvali*, *Rādhāvinoda*, *Mālinī* and *Mithyā-Vāsudeva*.

(2) *Rāmāyaṇarājanīti* } Lectures delivered at the Vāranaseya Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya, Varanasi
(3) *Mahābhāratarājanīti* }

(4) *Avantinātha*—Sanskrit rendering of a Gujarati novel by Chunilal Vardhaman Shah (in parts),

(5) Many Sanskrit songs and garbas.

Unpublished works:

(1) *Vallabhadigvijaya*—a poem in 8 cantos on the life of Vallabhācārya of Puṣṭi cult.

(2) *Bhāṣya* on *Trisūtrī* of the *Brahmasūtra* according to Puṣṭi cult.

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(10) Mm. Badarinath Tryambakanath Sastri : He was a great Naiyāyika and a royal Pandit of the court of Sayajirao (III) Maharaja. He lived in a lane known after him as Shastrino Khancho in the Ghadiali Pole, Baroda. His scholarship was recognized by the British Government which awarded him the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya.

(11) Laxminath Sastri : The son of Mm. Badarinatha Sastri ; had also passed B. A. examination. He served for the major part of his life as a Principal of the State Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā at Baroda, which was later on taken over (1951) by the M. S. University of Baroda. After his retirement he worked as an Honorary Professor and taught Aesthetics in the Faculty of Fine Arts (M. S. University). He has translated three Sanskrit dramas of M. M. Yajnik into English and has written a work in Gujarati on Aesthetics.

(12) Chhotalal Narabheram Bhatt (1850-1937): Has written his autobiography at the age of 85 (1935). He was awarded a ' Kaladipa ' medal by H. H. Sayajirao Maharaja.

He has published translations of about 28 Sanskrit works, Some of them are *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa. *Śāntiparva*, *Vyavahāra Mayūkha*, *Hitopadeśa*, *Kiṣkindhā*, *Yuddha*, and *Uttara kāṇḍas* (of the *Rāmāyaṇa*), *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (10 chs.), *Priyadarśikā*, *Pañcatantra*, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* etc.

27 of his translations are yet unpublished.

His unpublished Sanskrit works are nearly 13. Some of these are : *Brahmasutrāṇām Saṅkṣiptavṛttiḥ*, *Gupta-gaṅgāmāhātmya*, *Vairāgyaratnākara*, *Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā* etc.

(13) P.P. Sri Tambesvami Maharaj (13-8-1854 to 1914): A great Maharashtrian mystic who settled in Garudeshvar in the Narmadā and propagated the Datta cult. He had two pupils, both of them mystics, Sri Yogānanda Sarasvati (Ganda Maharaj) and Sri Ranga Avadhuta.
His works :

(1) Stotras.

(2) *Vedāntasāraṣaṭpañcāśikā Stotra* (56 verses), a S'aṅkarite work.

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(3) On the Datta-cult:

- (a) *Gurucaritra* (300 verses)
- (b) *Dvisāhasrī*
- (c) *Dattapurāṇa*, 8 maṇḍalas, each having 8 chapters.
- (d) *Saptaśatī-gurucaritra* (Marathi)
- (e) *Dattacampū*.

(4) Commentaries on his own works like *Gurucaritra*, *Kṛṣṇalaharī*, etc.

(14) Srī Ranga Avadhuta Maharaj: A Maharashtrian mystic born in Godhra and settled in Nareshvar on the Narmada river. A student of the Baroda College, he left the studies during the Independence Movement. Later he turned into a mystic and became a pupil of Sri Vāsudevānanda Sarasvatī.

His works:

- (a) Stotras:
  - (1) *Śrī Vāsudevanāmasudhā*.
  - (2) *Dattanāmasaṅkīrtana*.
  - (3) *Bodhamālikā*.
  - (4) *Dattanāmasmaraṇa*.
  - (5) *Śrīdattarakṣāstotra*,
  - (6) *Stotraṣaṭka*.
  - (7) *Raṅgahṛdaya*-a collection of 62 stotras.
- (b) *Bālabodhinī*-a commentary on *Sadbodhaśataka*, a collection of 100 verses from Bhartṛhari's works.

(15) Svami Bhagavadācārya (about 98 years): Has written a *mahākāvya* in Sanskrit in 75 cantos on Gandhiji's life in three Volumes. Vol. I-*Bhāratapārijāta* (Baroda, 1937) records the events upto Dandi march; Vol. II-*Pārijātāpahāra* (Ahmedabad, 1944), events upto Quit India Movement; Vol. III-*Pārijātasaurabha* (1951, Ahmedabad), events upto assasination. All these three volumes were reprinted in 1969, the Gandhi Centenary year, for the third time. This is one one of the longest *mahākāvyas* in Sanskrit on Gandhi. It is written in a lucid style in the

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manner of traditional *mahākāvyas*. Among other works his *bhāṣya* on the *Yajurveda* deserves mention.

(16) Manisankar V. Upadhyaya of Baroda : Studied at the Ṛṣikul Brahmacaryāśrama at Hardvar and got the tittle Vidyābhāskara. He is an adept in grammar, Dharmaśāstra, Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Vedānta. For the major part of his life he served in local high schools. After retirement he served for some time as Honorary Professor in the Sanskrit Mahāvidyālaya.

He is popular for his Sanskrit songs and garbas including even a Bhangda dance-song. Among his many published and unpublished works, *Īśvara-svarūpa* and the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣyālocana* deserve special note. The first is a philosophical treatise in anuṣṭubh metre, denying the existence of God and *Punarjanma*, an unexpected revolutionary work from the pen of a traditional pandit. The second is a original contribution on the teaching of Sāṁkhya. It is an independent *bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* refuting the views of other great *ācāryas* and trying to prove that the *Brahmasūtras* were written to explain the philosophy of the Sāṁkhya system rather than that of Vedānta. He, however, tries to synthesise the teachings of the Sāṁkhya system with those of the other schools of philosophy. The first part is upto *catuḥsūtrī* and the second one includes further three *adhikaraṇas*. The remaining portion, though complete, awaits financial help for publication.

(17) Govinda Rao Balawanta Rao Ane Rao, Ahmedabad (1865-1935) : Works (unpublished) :

1. *Govindasaptaśati* or *Kāvyaśāstrīya*, 700 stanzas in Āryā metre.
2. *Vyāsopadeśa*—851 stanzas in Vasantatilaka.

(18) Gajendra Lalshankar Pandya, Surat (born in 1895) : Author of *Viṣamapariṇayana*, drama in five acts on *Kanyāvikraya*, a tragedy (Surat, 1932).

(19) Prof. G. C. Jhala, Bombay : *Suṣamā*, a collection of poems. (Bombay, 1955).

(20) Prof. J. T. Parikh, Surat : *Chāyāśākuntala*, play.

CONTRIBUTION OF GUJARAT TO SANSKRIT—GENERAL

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The formost Gujarati writer to be remembered is the great and illustrious poet Māgha, author of *Śiśupālavadha*. He was a Srimali brahmin and flourished in the 7th century in Bhinnamala, which was famous as Srimalnagar and is situated on the northern boundary of Gujarat. His contemporary was Brahmagupta, who was also a Gurjar Srimali Brahmin and also a resident of the same Bhinnamala; his works on astrology, viz. *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*, *Khaṇḍanakhādya* and *Dhyānagraha* are well known. In the same century, Bhaṭṭi flourished in Valabhī Nagara in Saurashtra and is the author of the famous epic *Rāvaṇavadha (Bhaṭṭikāvya)*.

The following is the list of some other Gujarati scholars who have not been brought to much light :

1. Śārṅgadhara, Gujarati Nagara Brahmin of the 7th century A D. His father was Devarāja and his Guru, Yatipati Vaikuṇṭhāśrama. This scholar was a good poet and a Rājavaidya too. He has written *Triśatī* which is a good combination of Āyurveda and poetry. Vallabhādeva wrote a commentary on this work. This Śārṅgadhara is different from the author of the medical *Śārṅgadhara Saṁhitā*.

2. Caṇḍu Paṇḍita (about 1260 A. D.); resident of Dholka in Gujarat (at present in Ahmedabad district). He has written a commentary on *Naiṣadhacarita* of S'rī Harṣa.

3. Govindācārya (13th century A. D.); father Surāditya, grand-father Ruha Deva. He was a Modha Brahmin by caste. His work is *Rasasāra*.

निर्मथ्य सर्वशास्त्राणि त्वनुभूय पुनः पुनः ।
बौद्धमतं तथा ज्ञात्वा रससारः कृतो मया ॥

4. Keśavārka: An Udīcya Brahmin residing on the bank of Narmadā; Works : *Vivāhavṛndāvana* (composed in 1243 A.D.) and

Karaṇakaṇṭhīrava. His Gotra was Bhāradvāja; his father Rāṇiga, grand-father Śriyāditya, great grand-father Janārdana.

5. Yaśodhara, by caste Śrīgauḍa Brahmin; resident of Junagadh in Saurashtra; work-*Rasaprakāśa-sudhākara*; father, Padmanābha; he lived in the 13th century.

6. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, son of Bhāradvāja, who was the royal priest of Śārṅgadeva Kalyāṇavijaya, the ruler of Gujarat. He wrote the *Dīpikā* commentary on *Kāvyaprakāśa*.

7. Ananta, A. D. 1465; a Nagara Brahmin of Ahmedabad; his work is *Kāma-samūha*. He gives his own introduction in the Satīvṛtta-chapter of his *Kāma-samūha* thus:—

नागरज्ञातिजातेन मन्त्रिमण्डलसूनुना ।
अनन्तेन महाकाव्ये सतीवृत्तं प्रकाशितम् ॥
अहमदनिर्मितनगरे विहितावसतिश्च वृद्धनागरिकः ।
मण्डलसूनुरनन्तो रचयति सेवाविधिं नार्याः ॥

8. Anantācārya (10th century A. D.); of Vaḍanagara; father Lakṣmī Śaṅkara. Udīcya Brahmin by caste. He has written *Vedārtha-dīpikās* on *Mādhyandina Samhitā* and *Vedārthacandrikā* which deal with Pūrva Mīmāmsā.

9. Vidyā Dviveda alias Dyā Dviveda. President of Ānandapura; V. S. 1550; work *Niti-mañjarī*.

10. Viśrāma: Resident of Jambusar town in the Broach district. His Gotra was Kauṇḍinya, father Puruṣottama, grand-father Janārdana, great grand-father Ananta Daivajña. He is the author of two works *Jātaka-śiromaṇi* (composed in 1600 A.D.) and *Yantra-śiromaṇi*.

शाके नन्दद्विपश्चेन्दु (२४२२) प्रथिते च नभस्यके ।
वृत्तैः सप्ताङ्घ्रितुल्यैश्च कृता जातकपद्धतिः ॥

Thus his time comes to be 1607 A. D.

11. Gaṇeśa; Time 16th century, father Gopāla, grandfather Kānhaji, gotra Bhāradvāja; Gurjara Brahmin, resident of Surat; work, *Jātakālaṅkāra*.

12. Mādhavopādhyāya : According to the opinion of Pranacharya Sri Jadavji Trikamji, this scholar flourished in Saurashtra in the 17th century A. D. He was a Sārasvata Brahmin. His works are: *Āyurvedaprakāśa* and *Pākāvalī*.

13. Gaṇapati : Vikram Samvat 1742 ; work, *Muhūrtagaṇapati*.

14. Girijā Śaṅkara S'āstrī ; born V. S. 1912 ; father Lakṣmīśankara, mother Yamunā ; studied in Kasi ; was Principal of Saminarayana Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā. His Holiness Swami Sri Santyanandji, Sankaracharya of Dwaraka, had adorned him with the title of Vidyāvācaspati. Demise : 1994 V. S.

15. Śankarlāl Maheśvara Śāstri, Rajaguru of Morvi (at that time a native state of Saurashtra) ; He was a versatile genius; has written many poems, dramas etc., e. g. *Kṛṣṇacandrābhyudaya nāṭaka* and *Candraprabhācarita*. The latter is on the line of the famous *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and is prescribed as a text-book for the Varanasi examinations.

16. Rāmakṛṣṇa Harṣaji : He conducted a Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā in Ahmedabad and prepared innumerable disciples.

17. Hathibhai Hariśankara Śāstri (Mahāmahopādhyāya) ; Principal of Jamnagar Rājakīya Sanskrit College ; wrote a commentary on *Śrī Kṛṣṇacandrābhyudaya Nāṭaka* of S'ankarlāl Śāstri.

18. Tryambaka Rām S'āstri, Vedāntācarya ; Principal of Jamnagar Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā. He annotated *Vedānta-paribhāṣā*, the famous treatise in Advaita Vedānta.

19. Śrīmad Dayānanda Sarasvati, the famous founder of Ārya Samāj. He was born in the village Tankara near Morvi. His original name was Mulshanker. His commentaries on *Yajurveda* and his *Ṛgvedādibhāṣyabhūmikā* etc. are very famous. He had mastery in Vyākaraṇa and Vedas.

20. Mūlsankar Maneklal Yājñik S'āstri, Principal of Baroda Rājakīya Sanskrit Pāṭhasālā ; wrote dramas *Chatrapati-sāmrājya*, *Saṁyogitāsvayamvara* etc.

In this paper mention is made of only those scholars who wrote mainly in Sanskrit in the ancient traditional mode. Besides these scholars, there have been many Gujaratis who are also famous as great Sanskritists, e.g. Prof. Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi, Divan Bahadur Kesavlal Dhruva, Dolatram Kriparam Pandya, Balasanker Kantharia, Jaykishandas Jethabhai Kania, Nagindas Purushottamdas Sanghvi, Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel, Rao Bahadur Principal Kamalasanker Pransanker Trivedi, Principal Dr. Ananda Sanker Dhruve, Prof. Ramnarayan Visvanath Pathak, His Holiness Late Vishnunath Guru of Jamnagar and Late Sriman Nathuram Sarma of Bilkha in Saurashtra and Late Jaykrishna Bhatt of Bombay, who contributed considerably to the cause of uplift of Sanskrit.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF KARNATAKA TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE—GENERAL

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Thanks to the researches of scholars in ancient Indian history and archaeology, we are now in a position to state that the datable history of Karnataka goes as far back as the Christian era, and the achievements of the Karnataka rulers form one of the most glorious chapters in Indian history. Not only the famous kings among the Sātavāhanas, Gangas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Chālukyas, Yādavas, Hoysaḷas and the Vijayanagara rulers, but even feudatories like the Nāyaks of Ikkeri, were great promoters of learning and very often, great contributors to literature themselves. Whatever the religious persuasion of the rulers, the orthodox Vedic religion, Jainism and S'aivism, all received equal encouragement at their hands; and as one might naturally expect, Karnataka did throw up great writers in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Kannada in the long period of its recorded history.

The Western pioneers in Sanskrit studies like Prof. Max Müller felt so keenly the absence, after the epic age in India, of many significant works in Sanskrit till the sixth century A.D., that they postulated the theory of a renaissance or revival of Sanskrit learning. Even early archaeologists and epigraphists like Buhler, who proved the hollowness of the above surmise on the evidence of dated inscriptions, are seen under-rating the contribution of South India to Sanskrit poetry. Buhler observes: "It is, however, very questionable whether the poetic art had reached in Southern India that degree of development which it had reached at the special centres of intellectual life in Northern India". But, as pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar, recent finds show that Buhler's doubts were unjustified. That the *Kāvya* style was cultivated in South India is fully established by a number of inscriptions in Karnataka. Kubja, the author of the Tālagunda inscription of the Kadamba King S'āntivarman (5th century A.D.), was a master of varied metres and striking figures of speech; Ravikīrti, the famous poet of Pulikeśin II, could deservedly lay claim to the fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi on

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account of his composition in the famous Aihole Inscription (637 A.D.).

Such examples of rare poetic finish do indicate that Sanskrit poetry was being regularly cultivated in this region in the period under survey. Some of the ancient manuscripts in drama and poetry discovered in the present century, go to confirm this conclusion, though many a great work, mentioned in epigraphical records, is irrecoverably lost. Thus the *Dattakasūtravṛtti*, a treatise on the *Vaiśika* chapter of erotics written by the Ganga king Mādhava II (*c.* 4th century A.D.) and the Ganga King Durvinīta's (*c.* 6th century A.D.) Sanskrit version of the renowned *Bṛhatkathā* (in Paiśāci Prākrit) of Guṇāḍhya, and the commentary on the difficult fifteenth canto of Bhāravi's ornate poem *Kirātārjunīya* and Ganga king S'rīpuruṣa's *Gajaśāstra* (a treastise on the training of elephants) are nothing more than names to us. Even if some of the Copper Plates that mention these details be regarded as later forgeries, the facts recorded may be taken to represent genuine tradition.

The existence of a Tamil *Perungatai* (*Bṛhat-kathā*) (*c.* 8th century) which speaks of itself as being based on a Sanskrit version, makes it plausible that Durvinīta wrote a Sanskrit version, particularly in the absence of Sanskrit versions of that work upto the 10th or 11th century A.D.

It is interesting, in this connection, to note that the original *Bṛhat-kathā* also hailed from Kuntaladeśa (an ancient name for parts of Karnataka) in the reign of a Sātavāhana King of about the first century A.D. Later legends make it appear that he was a rival of Śarvavarman, the famous author of the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa, in the court of a Sātavāhana king. Indeed, this grammar is not only handy and simple, but also practical and popular. Its great popularity in distant lands like Tibet, Kashmir and Bengal in the centuries that followed, as against the more elaborate and more intricate grammar of Pāṇini, indicates its utility. To revert to the *Bṛhat-kathā*, it is a rare and signal monument to the genius of the South in the matter of romantic and didactic tales, with flashes of buoyant and sunny humour. No wonder it served as a source book to the master-poets of the North like Subandhu and Bāṇa, as well as of the South, like Daṇḍin, who wrote on secular themes. It deserves to be mentioned here that, again, it was in the Sātavāhana court that the first anthology of seven hundred lyric gems in Prākrit, viz., *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (or *Sattasai*) was compiled. These love-songs are extremely tender and beautiful. The calm and unsophisticated life of the Indian people, especially in the villages amidst nature, is artfully depicted. Sometimes we hear the man's voice, but more often the woman's. The women, old and young, speak to the youth, to the loving woman, to their own hearts ; yet their one theme is love. These lively verses have influenced all the later lyric writers, not only in Sanskrit, but in other Indian languages like Hindi. Bāṇa, in his *Harṣacarita*, pays a glorious tribute to it as an 'imperishable and refined repertory of good sayings'. Some scholars, however, think that this collection may belong to the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The *Avantisundarī-kathā*, discovered and edited recently, records a tradition that its illustrious author Daṇḍin was the great grandson of one Dāmodara, an immigrant to the Pallava court of Narasimhavarman, that this Dāmodara, was a great friend of Bhāravi, who was honoured in the courts of the Eastern Chālukya King Vishnuvardhana, the Ganga King Durvinīta and the Pallava Simhavishnu before he finally settled in Kānchi. This information that all the three rulers were contemporaries, however, cannot be fully reconciled with the facts known from inscriptions about them. Yet it is enough to establish that Bhāravi and Daṇḍin were writers from the South.

Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* is one of the most celebrated *Mahākāvyas* (great epic poems) in Sanskrit. It marks a new epoch in Sanskrit ornate poetry by giving greater importance to meaning rather than style (Bhāraverartha-gauravam), and to poetic description of natural settings and phenomena rather than the narration of incidents. It is also the first work in which verbal acrostics like ekākṣarī (verses made up of words containing the different forms of a single letter) and 'gatapratyāgata' (verses reading alike both forwards and backwards) have been displayed (especially in canto XV). These apart, Bhāravi stands out as a poet of power and singular energy in introducing spirited dialogues, and we find charming images in almost every verse of his, though some of the conceits might appear far-fetched to modern taste. He proved to be a "poet's poet" in the history of Sanskrit *mahākāvya* and set the standard for all others to follow.

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In an inscription (*c.* 1129 A.D.) at Śravaṇabelagola, (*E. C.*, II No. 67), mention is made of a Jaina poet Śrīvardhadeva, author of the glorious poem *Cūḍāmaṇi*, eulogised by Daṇḍin himself in the following words :

> " If Lord Śiva bore Gaṅgā on the top of his matted hair, here is S'rīvardhadeva who bears Sarasvatī at the tip of his tongue."
>
> Ya evam upaślokito Daṇḍinā—
> Jahnoḥ kanyāṁ jaṭāgreṇa babhāra Parameśvaraḥ |
> Śrīvardhadevaḥ sandhatte jihvāgreṇa Sarasvatīṁ ||

Unfortunately, the work is not extant.

That in creative literature, the Jainas took remarkable interest follows from the patronage they received from Karnataka kings who, in that period, were themselves of Jaina persuasion to a large extent. It is said in several Kannada inscriptions that one ascetic Simhanandi was responsible for establishing the Ganga sovereignty.

Different from this sage is Jaṭāsiṁhanandi, whose *mahākāvya* in 31 cantos, *Varāṅgacarita* has been edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, according to whom this author might have lived at the close of the 7th century A. D., and a memorial to him in stone is preserved up to this day at Koppal. It can be taken to represent 'Purāṇakāvya' (old epic style) since it includes dogmatic details, polemical discussions and didactic matter. Nonetheless, its poetic merit is also patent.

Several such early Jaina authors of *Purāṇakāvyas* like Kavi Parameśvara (or Kavi-Parameṣṭhi) are mentioned by later poets like Jinasena (9th century), author of the *Ādipurāṇa*, Cāvuṇḍarāya (10th century) and Vādirāja (11th century.) But they are all unfortunately lost.

The Jainas were also pioneers in the composition of useful secular works on Grammar, Prosody, Medicine, etc. Thus we have inscriptional references to Pūjyapāda alias Devanandin (5th century or 6th century A. D.) as an author of a *nyāsa* on Pāṇinian grammar known as *Śabdāvatāra* (sometimes King Durvinīta himself is given the epithet 'Śabdāvatārakāra,' though). He was certainly the founder of a new system of grammar known as Jainendra Vyākaraṇa, which has recently been published (Bhāratīya Jñāna Peeṭha, Benaras). From a perusal of the work, it appears that Devanandin was out-Pāṇini-ing Pāṇini himself in the matter of brevity, making all the *sūtras* much more laconic by avoiding all lengthy expressions. It is in the nature of an abridgment of Pāṇini for all practical purposes.

Daṇḍin deserves our consideration now as a master of Sanskrit prose and an early authority on Sanskrit Poetics. Reference has already been made to his newly discovered *Avatisundarī-kathā*. Recent studies in the field indicate that this *Avantisundarī-kathā* is itself possibly the lost introduction to Daṇḍin's well-known *Daśakumāracarita*. Daṇḍin was honoured in the Pallava court of Narasimhavaraman (*c.* 630-668 A. D.) and his fame had spread all over Karnataka, as is indicated by a *subhāṣita* (pithy saying) of Vijayā (*c.* 650 A. D.), a poetess and queen of Candrāditya, the eldest son of the mighty Chālukyan Emperor, Pulikesin II.

"It is because Daṇḍin had no occasion to see me, of shining dark complexion, that he made the mistake of describing Sarasvatī as all-white."

The allusion is to the benedictory verse of Daṇḍin's celebrated work on Poetics, the *Kāvyādarśa*. This work also served as the basis for the Kannada *Kavirājamārga* ascribed to King Nṛpatunga or Amoghavarṣa (9th century A. D.)

An introductory verse of *Daśakumāracarita* is copied in the Pallava inscription of the 8th century at Amarāvati (*S. I. I.*, 1. 26, Kielhorn's List No. 1903). Similarly we find a poet Acala who composed two verses in praise of Nāṭyācārya Bharata and got them inscribed on a stone pillar at Paṭṭaḍakal in the 7th century (Kielhorn's List No. 1042).

According to the findings of Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiah, the glorious Ganga court of Būtuga and Rakkasaganga in the last part of the 10th century gave patronage to a number of eminent writers in Sanskrit among the Jainas. Hemasena alias Vidyādhanañjaya or

Dhanañjaya was the author of the first *tour de force* in Sanskrit Mahākāvyas, viz., the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*.

His student was Vādībhasiṁha alias Oḍeyadeva alias Śrīvijaya who is well known as the author of two prose works after the manner of Bāṇa, viz.. the *Gadyacintāmaṇi* and *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi*. These have Jain didactic stories for their themes. Here, again, deserves to be mentioned Vīranandin, the author of the far-famed *Candraprabhāpurāṇa* and Asaga who wrote the *Vardhamānapurāṇa* in Sanskrit and became also so famous as to be alluded to by Kavi-cakravarti Ponna.

Turning to early sacred and philosophical literature in Sanskrit, it is very difficult in the present state of scholarship to decide which of the authors were from the Karnataka region, though we know in general that Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin, among renowned sūtrakāras, and Kātyāyana, Diṅnāga among Buddhist logicians and Samantabhadra among Jaina authorities, were all from the South. Epigraphical evidence, however, shows clearly that in Karnataka from the earliest times, the study of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, Śāstras and Purāṇas in Sanskrit was widely prevalent.

It has been believed traditionally that Sringeri was a centre for the philosophical activity of the great Śaṅkarācārya and of some of his pupils like Padmapāda and Sureśvara.

Though a large number of works have been lost by the ravages of time, even the few surviving works noticed above serve to show that the contribution of Karnataka to Indian culture through the medium of Sanskrit in the period (4th to 10th century A. D., under Śātavāhanas, Kadambas, Pallavas Gangas, etc.), is neither mean or negligible.

The glorious reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas saw at once the flowering of literary activity both in Sanskrit and Kannada. The curriculum of advanced studies in this period was so wide as to include Veda, Vyākaraṇa, Jyotiṣa, Sāhitya, Mīmāṁsā, Purāṇas, Nyāya and Smṛtis.

One of the epigraphs of this period mentions Kaumāra or the Kātantra system of grammar in which specialists were available. The famous commentary (*vṛtti*) on the *Kātantrasūtras* was written by Durgasiṁha belonging to this period. It not only explains but amplifies the text. Durgasiṁha has also written a gloss on his own *vṛtti*.

Like the Jainendra system, Karnataka founded another system of Sanskrit grammar, the Śākaṭāyana School. While compressing Pāṇini and Jainendra in a convenient form, this Jaina Śākaṭāyana, a protege of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa I, anticipates already the *prakriyā*-plan adopted by later writers. Śākaṭāyana added also on his *Sūtras*, his own commentary called *Amoghavṛtti* in honour of his patron.

The discovery in this century of numerous inscriptions and copper plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas written mostly in Sanskrit, has helped in the writing of the history of this great dynasty. Each one of the Sanskrit records is, indeed, a poem by itself. Each of these Sanskrit plates is replete with the graces and beauties of language met with in classical writers like Bāṇa and Bhāravi. One of them, the Begumra Plate of Indra III dated 915 A. D., deserves to be noticed here in particular. Its author is Trivikrama, the same as the author of the first and the only datable *Campū-kāvya* in Sanskrit literature viz., *Nala-campū*. This establishes the fact that Karnataka had its own signal contributions to make in the field of pure literary forms also.

The origin of the word *Campū* itself is obscure ; but Prof. R. S. Mugali in his *History of Kannada Literature*, thinks that the word is of Kannada origin.

Trivikrama's composition in prose and verse, both highly literary and embellished, runs to seven long chapters. He pays compliments to Bāṇa and Subandhu in the beginning. He has made romantic and ingenious innovations of his own in his treatment of the Nala's story. Another work of this author is *Madālasā-campū*.

Amoghavarṣa I or Nṛpatuṅga (814–878 A.D.) was himself a poet of a high order. A short and sweet philosophical lyric in Sanskrit, *Praśnottara-ratnamālikā* is said to be his composition, though it is attributed also to S'aṅkarācārya and one Vimala. His *Kavirājamārga* in Kannada is modelled on the celebrated *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin.

A noteworthy work on Indian mathematics written under the patronage of this renowned ruler is Mahāvīracārya's *Gaṇita-sāra-saṅgraha.*

Halāyudha is a writer of a lexicon, and the *Kavirahasya* and *Mṛtasañjivinī*. The former is a *dhātu* Kāvya on verbs written in verse, aud its preface mentions expressly the patronage given to him by Kṛṣṇa III, the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa King. The last is a commentary on the basic text of Prosody, Piṅgala's *Chandaḥ-sūtra.*

Reference has already been made to the association of the great philosopher Śaṅkara and his pupil Sureśvara with Śṛṅgeri. There is of course the controversy of the identity of Sureśvara, whom some take to be the same as Viśvarūpa and Maṇḍana.

Another great writer who flourished under the Chalukyas of Lemulavāḍa (or Vemulavāḍa), the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, was the Jaina Somadevasūri. He continued the *campū* tradition started by Trivikrama and developed it further. He wrote his *Yaśastilaka* in 959 A.D,, while his patron was camping with his overlord Krishna III at Melpāḍi in the Chittoor District in Andhra Pradesh. Somadeva has given in his long *campū*, encyclopaedic ideas of Vedic, Āgamic, Tāntric and popular thought. Somadevasūri was a prolific writer and another work which deserves some consideration here is his treatise on politics, the *Nītivākyāmṛta.* It has been translated into Italian. The other works of this author, not extant today are: *Ṣaṇṇavatiprakaraṇa*, *Mukti-cintāmaṇi* and *Mahendramātali-sañjalpa.*

In the theological field too, the Jainas of this period produced monumental works. Some of the most exhaustive and authoritative commentaries on the Jain canonical work known as *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* were completed under Rāṣṭrakūṭa patronage. Vīrasena and Jinasena were teacher and disciple who jointly completed the gigantic commentaries known as *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā*, together running to some 100,000 ślokas.

Jinasena was a master-poet who wrote the extensive *Ādi Purāṇa* dealing with the epic story of Bharata and Bāhubali, a *kāvya* and *purāṇa* in one. The work, although voluminous, remained incomplete till it was completed by Jinasena's pupil Guṇabhadra

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whose supplementary work is known as *Uttara Purāṇa*. The importance of these works will be realised only if we see how Jinasena's work set the tradition of Kannada *campū* poetry for a period of four centuries, starting from Pampa.

Another literary work of Jinasena, equally significant, is *Pārśvābhyudaya*, which gives the life-story of Pārśvanātha, and at the same time, by an ingenious device of *samasyāpūraṇa* (parts of a stanza being added to a given line, so as to complete the sense), incorporated the entire text of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. This work has proved most useful in deciding the text and readings of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*.

Asaga's *Vardhamāna Purāṇa* in Sanskrit is also a work of this period. Asaga was equally great as a poet in Kannada literature. This work is referred to in Jayakīrti's *Chhandonuśāsana*, which is also an interesting work in Prosody written by a Kannadiga in the 10th century. Besides giving a succinct account of Sanskrit metres, this work devotes a very valuable and significant section to Kannada prosody.

Vidyānanda was great in Jaina thought. He wrote his brilliant commentary *Aṣṭasāhasrī* on Samantabhadra's *Āptamīmāṁsā*, *Āptaparīkṣā* (an independent work) and other advanced polemical works. Vidyānanda, like Akalaṅka before him, criticises the doctrines of the Hindu and Buddhist schools of Philosophy. Māṇikyanandi's *Parīkṣāmukha-sūtra* and Prabhācandra's *Prameya-kamala-mārtaṇḍa* are celebrated texts of Jaina Philosophy and are assigned to this period.

The patronage extended to Sanskrit writers by the Western Chalukya kings of Kalyan was almost unprecedented in the history of Karnataka. There seems to have arisen a healthy competition between the rulers of the North like Bhoja and the rulers of the South like Vikramāditya VI to secure the best poets and philosophers for their courts by offering them fabulous rewards. Hence it is that we find luminaries of all-India fame like Vādirāja, Bilhaṇa and Vijñāneśvara adorning the Chalukyan court and making solid contributions to various branches of Sanskrit learning.

The Jaina Vādirāja, in the court of Jayasimha II (Jagadekamalla), whose reign extended from 1015 to 1042 A.D., was a brilliant Jain writer in Sanskrit. His genius has been deservedly eulogised not only in dozens of inscriptions all over Karnataka (*E. C.* VIII, 35-40, Belur 117, etc.,) but also in Kannada literary works like Nāgavarma's *Kāvyāvalokana* and Śāntinātha's *Sukumāracarita*.

Of the many works of Vādirāja, only the *Yaśodhara-carita*, a short narrative poem (in four cantos) in about 300 verses, was published in 1912 (from Tanjore), and in 1960 by the Karanatak University. His longer literary epic, *Pārśvanātha-carita* (in twelve cantos) was published in 1916 (Bombay) ; but they have not received any wide attention outside the narrow circle of Jaina scholars. But his *magnum opus*, the *Nyāyaviniścaya-ṭīkā*, an exhaustive commentary on the philosophical and polemical classic of Akalaṅka called *Nyāyaviniścaya* after the manner of the Buddhist Dharmakīrti's well-known *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, has been published in two volumes (Bharatīya Jnanapitha, Kasi). Even a cursory glance through these volumes will reveal how Vādirāja eminently deserved the titles 'Ṣaṭtarka-Ṣaṇmukha,' 'Syādvādavidyāpati' and 'Jagadekamallavādi' conferred on him by the Calukyan emperor Jagadekamalla. Another work on Logic by Vādirāja is *Pramāṇanirṇaya* (Bombay, 1917). It is a lucid compendium or hand-book on the various *pramāṇas* or instruments of valid knowledge.

As a poet too, Vādirāja deserves a high place. Though his *Pārśvanātha-carita*, an ornate epic on the life of a religious saint (based on the story of Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*), is full of conventional conceits and lengthy descriptions, his *Yaśodharacarita* is a better perfomance on the theme of woman's fraility and the wages of sin. The Tamil *Yaśodharakāvya* of unknown authorship (*c.* 11th century A. D.,) and the Kannada *Yaśodhara-carita* of Janna (12th century) are seen to be heavily indebted to Vādirāja's Sanskrit original.

Pārśvanātha-carita gives the date of its composition as 1026 A.D., and mentions the 'Kaṭṭaga-tīra' or the bank of the river Ghaṭaprabhā, as the place where it was written. This, coupled with Vādirāja's specific mention of a number of earlier writers like Anantakīrti and Vīranandi, proves valuable to the literary historian of Sanskrit.

Also from the pen of Vādirāja is the *Ekībhāva Stotra* in 25 verses, one of the most popular hymns among Jainas upto this day.

However, it is interesting to note in this connection, that in an inscription of 1036 A.D. (*E.C.*, Vol. I. No. 126), one Kālāmukha Śaiva teacher, Lakulīśa Paṇḍita alias Vādirudragaṇa of Balligāme (in the province of Banavasi 12000) is gloried in hyperbolic terms as defeating the formidable debater Vādirāja himself (Vādirāja-mukhamudraṁ). This would serve to indicate how Jagadekamalla was tolerant towards all religious persuasions in his vast realm, though he had a special predilection in favour of Jainism.

We know that one Nāgavarma, a reputed Kannada author, was a Kaṭakopādhyāya or Paṇḍit in the court of Jagadekamalla (cf. Jananātham Jagadekanalli...). Quite a few quotations from a lexical work in Sanskrit (the name of the work is not given), now lost, of Nāgavarma are found in the commentary on the *Yaśodhara-carita* by Lakṣmaṇa of Kshemapura of Gerusoppe and the lexical work may possibly belong to this period.

Dayāpāla, who was a pupil of Matisāgara and a fellow-student of Vādirāja, prepared a very useful revised manual of the topics of Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa known as *Rūpasiddhi*. This work has been much praised in several Kannada inscriptions (*E. C.*, VIII, Nos. 35, 36, 37 etc.). To quote only one verse :

Śabdānuśāsanasyochchaiḥ Rūpasiddhirmahātmanā ।
Kṛtā yena sa cābhāti Dayāpālo munīśvaraḥ (*E.C.*, VIII. i, 39).

The Chalukyan emperor Vikramāditya was a patron of the great Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa, who immortalised him in an ornate epic, the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*. What Bāṇa did for King Harṣa in ornate prose, Bilhaṇa did for Vikramāditya VI in verse. In Sanskrit literature, conspicuously deficient in historical works, the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* (in 18 cantos) is one of the noteworthy works which has a historical personage as the hero ; and despite its flair for the mythological and hyperbolical, it holds the attention of the historian and the literary critic alike even to-day. The work is also of interest as giving a detailed autobiography of Bilhaṇa, the author, and helps us to get a vivid picture of the life of a travelling paṇḍit in mediaeval India from court to court of princes, proud of his art and sure of his honour.

A very popular work in Sanskrit, also from the pen of Bilhaṇa, is the *Caurapañcāśikā* or *Bilhaṇakāvya*, a lovelv lyric anthology of fifty erotic verses. In senuous strains are poured forth here a lover's recollections of the pleasures he had in the company of his beloved. Almost every verse has the refrain, 'even now I remember......' and vividly pictures the one or the other feature of his beloved's charms. Prefixed to it, perhaps by a later hand, we find a romantic tale explaining its origin. Bilhaṇa is portrayed as the tutor of a princess Candralekhā or Śaśikalā, the daughter of Vairisiṁha, a King of Gujarat. It is made out that there was a love affair between the teacher aad the pretty pupil; and that the poet was condemned to death by the furious father. On the way to the place of execution, the poet, lost in love, appears to have uttered these verses; and the King who heard them, relented and seems to have spared the life of the poet, giving also his daughter in marriage to him. It is difficult to vouch for the historicity of this story.

Another work which came to be written under the patronage of this mighty Chalukyan emperor, and whose authority has shaped the lives of generations of Indians upto the present time, is the renowned *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara. It is no doubt a commentary on the ancient Smṛti of Yājñavalkya, but it is much more than a commentary. It appears really to be a compendium of all ancient Smṛtis.

Vikramāditya's son, Someśvara III (1127–1138 A.D.) bore the title of 'Sarvajña' ("the ominscient one"). He undertook, for the first time in Sanskrit literary history, a project of something like a universal encyclopaedia of all the arts and sciences known in his time, *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* or *Mānasollāsa*. It speaks of itself as a book of wisdom that benefits one and all (śāstraṁ viśvopakārakaṁ) and as a 'universal educator' (jagadācāryapustaka). The scope of the book is so extensive that it can rightly claim these titles. It presents the cream of Hindu culture at its best in all its diverse branches, before it was rudely shaken by foreign invasions. As Dr. Shama Sastry points out, this is the first book in Sanskrit literature which does full justice to the 'Dravidian element' in Indian culture in important fields like architecture and sculpture, iconography and fine arts like music, dance, painting, augury and social customs, sports and entertainments, including topics like cookery and rattle-drum ('budubudike' in Kannada), cock-fight and snake-charms.

The *Mānasollāsa* comprises of five scores of chapters dealing with exactly a hundred topics, meant for the edification of the people in general and princes in particular. The hundred chapters are divided equally under Five Books of twenty chapters each. In connection with these subjects of chiefly secular interest, practically every branch of Sanskrit learning is intelligently dealt with for example polity, astronomy, astrology, dietetics, rhetoric, poetry, music, dance, painting, architecture, medicine, the training of horses, elephants and dogs. There is, in fact, no other single book which gives us an account of the Indian ideas regarding arithmetic and the decimal notation, preparation of calendars, omens, auguries, palmistry, horticulture, treatment of animal-diseases, mining, alchemy, gems and precious stones, marriage and child-rearing, cookery, liquors, beverages, conveyances, scents and cosmetics. The miscellaneous nature of the topics treated in the voluminous work might possibly indicate that it might have been the work of a band of experts in the court of Someśvara, rather than the personal composition of the royal author.

A protege of Someśvara was possibly the Jaina composer Pārśvadeva who wrote *Saṅgītasamayasāra*. In the field of music we have again another authoritative work, the *Saṅgītacūḍāmaṇi* from the pen of the next Chalukyan emperor, Jagadekamalla II (1138-50 A.D.).

Two other works perhaps of the tenth century or so, which possibly belong to the period of these later Chalukyas under Taila are Dhanañjaya's *Nāmamālā*, a Sanskrit lexicon, and Jayakīrti's *Chandonuśāsana*, a work on Prosody (ed. by Prof. H. D. Velankar, Bombay). The latter gives some interesting observations on Kannada metres also.

The disappearance of the Chālukyan power was followed by the rise of the Yādavas of Devagiri and the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra. Under the Yādavas we find reputed writers like Hemādri, who wrote Smṛti-digests like the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* and *Vratakhaṇḍa*. The *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jalhaṇa, which is an anthology of subhāṣitas,

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and the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, which is an authoritative work on music by S'ārṅgadeva, were inspired by the Yādavas.

Tradition has it that the great Śrīvaishṇava teacher, Rāmānuja, was given asylum by the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana. A great Sanskrit poet who adorned the Hoysala court (14th century) of King Vīra-Ballala III was Vidyācakravartin. He held such titles as Saṁskṛta-sārvabhauma and Sahajasarvajña. His works include: *Sañjīvinī*, a commentary on the *Alaṁkārasarvasva*, *Sampradāyaprakāśinī* on *Kāvyaprakāśa*, *Virūpākṣapañcāśikā*-a poem, and *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa*—a play. His father Sakalavidyācakravartin wrote *Gadyakarṇāmṛta*, a prose panegyric of his patron.

Among Vīraśaiva writers too there was great literary activity during the 12th century, and in case some late author has not fathered the work on Śrīpati Paṇḍita, his *Śrīkarabhāṣya* will rank as the earliest contribution of the Vīraśaivas to Sanskrit philosophical literature. But the genuineness of the authorship has often been impugned by modern scholars. We find Kavirāja, a poet from Banavāsi (*c.* 1200) popularising the tradition of *dvisandhānakāvya* or poetry which can yield two stories in one work, by writing *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*.

If Karnataka provided an asylum for the Vedāntic teachers, S'aṅkara and Rāmānuja, it was the very birth-place and home of activity of the celebrated champion of Dvaita, Madhvācārya, whose date has been worked out to be between A. D. 1239 and 1317 by Dr. Saletore (*Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I, p. 432). Some 37 works are ascribed to Madhvācārya, the chief among them being *Gītābhāṣya*, *Gītātātparya*, *Sūtrabhāṣya*, *Aṇubhāṣya*, *Mahābhāratatātparya-nirṇaya*, *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa*, *Tattvasaṅkhyāna*, *Māyāvādakhaṇḍana*, *Tattvodyota*, *Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya*, the others forming the glosses on Upaniṣads mostly.

But it was with the establishment of the Vijayanagara empire in 1336 that the heyday of Karnataka history was reached in every department of life and culture. Naturally, the Karnataka contribution to Sanskrit reached its zenith under the unstinted patronage of these rulers upto the end of the 16th century.

The most notable literary figures in this golden age of revival of old learning were the brothers Mādhava and Sāyaṇa. Both held ministerial poets in the reign of Bukka, and under their guidance available knowledge in all branches of Sanskrit study, secular and sacred, was systematised and written down in the form of manuals and text books. Mādhava wrote on Brahmanic religion *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā*, *Kālamādhavīya*, and *Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistara.* He is traditionally identified with Vidyāraṇya, the great Advaita philosopher-statesman, while some scholars are chary of accepting the identification as genuine. If the tradition be true, then the classical works of the Advaita system, viz., *Vivaraṇaprameya-saṅgraha*, *Jīvanmuktiviveka* and *Pañcadaśī* will all be from Mādhava's pen after he assumed saṁnyāsa and took the name of Vidyāraṇya. The popular biography of Śaṅkara called *Śaṅkara-vijaya* is also ascribed to Mādhava; but internal evidence shows it to be the work of a much later author known as Abhinava-Kālidāsa in the Vijayanagara court.

The work of Sāyaṇa is more than amazing. For the first time in the history of India, all the Vedic scriptures—the truly extensive Saṁhitās and the major Brāhmaṇas of the four Vedas were fully explained and annotated word by word in classical Sanskrit. For Vedic exegesis, Sāyaṇa's *Bhāṣya* is an invaluable key embodying ancient tradition, and even modern scholars, who differ from him in details of interpretation, have rocognised the indispensable help of Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya. This in itself is more than a life-work; but we have also from Sāyaṇa's pen the following standard works, each a compendium of merit and really astounding in size: *Subhāṣitasudhā-nidhi* (anthology), *Karmavipāka* (smṛti), *Yajñatantrasudhānidhi* (ritual), *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi* (poetics), *Puruṣārthasudhānidhī* (purāṇa), and *Mādhavīya-dhātuvṛtti* (on roots). Some scholars have suggested that Sāyaṇa must have utilized the services of a number of pandits who wrote works in his name.

I have shown elsewhere that the author of the celebrated *Sarva-darśanasaṅgraha* is Sāyaṇa's son Mādhava alias Māyaṇa and not the original Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya*. I have since obtained evidence to show that the author of *Bodhāyanasūtra-bhāṣya* so long attributed to Sāyaṇa, is really Sāyaṇa's grandson and a son of Singhaṇa.

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* Introduction to Sāyaṇa's *Subhāṣitasudhānidhi*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, 1968.

The beginning verse itself in the work, so far unpublished, reads as follows :—

Yaḥ Sāyaṇācāryapadābhiṣiktaḥ
S'rīsiṅghaṇācāryasutāgragaṇyaḥ ।
Prasannagambhīramatisphuṭārthaṁ
Baudhāyanam Kalpamato vidhāsyam ॥

I have also shown that Sāyaṇa, the Vedabhāṣyakāra, though a recipient of land-grants in Nellore District of Andhra Pradesh, was a man from Karnataka, as the linguistic evidence of his name and that of his sons shows.**

At the same time we have another Mādhava (mantrin), a disciple of the Śaiva teacher Kriyāśakti, who wrote a commentary on the *Sūtasaṁhitā*. *Nānārtharatnamālā*, lexicon, was written by Irugappa, minister of Harihara II.

We find a woman writer too in this period, Gaṅgādevī. She was the queen of Kampaṇa, son of Bukka, who conquered the Cola territory for Vijayanagar, and in her charming poem, *Madhurāvijaya*, she eulogises the conquest of Madura by her husband. Its poetic merits are of a high order.

A *Rājakālanirṇaya* on the history of Vijayanagar is also ascribed to Vidyāraṇya.

Bhoganātha, a brother of Sāyaṇa, is also known to be the author of many works. He was a counsellor of Sangama II. He was a poet of a high order and Sāyaṇa had a good opinion of his brother's literary abilities. On the basis of the quotations in Sāyaṇa's *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi*, we can gather the names of about six works, otherwise lost to us.

1. *Udāharaṇamālā* : This is a collection of stanzas composed as examples for the rules laid down in the Alaṅkāra Śāstra (Rhetoric) ; a special feature about the stanzas is that all of them are in praise of Sāyaṇa.

2. The *Rāmollāsa* is a poem of relating the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story.

3. The *Tripuravijaya* has for its theme the story of Śiva's victory over Tripura.

** *Journal of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat*, Bangalore, 1972.

4. The *Śṛṅgāramañjarī* is full of verses dealing with the sentiment of love.

5. The *Mahāgaṇapatīstava* and

6. The *Gaurīnāthaśataka*.

Bhoganātha's verses have a limpid flow and they are pregnant with thought.

Prauḍhadevarāya II (1422-48 A. D.) wrote *Ratiratna-pradīpikā*, a text-book on erotics. Under Devarāya, we find the court-poet Ḍiṇḍima writing the ornate epics *Sāluvābhyudaya* and *Rāmābhyudaya*, and in the reign of Acyutarāya was composed the *Acyutarāyābhyudaya*. All these are semi-historical poems. A poetess Tirumalāmbā wrote the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayacampū* in praise of her patron Acyutarāya. Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself is reputed to have been the author of poems like *Madālasācarita* and plays like *Jāmbavatīkalyāṇa*. His court-poet Lolla Lakṣmīdhara wrote, besides a commentary on Śaṅkara's *Saundaryalaharī*, the *Daivajñavilāsa* which is an encyclopaedic work.

Of Vīras'aiva works, mention may be made of Pālkuriki Somanātha's *Somanātha-bhāṣya (Basavarājīya)* written in the court of Vīra Pratāparudra II. He also wrote *Rudra-bhāṣya*, *Aṣṭaka*, *Pañcaka*, *Namaskāra-gadya*, *Akṣarāṅka-gadya*, *Pañca-prārthanā-gadya*, *Basavodāharaṇa* and *Caturvedatātparyasāṅgraha*. The *Śrīkara Bhāṣya* on the *Brahma Sūtras* by S'rīpati Paṇḍita was another monumental work of the period, expounding Śakti Viśiṣṭādvaita.

Great names in the history of Sanskrit literature like Vedānta Des'ika (Śrīvaiṣṇava), Appayya Dīkṣita (S'aiva and Advaita champion), and Vādirāja (Dvaitin) were all patronised at the Viiayanagara court, now at the height of its glory. A number of commentaries and scholia were written during this period by the adherents of different religious sects, which cannot be mentioned here. We may note in passing that the age of creative writing was over and had given place to an age of manuals, tracts and compendiums in every branch of study.

That the cultivation of Sanskrit learning continued even in the courts of feudatories is evidenced by the vogue of encyclopaedic works like Basavappa Nāyaka's (A. D. 1696-1714) *Śivatattvaratnākara*. The work consists of 108 chapters and is the essence of all sciences of knowledge coming within the purview of the Vedas and the Āgamas. There is material of interest to historians also, as it gives accounts of the biography of Basaveśvara and the founding of the Vijayanagara empire. It deals, like *Mānasollāsa* noticed already, with varied topics like the geography of India, town-planning, architecture, iconography, music, army manoeuvres, theatres, painting, dancing, astrology, the training of horses, cows, elephants etc., besides matters of religious interest culled from various S'aiva Āgamas and Purāṇas. The book deserves a critical edition. Another work of the same author is *Subhāṣitasuradruma*, an anthology of poetic gems. The well-known Kannada poet Ṣaḍakṣaradeva wrote the poem *Kavikarṇarasāyana*, which is published in part.

In the eighteenth century too we find Sarvādhikāri Kalale Nañjarāja of Mysore under Krishnaraja II (1734-60) patronising poets like Nṛsimhakavi who wrote the *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa* (poetics) after the manner of Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa*. Nañjarāja himself is the author of the *Saṅgītagaṅgādhara* or *Śivāṣṭapadī* in imtation of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*.

The post-Vijayanagara period was mainly an age of commentaries and tracts in literature as well as philosophy. In the various courts of Mysore rulers as well as Maratha chiefs in Karnataka, in the holy maths of the different Ācāryas, including Jainas, thousands of works have been written during thc last three centuries. In the modern period too there have been hundreds of Sanskrit scholars conversant in traditional as well as modern Sanskrit scholarship. It is impossible in the brief span of a paper to cite these by name. Even this rapid survey is enough to indicate the nature and extent of the contribution of Karnataka to Sanskrit literature.

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CONTRIBUTION OF KARNATAKA TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE—SASTRAS

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There are six Sanskrit Colleges and three hundred Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās in the Mysore State. Sanskrit is also taught is schools, colleges and the University Departments in Mysore, Bangalore and Dharwar.

Sanskrit and Prakrit seem to have influenced the life and literature of Kannada-speaking people even before the beginning of the Christian era.

I

In the early historical period, parts of Mysore State were under Mauryan and Sātavāhana kings. Some later inscriptions found in Shimoga District (12th and 13th A. D.) refer to even the rule of Nandas over Kuntala (Karnataka). Five edicts of Asoka—three in Chitradurga District and two in Raichur DIstrict—are found in Mysore State. Candragupta Maurya came down to Sravanabelagola in Hassan District with his teacher Bhadrabāhu, anticipating a great famine in Northern India. *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa (931 A. D.) and *Bhadrabāhucarita* of Ratnanandi (1450 A. D.) described this event. A good number of Prakrit inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas are found in Mysore State. The Prakrit inscription at Malavalli records a grant made by Haritaputta Śātakarṇi. The Naga stone at Banavasi has an inscription recording a grant by his daughter Nagasri. A Kuntala Śātakarṇi is referred to by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtras*. *Gāthāsaptaśatī* compiled by Hāla contains a few Kannada words. Pāṇini's Grammar, Kātantra Vyākaraṇa of S'arvavarman, Jainendra and Śakaṭāyana grammars have been the model for Kannada grammarians.

After the Sātavāhanas, the Kadambas of Banavāsi (Vaijayantipura) are of great importance in the history of Karnataka (4th to 6th A. D.) Mayūravarman, the founder of Kadamba dynasty was a Vedic scholar. He visited Kāñcī, a great centre of Sanskrit learning then, with his teacher Vīra Śarman before he founded his

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kingdom. He invited scholars in Veda, Dharmaśāstra and Pūrvamīmāṁsā from different parts of the country and requested them to settle down in his kingdom. The Havyakas, the Ṣaṣṭhikas and Sārasvatas settled in the region under the Kadambas during his time. These were devoted to the study of Veda, Dharmaśāstra etc. Mayūravarman is stated to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. His great grand-son Kākusthavarman was a poet. The Halmidi inscription of this King Kākusthavarman is the earliest available inscription in Kannada (450 A. D.). The invocatory stanza of this inscription is in Sanskrit. The prose portion which is in Kannada, is full of Sanskrit words and even long, Sanskrit compounds. Kākusthavarma's son Śāntivarman patronised the Sanskrit poet Kubja. According to *Kuntaleśvaradautya*, Kālidāsa visited the court of a Kuntala King, who probably belonged to the Kadamba dynasty.

The Gaṅgas of Talakād who ruled the Southern part of Mysore (350 A. D. to 1050 A. D.) patronised Sanskrit learning considerably. King Mādhava himself wrote a commentary on *Dattaka Sūtras*. Avinīta was a great scholar in Śāstra and Itihāsa-purāṇa. The great Jain scholar, Pūjyapāda was a teacher of Durvinīta. This Pūjyapāda alias Devanandin wrote *Nyāsa* or *Śabdāvatāra* on Pāṇini's Sūtras. He was also the founder of a new system of grammar i. e. Jainendra Vyākaraṇa. Durvinīta prepared a Sanskrit version of *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya written in Paiśācī dialect. Śrīpuruṣa of this dynasty wrote a treatise on *Gajaśastra*.

The Chālukyas of Bādāmi (6th, 7th and 8th A. D.), the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Mālkhed (8th, 9th and 10th A. D.) and the Hoysalas of Halebīḍu (11th, 12th and 13th A. D.) patronised Sanskrit and Prakrit scholars greatly. The Kings of these dynasties supported the Vedic, Jaina, and Śaiva scholars in their respective fields.

Śrī S'aṅkara established a centre of his philosophy at Śringeri. Great scholars like Sureśvara and Bhāratītīrtha were associated with this centre. Śrī Rāmānuja was the spiritual preceptor of King Vishnuvardhana of the Hoysala dynasty. S'rī Madhvācārya, the founder of Dvaita School, was a contemporary of Narasimha III and Ballāla III of the Hoysala dynasty. Śrī Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka, Māṇikyanandi, Prabhācandra, Vādirāja and many other

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Jaina scholars flourished during the early historical period and the period of the above dynasties in Karnataka.

It was during the reign of the Vijayanagara Kings that Sanskrit scholarship reached its highest mark in Karnataka. Vidyāraṇya, Sāyaṇa, Jaya Tīrtha, Vyāsarāja, Kriyāśakti, Pālkuriki Somanātha and several others contributed to the advancement of Vedic, Āgamic and philosophical studies.

After the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire, the centre of literary activity in Sanskrit shifted to Keladi and Mysore. The Palegars, the Wodeyars of Mysore, the Nāyakas of Surpur, the rulers of Anegondi and a little later, the rulers of the native states of Ramadurga, Jamakhandi, Sangli, Sondur etc. patronised Sanskrit scholars. Some of these rulers were themselves scholars and poets.

Apart from royal patronage, religious institutions such as the three Mādhva Mutts and the eight Mutts at Udipi, the Advaita Pīṭhas at Śringeri, Kūḍli, Śivagaṅgā, Āvaṇi, S'ankheśwar and Svarnavalli, the S'rīvaishnava Mutts at Mysore and Melkote have been the great centres of Sanskrit learning all along. Kārkal, Mūḍibidre, S'ravaṇabelagola etc. have been centres of Jaina studies while Vīraśaiva Mutts all over the Mysore state encouraged the study of Śaiva literature. During the 19th and 20th centuries, Sanskrit Colleges and Pāṭhaśālās were also established in Mysore, Bangalore, Udipi, Gokarna, Melkote, Yadavagiri and many other places. The scholars working in these institutions have kept up the high tradition of Sanskrit both in Śāstras and general literature.

Thus, right from the early historical period upto the present day, Sanskrit has been an integral part of the literary and intellectual life of the people of Mysore State, including the members of the royal families, heads of Mutts and other scholars. In fact, Sanskrit and Prakrit dominated the scene of intellectual life in the early historical and medieaval periods. These initiated and nourished the literary activities in Kannada upto the advent of modern period when English influence started. Therefore, it is no wonder that a substantial contribution is made by the scholars of Mysore State to every branch of Sanskrit studies. Their contribution is particularly rich in philosophical literature, since the founders of the three schools of Vedānta established their main centres of propagation in Mysore

State and the Jaina and Vīraśaiva Mutts also spread over the entire State. The following account of Mysore's contribution to Śāstraic literature will give an idea of the prominent role the different Mutts played in this respect. It will not be possible to give an exhaustive account in a single paper. It may also be noted that the scholars and works described here, though broadly described as having come from Mysore, may not be strictly so, since classification of scholars and works in Sanskrit purely on regional basis is not possible. Scholars moved from place to place as they were patronised by the rulers of the different parts of the country. They also moved freely for learning as well as for propagating their views. Moreover, a work written in one part of the country stimulated the writing of its criticism or a commentary on it in another part of the country or served as a model for similar works elsewhere. Therefore the account of the contribution of one region, to some extent, overlaps with the mention of the works written by the scholars in another region connected with the course of literary development under discussion. Therefore, description in terms of a region's contribution is merely a way of arrangement.

II

Vedic Studies

In the field Vedic Studies *Ṛgbhāṣya* of S'rī Madhvācārya (13th A. D.) is the earliest. Madhva has commented upon the first forty hymns of *Ṛgveda*. His approach is not ritualistic but philosophical. He does not rule out ritualistic interpretation but in addition to it, he also finds philosophical import in Vedic hymns. There were ritualistic commentaries written before him. Therefore, he does not go into the details of that interpretation. His *bhāṣya* was commented upon by Jaya Tīrtha (14th A.D.), which was commented upon by a host of later writers of the Dvaita School of Vedānta. Prominent among these sub-commentaries are : *Mantrārthamañjarī* of Rāghavendra, *Ṛgarthoddhāra* of Śrīnivāsa, *Prakāśa* of Satyanātha, *Vivṛti* of Pāṇḍurangi Keśava Bhaṭṭāraka and *Ṭippaṇis* of Chalāri Rāmacandra Bhikṣu and Ārogya Hari.

The monumental work of *Vedārthaprakāśa* was the product of the labour of a team of scholars headed by Sāyaṇa. Scholars like

Pañcāgni Mādhava Narasimha Somayāji, Nārāyaṇa Vājapeyi and Pandhari Dīkṣita formed this team of scholars. *Ṛk* and *Sāma Saṁhitās*, *Samhitās* of *Taittirīya* and *Kāṇva*, *Atharva Saṁhitā* and the *Brāhmaṇas* connected with these are commented upon in this encyclopaedic commentary. This is the first available complete commentary on the Vedas. Probably the interpretational tradition preserved in earlier commentaries and treatises on Vedic interpretation were absorbed in this great commentary and therefore, the manuscripts of these are lost to us. Sāyaṇa also wrote *Yajñatantra-sudhānidhi*, a hand-book on sacrifices. Cauṇḍapācārya wrote *Prayogaratnamālā* dealing with sacrifices according to Āpastamba Śākhā. Devarāja's *Nighaṇṭuvyākhyā* is a learned cxposition of *Nirukta*. *Kramadīpikā* of Narahari, *Saṁhitāsūtra* of Puttibhaṭṭa, *Sūktapratīka* of Jagannātha, *Sarvasammata Śikṣā* of Mañcibhaṭṭa, *Padaratnaparibhāṣā*, *Napara bhāṣya* etc. are some of the small but useful treatises helpful for Vedic studies.

Dharmaśāstra

In the field of Smṛti, Nibandha, rituals and worship : *Mitākṣarā* is a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* by Vijñāneśvara, who was at the court of Vikramāditya of Kalyān. *Parāśara Mādhavīya* is a commentary on *Parāśara Smṛti* by Vidyāraṇya. *Prāyaścitta-sudhānidhi* and *Puruṣārtha-sudhānidhi* of Sāyaṇa, *Dharmapravṛtti* of Nārāyaṇa, *Viśvaprakāśa-paddhati* are some of the other important Dharmaśāstra works. *Sadācāra Smṛti* of Mādhavācārya lays down the code of Dharmaśāstra for his followers. *Smṛtikaustubha* of Narahari, *Āhnikakaustubha* of Śrīnivāsa, *Āhnikapaddhati* of Chalāri, *Smṛtyartha-sāgara*, *Nibandha-cūḍāmaṇi* etc. are the works which here followed in the line of *Sadācāramṛti*.

Pūrvamīmāṁsā

Jaiminīya-nyāyamālā-vistara is a work in Pūrva mīmāṁsā by Śrī Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya. Vijayīndra's *Upasamhāra-vijaya* discusses the relative importance of *Upakrama* and *Upasaṁhāra*. It is a reply to Śrī Appaya Dīkṣita's *Upakrama-parākrama*. Rāghavendra Tīrtha's *Bhāṭṭasaṁgraha* is an elaborate commentary on Jaimini's Sūtras. Anantācārya's *Vidhisudhākara* discusses the scope of *Vidhi*, while *Tantra-vilāsa* of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita contains the refutations of the conventional *Siddhāntas* of

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some of the *Adhikaraṇas*. Rāghavendra Sarasvatī's *Mīmāṁsā-sūtradīdhiti* is a commentary on the *sūtras*. Venkaṭasūri's *Adhikaraṇamālā* is a summary of some *adhikaraṇas*. Vaidyanātha Śāstri's commentary on *Tarkapāda*, Lakṣmipuram S'rīnivāsācār's *Mīmāmsā-bhāṣya-bhūṣaṇa*, Reddy Rangācārya's commentary on *Mīmāmsānyāyaprakāśa*, Kastūri Rangācār's commentary on *Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā*, and on *Śāstrāloka* of Varadācār are the latest additions to Pūrvamīmāmsā literature from Mysore State.

Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika

Both Prācīnanyāya and Navīnanyāya were studied with great zeal in Mysore State. However, a few works only were written in the early period. Some commentaries on *Tarkasaṅgraha* and *Tarkabhāṣā* were written by later writers. *Tarkasaṅgraha-candrikā* by Kṛṣṇa, *Nyāyaratnaprakāśikā* by Rāmacandra, *Padārthasāgara* by Kṛṣṇā-vadhūta, *Kāmākṣī Vyākhyā* by Yallathuru Kṛṣṇācārya and *Saṅgrahārthasaṅgraha* by Padimannur Nārāyaṇācārya are some of these commentaries.

Tarkanavanīta and *Tarkacandrikā* are two small compendiums like *Tarkasaṅgraha*. Kunigal Rāma S'āstri's *Koṭi* is an outstanding Nyāya work. *Kulyā* is a commentary on this by Śrī Narasimha-bhāratī while *Naukā* is a further commentary on this by Hanagal Virūpākṣa Śāstri. *Nyāyakośa* by Zalkikar Bhīmasenachar of Bijapur is a compilation of definitions and explanatory phrases of Nyāya.

Vyākaraṇa and Kośa

Suśabdapradīpa by Chalāri S'eṣa is a work of the type of *Prakriyā-kaumudī* and *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. His *Śābdika-kaṇṭhā-bharaṇa* is an exposition of certain doctrines of the Vyākhyāna *Śabdaratnaprabhā* by Rāghavendrācārya. Gajendragadkar's is a commentary on *Śabdaratna* while *Tripathagā* is a commentary on *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* by him. *Mahābhāṣyavivaraṇa* is a commentary on the 'Paspaśānhika'-portion by Satyapriya Tīrtha. *Sulabhasādhya Vyākaraṇa* is a compendium on grammar. Kuṇḍalagiri's *Bhaṭṭoji-kuṭṭana* is an answer to Bhaṭṭoji's criticism of certain usages of Mādhava. Chincholi Venkaṇṇācār's *Aṣṭādhyāyī-darpaṇa* is a reference work.

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Non-Pāṇinian Schools

Besides the Pāṇinian schools of Grammar, some other schools too were initiated in Karnataka. Reference has already been made to Kātantra and Jainendra. Śākaṭāyana, a contemporary of King Amoghavarṣa I, wrote the *Śabdānuśāsana* and the *Amoghavṛtti* on it, which together are known as *Śakaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa*. *Prākṛtaśabdadīpikā* of Narasimha Sastri of Kankanahalli is the latest addition to Prākrit grammar. Dhanañjaya's *Nāmamālā*, Halāyudha's *Nānārtharatnamālā*, *Karnāṭakapriya*, a commentary on *Amarakośa* by Lakṣaṇabhaṭṭa, *Amaravivaraṇa* of Ekāmbara and a Kannada version of Liṅgabhaṭṭa's commentary on *Amara* are Mysore's contribution to Lexicography.

Vedānta-Advaita

The biggest contribution of Mysore is in the field of Vedānta. The founders of the three schools of Vedānta i.e. Dvaita, Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita established their main centres of propagation at Udipi, Melkote and Sringeri in Mysore State. Right from Sureśvara upto the present head of Sringeri Pīṭha, great scholars and writers have occupied this Pīṭha. Several distinguished Advaita writers also flourished in Sringeri and other centres of learning. The Advaita doctrines enshrined in S'rī Śaṅkara's works were elaborated by these scholars both by way of explanatory commentaries and dialectical expositions. Sureśvara's *Bṛhadāraṇya-bhāṣyavārttika* and *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* are well known. Ānandagiri's commentaries on *Sūtrabhāṣya* and *Gītābhāṣya* of S'aṅkara are also quite popular. The *Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgraha* of Vidyāraṇya, is an important work belonging to Vivaraṇa school. Vādīndra, the religious counsellor of King Singhana of Devagiri wrote the *Mahāvidyāviḍambana*. Bhuvanasundara Sūri has written a commentary *Vyākhyānadīpikā* on this. *Gītātātparyabodhinī* and *Upaniṣad-ratna* are the works of Śaṅkarānanda. Bhāratī Tīrtha's *Vaiyāsikanyāyamālā* epitomises the contents of each *adhikaraṇa* of *Brahmasūtras*. Vidyāraṇya, the great religious counsellor of the founders of Vijayanagar, is the author of *Jīvanmuktiviveka*, *Pañcadaśī* and *Anubhūtiprakāśa*. Mādhava's *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* is a lucid summary of all *darśanas*. Immaḍi Devarāya wrote a *vṛtti* on *Brahmasūtras*. Akhaṇḍānandayati wrote at the request of Immaḍi Jagadekarāya the *Ṛjuprakāśikā* on Vācaspati's *Bhāmatī* and Mahādeva Sarasvatī wrote *Tattvānusandhāna*. Y. Subramanya Sarma's *Mūlavidyānirāsa* is an attempt to refute the concept of Mūlavidyā. These and many other works have enriched the literature on Advaita greatly.

Viśiṣṭadvaita

Rāmānujācārya, though he was born, had studied, and taken holy orders in the Tamil country, came to the Hoysala Kingdom during the reign of Vishnuvardhana. He founded his Vis'iṣṭādvaita School of Vedānta and wrote *Bhāṣyas* on *Brahmasūtras* and *Bhagavadgītā*. He commented on select Upaniṣadic passages in his *Vedārthasaṅgraha*. He wrote two more treatises, *Vedāntasāra* and *Vedāntadīpa*. His impact on Vedānta philosophy and his school found a firm footing in the Hoysala country and other parts of South India. *Mitākṣarā* is a gloss on *Śrī Bhāṣya* by Parakālayati. His *Vijayīndraparājaya* is a criticism of Vijayīndra's works. Raṅga Rāmānuja, a disciple of Parakālayati has several works to his credit. Śrīnivāsa, Lakṣmaṇārya, Deśikācārya, Puruṣottama and a few others have written glosses on *Śrī Bhāṣya*. S'rīnivāsa of S'aṭhamarṣaṇa gotra criticises the theory of *Ānandatāratamya* of the Dvaitins in his *Ānandatāratamya-khaṇḍana*. Anantācārya's *Nyāyabhāskara* is a refutation of the *Brahmānandī*. Gopālācārya's *Śatakoṭidūṣaṇa-parihāra* is a defence of *Śatakoṭi*. Lakṣmīpuram Srinivasachar's *Gītaprabandha-mīmāmsā* summarises the interpretations of *Gītā* according to all the *Bhāṣyas* while his *Darśanodaya* and *Mānameyodaya-ślokavārttika* are summaries of all *Darśanas*. *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* of Raṅganātha Brahmatantra Parakālasvāmin, *Vādāvalī* of Anantācārya, Kastūri Raṅgācār's *Bhāvaprakāśana*, *Kāryādhikaraṇatattva* and other treatises are the latest additions to Viśiṣṭādvaita literature.

Dvaita

S'rī Madhvācārya, the founder of the Dvaita school of Vedānta, wrote the *Bhāṣyas* on *Brahmasūtra*, *Upaniṣads* and *Gītā*. He epitomised the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata*. While preparing his summary of the *Mahābhārata* he collected the manuscripts from all parts of the country and prepared an authentic version. He wrote *Daśa-prakaraṇas* or compendiums dealing with specific topics of his doctrines and also explaining his approach to the theory of knowledge etc. His commentary on *Ṛgveda* was already referred to. He also wrote treatises on worship, religious codes etc. In his thirty-seven works he covered the entire range of Dvaita philosophy and Bhāgavata Dharma. His School has its followers in Mysore, Andhra,

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Tamilnadu and Maharashtra. His *Aṇuvyākhyāna* is a dialectical work chiefly directed against Advaita. He established eight Mutts at Udipi and one in Pandharpur, which later developed into three. Jaya Tīrtha, the commentator *par excellence*, wrote commentaries on all major works of Madhvācārya. His *Nyāyasudhā* commentary on *Aṇuvyākhyāna*, is a dialectical work of a high order. He reviews the views of all *darśanas* on major philosophical problems and gives an exposition of the Dvaita viewpoint. His commentaries on *Sūtrabhāṣya* and *Gītābhāṣya* fully bring out Madhva's position, both in respect of interpretational precision and logical tenability. His commentary on *Tattvanirṇaya* gives a good exposition of *Vedāpauruṣeyatva* and authentic interpretation of key *śruti* passages like 'Tattvamasi'. A large number of sub-commentaries were written on Jaya Tīrtha's works. Some independent dialectical works and treatises were also written. Prominent among their authors are: Vyāsarāya, Vādirāja, Raghūttma, Vidyādhīśa, Vijayīndra, Rāghavendra, Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha, Pāṇḍuraṅgi, Ānanda Bhaṭṭa, Keśava-Bhaṭṭa and many others. Vyāsarāja's *Candrikā* is a commentary on Jaya Tīrtha's *Tattvaprakāśikā*. His *Nyāyāmṛta* is a dialectical work directed against *Advaitasiddhi*. A series of works viz., *Kaṇṭakoddhāra*, *Taranginī*, *Dvaitadūṣaṇa* etc. belong to this controversy between Dvaita and Advaita. Vyāsarāja's *Tarkatāṇḍava* is a refutation of the Nyāya position on several matters. Vādirāja's *Yukti-mallikā* is in the form of discourses on philosophical topics closely following the plan of *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*. Raghūttama's commentary on *Bṛhadāraṇya Bhāṣya* is an exposition of the main tenets of that Upaniṣad. He commented on the *Tattvaprakāśikā* also. Vidyādhīśa's *Vākyārthacandrikā*, which was completed by his brother Pāṇḍuraṅgī Keśavabhaṭṭāraka is a highly technical commentary on the same. Yadupati, Śrīnivāsa, Viṭṭhalabhaṭṭa, and several others commented on *Nyāyasudhā*. Vijayīndra is credited with 108 works. He was a contemporary of Appayya Dīkṣita and most of his works are directed towards the refutation of Appayya Dīkṣita's works. Rāghavendra wrote sub-commentaries on all the commentaries of Jaya Tīrtha. His *Parimala* has been already referred to. In his works he has consolidated all the interpretational points as well as the logical arguments made in different contexts by Madhva and Jaya Tīrtha and stated them with brevity and lucidity. Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha is another sub-commentator of this type. Nearly three hundred scholars contributed to Dvaita Vedānta by way of sub-commentaries, independant treatises and dialectical works. This branch of Vedāntic studies is very much alive in Mysore State. During the present century also Gauḍagiri Veṅkaṭaramaṇācārya, Satyadhyāna Tīrtha, Vidyāmānya Tīrtha, and several others have contributed to this literature. Translations and expositions of Dvaita docrines in English and Kannada have appeared in good number.

Jainism

Mysore State is also the home of Jaina and Vīraśaiva studies. Pujyapāda is a revered name in the history of Jaina philosophy. He wrote the *Sarvārthasiddhi*, a *bhāṣya* on Umāsvāti's *Tattvārtha Sūtras*, and the *Gandhahasti Mahābhāṣya* of Samantabhadra; the latter is not extant. His *Āptamīmāṁsā* gives an exposition of *Syādvāda*, while his *Ratnakaraṇḍaka* explains the *ratnatraya*-doctrine. Kundakunda's three major works are *Pañcāstikāya*, *Pravacanasāra* and *Samayasāra*, in Prakrit. He was a disciple of Bhadrabāhu. Padmaprabha wrote a Sanskrit commentary on *Niyamasāra* of Kundakunda, while Jinasena wrote a Sanskrit commentary on his three major works. Akalaṅka's *Tattvārtharāja-vārttika* is a masterpiece of Jaina thought and dialectics. His *Aṣṭaśatī*, *Nyāya-viniścaya* and *Siddhi-viniścaya* are equally epoch-making works. Vādirāja is another poet and scholar of Syādvāda. His *Nyāyaviniścayaṭīkā* is an exhaustive commentary on the polemical classic of Akalaṅka. Bālacandra wrote a commentary on *Săracatuṣṭaya*. Sarvanandi's *Lokavibhāga* and Yatiṛṣabha's *Tiloyapaṇṇati* are the works on Jaina cosmology in Prakrit. *Dhavalā*, *Jayadhavalā* and *Mahādhavalā* are partly in Prakrit and partly in Sanskrit. These are composed by Vīrasena and Jinasena. These give an exhaustive exposition of *karma* doctrine of Jainism. Jinasena was the pupil of Vīrasena and a preceptor of the Rashtrakuta King Amoghavarṣa. Nayasena's *Dravyasaṁgraha* is a manual of Jaina tenets. His *Gommaṭasāra* is a digest of *Dhavalā*. The great Puṣpadanta was patronised by Nunna, a dignitary of Rashtrakuta Krishna III. His three Prakrit-Apabhramsa works: *Mahāpurāṇa*, *Nayakumāracariu* and *Jasaharacariu* are well known. In addition to these philosophical and logical works several Jain Purāṇas and collections of ethical stories are written in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Kannada commentaries are also written on some of these works. Recently Kannada translations of some Jaina works are published by Śāntirāja Śāstri, Bhujabali Sastri, Lokanatha Sastri, Subbayya Sastri and others. Thus the contribution of Karnataka to Jainism has been continuous and substantial.

Vīraśaiva

Vīraśaivism is one of the prominent religions in Mysore, Andhra and parts of Maharashtra and Tamilnadu. Its literature is mostly in Kannada. However, a few Sanskrit works were also written from time to time by Vīraśaiva teachers.

Śaivism existed in South India since pre-historic times. The worship of Śiva was popular both in the form of *Liṅga* and image. Among the various sects of Ṡaivism, the Lakulīśa Sect was very influential in Karnataka. In Mahākūṭa near Badami there is a temple dedicated to Lakulīśa. Rulers of the various dynasties in Karnataka patronised the scholars of this Sect. Kālāmukha Sect was a branch of Lākula-Ṡaivas. These were also called Māheśvaras. Their philosophy is summarised in Pāśupata Sūtras composed by Bhaṭṭāraka Lakulīśa. A commentary on these written by Kauṇḍinya is available. *Gaṇakārikā* is another important work by Haradattācārya. Bhāsarvajña has written a commentary on this. Sāyaṇa Madhava has summarised the philosophy of this sect in *Sarvadarśana-samgraha*. *Vātulāgama*, *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* and *Śrīkarabhāṣya* are some of the source books of Vīraśaivism. The philosophy underlying Vīraśaivism is known as *Śakti Viśiṣṭādvaita*. Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Kriyāsāra* summarises *Śrīkaṇṭha-bhāṣya* in the first five Upadeśas and gives an exposition of Vīraśaiva doctrines in the remaining. Nirvāṇamantrin has written *Vārttika* on *Kriyāsāra*. These and a few other works represent Vīraśaiva philosophy in Sanskrit.

The above brief account of the important contributions to different Śāstras made by the scholars in the Mysore State from the pre-historic period to the present day will reveal the substantial role played by Mysore both for the preservation and development of Sanskrit Ṡāstra literature. The literary and cultural history of Mysore has been very closely linked with the literary history of the rest of the country and at times Mysore gave a lead. During the period of cultural turbulances in our history the great royal dynasties like Vijayanagara, and the great spiritual preceptors like Mādhava, Basaveśvara, Vidyāraṇya and Vyāsarāya defended and re-organised our cultural life.

KASHMIR'S CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT—SĀHITYA

संस्कृतसाहित्य को काश्मीर की देन

SRI ANANTARAM SHASTRI, *Jammu*

भारतीय-संस्कृति के प्रसार में संस्कृत का महत्त्व अत्यधिक है। केवलमात्र यह हमारे धर्मग्रन्थों की भाषा है, इस से इतना ही नहीं, अपि तु कहीं अधिक। भारत की प्रान्तीय भाषाएं इसकी पुत्रियां हैं, इनका जीवन ही संस्कृत के कारण है, जिस से सांस्कृतिक-एकता की यह प्रतीक है। यही दशा इस समय काश्मीर प्रदेश की भी है, पर प्राचीन संस्कृत-साहित्य का अवलोकन करने पर कोई नहीं कह सकता कि संस्कृत-साहित्य के निर्माण में काश्मीर किसी से पीछे रहा, अपि तु दो कदम आगे ही होगा। संस्कृत को काश्मीर की जो देन है, उसका लोहा आज भी सभी मानते हैं। यहां के विद्वान् पण्डितों ने साहित्य के किसी भी अङ्ग को अधूरा नहीं रखा, जिससे वे अधिकतर प्रायः आचार्यकोटि में ही आते हैं।

मा स्म सन्तु हि चत्वारः प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे।
इतीव स कृतो धात्रा कवी रत्नाकरोऽपरः॥

रत्नाकर काश्मीर के महाकवियों की रत्नमाला में मध्यमणि हैं। काव्य का पूर्णलालित्य इनकी कविता में लक्षित होता है। इन के पिता का नाम अमृतभानु था। आप 'बालबृहस्पति' की उपाधि-धारण करने वाले काश्मीरनरेश चिप्पट जयापीड़ (८०० ई.) के सभापण्डित थे। इस का उल्लेख आपने स्वयं को 'बालबृहस्पत्यनुजीविनः' लिख कर दिया है। आप दीर्घजीवी प्रतीत होते हैं, क्यों कि कल्हण ने अवन्तिवर्मा (८५५-८८४ ई.) के राज्यकाल में आप के प्रसिद्धि प्राप्त करने की घटना का उल्लेख किया है :—

मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः।
प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात् साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः॥

अतः साधारणतया हम कह सकते हैं कि आप नवम शतक के प्रथमार्द्ध में विद्यमान थे। आप के महाकाव्य का नाम 'हरविजय' है, जो संस्कृत महाकाव्यों में परिमाण तथा गुण की दृष्टि से श्रेष्ठ माना जाता है। इस में ५० सर्ग हैं। कम से कम इस काव्य का विपुल परिमाण ही इसकी अद्वितीयता का पर्याप्त परिचायक है, परं तु काव्यगुणों के चमत्कार के कारण भी यह काव्य सचमुच अद्वितीय है। रत्नाकर के समय माघ की विपुल ख्याति थी, उनके काव्य को दबा डालने के उद्देश्य से ही रत्नाकर ने इस महाकाव्य का प्रणयन किया है। माघ वैष्णव थे, आपने अपने काव्य को 'लक्ष्मीपतेश्चरितकीर्तनमाचचार' कहा है और इसी प्रकार शिवभक्त रत्नाकर ने अपने काव्य को 'चन्द्रार्धधूलचरिताश्रयचारु' लिखा है। कवि की यह गर्वोक्ति कि मेरी ललित-मधुर, सालङ्कार, प्रसादमनोहर, विकट-यमक एवं श्लेष से मण्डित और चित्रमार्ग में अद्वितीय वाणी को सुनकर बृहस्पति के चित्त में भी शङ्का पैदा हो जाती है, इस के सत्य होने में पर्याप्त कारण भी विद्यमान है-

ललितमधुराः सालङ्काराः प्रसादमनोहराः
विकटयमकश्लेषोद्धारप्रबन्धनिरर्गलाः।
असदृशगतिश्चित्रे मार्गे ममोद्गिरतो गिरो
न खलु नृपतेश्चेतो वाचस्पतेरपि शङ्कते॥

काव्य का कथानक तो स्वल्प है - शङ्करद्वारा अन्धकासुर का वध, पर इसे अलङ्कृत परिष्कृत तथा मांसल बना ने में कविने कुछ उठा नहीं रखा है। जलक्रीड़ा, सन्ध्या, चन्द्रोदय, समुद्रोल्लास, प्रसाधन, विरह, पान-गोष्ठी-आदि के वर्णन में १५ सर्ग व्यय किए गए हैं। भाषा के सौन्दर्य में, ललितपदों की मैत्री में, नवीन चमत्कारी अर्थ की कल्पना में, अभिनव वर्णनों के उपन्यास में, और शब्दों के अद्भुत प्रभुत्व में यह महाकाव्य संस्कृतसाहित्य में बेजोड़ है। यह कहना पुनरुक्ति ही होगा कि माघ सचमुच रत्नाकर के सामने काव्यप्रतिभा के प्रदर्शन में हतप्रभ से दीख पड़ते हैं।

रत्नाकर का अध्यात्मशास्त्रज्ञान भी पूर्ण बहुमुख एवं परिनिष्ठित था। छठे सर्ग में लगभग २०० सुन्दर श्लोकों में भगवान् की अत्यन्त-पाण्डित्य-पूर्ण स्तुति है, जिस के एक-एक पद्य से आप के गहन शास्त्रानुशीलन का पता चलता है। ४७ वें सर्ग की 'चण्डिकास्तुति' आप के शाक्तागम का उच्चज्ञान अभिव्यक्त कर रही है। इस काव्य में ४३२१ पद्य हैं, जिन में 'वसन्ततिलका'-च्छन्द की प्रचुरता है। क्षेमेन्द्र ने रत्नाकर की 'वसन्ततिलका'-च्छन्द केलिए प्रशंसा की है-

वसन्ततिलकारूढा वाग्वल्ली गाढसङ्गिनी।
रत्नाकरस्योत्कलिका चकास्त्यायनकानने ॥

रात के अन्धकार में प्रियतमगृह जाने वाली अभिसारिकाएं उपकार सूचित करने के लिए केशपाश के रूप में अन्धकार को सिर पर चढ़ा रही हैं-

व्यक्तोपकारमधुना स्थगितासु दिक्षु
प्रेयोगृहं सुखमलक्षितमेव यामः।
धम्मिल्लबन्धरुचिरैरभिसारिकाभिः
प्रेम्णा तमश्चिरमितीव शिरोभिरूहे ॥

भगवान् की स्तुति का यह पद्य नितान्त अभिराम है-

अपि बालकोटिशतभागविग्रहः
षडुपाधिकामपि विधाय यद्धितम्।
स्थित एव भगवन्नहो भवान्
विदधाति चेतसि न कथं विस्मयम् ॥

अपने काव्य की महत्ता में रत्नाकर ने स्वयं जो निम्नाङ्कित पद्य कहा है, वह वस्तुतः सत्य है-

हरविजय-महाकवेः प्रतिज्ञां
शृणुत कृतप्रणयो मम प्रबन्धे।
अपि शिशुरकविः कवित्वप्रभावा-
द्भवति कविश्च महाकविः क्रमेण ॥

आप के विषय में 'अलङ्कारविमर्श' के भीतर लिखी उक्ति कितनी सार्थक है -

माघः शिशुपालवधं विदधत् कविमदवधं विदधे ।
रत्नाकरः स्वविजयं हरविजयं वर्णयन् व्यावृणोत् ॥

शिवस्वामी

प्रौढोक्त्या गाढबन्धेन चित्रकाव्यचमत्कृतैः ।
ध्रुवं कविमदं धुन्वन् शिवस्वामी स्वयं बभौ ॥

शिवस्वामी संस्कृत-महाकाव्यों के रचयिताओं की महनीयपंक्ति में उच्च तथा सम्मानितस्थान पाने के अधिकारी हैं, परं तु आप की कीर्त्ति का प्रसार न होने का कारण आप के ग्रन्थ की अनुपलब्धि ही थी। १८३३ ई. में श्रीशेषगिरि शास्त्री ने हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों की सूची में आप के 'कप्फिणाभ्युदय' काव्य का सर्वप्रथम उल्लेख किया था, सौभाग्यवश इसे पञ्जाब-विश्वविद्यालय लाहौर ने प्रकाशित भी किया था और इस के संपादक श्रीगौरीशङ्कर शास्त्री ने परिश्रमपूर्वक इस काव्य का अत्यन्त सुन्दर एवं विशुद्ध संस्करण निकाल कर उद्धार किया था। शिवस्वामी काश्मीरवासी थे, पर चन्द्रमित्र-नामक बौद्धाचार्य की प्रेरणा से आपने बौद्धसाहित्य में प्रसिद्ध एक अवदान को अलङ्कृत महाकाव्य के रूप में गुम्फित किया। राजतरंगिणी से चलता है कि आप का उदय काश्मीर के विख्यात नेरश अवन्तिवर्मा के राज्यकाल में हुआ था। इस के अनुसार शिवस्वामी रत्नाकर एवं आनन्दवर्धन के समसामयिक थे। काश्मीर के इतिहास में यह काल साहित्य एवं कला की विशिष्ट उन्नति के कारण 'सुवर्णयुग' माना जाता है। किसी कारण शिवस्वामी का यह बौद्धकाव्य विस्मृत हो गया था, परं तु, प्राचीनकाल में इस की पर्याप्त ख्याति थी। सुभाषितग्रन्थों में आप के श्लोक उपलब्ध होते हैं। मम्मट ने ध्वनि का उदाहरण देते हुए आप के 'उल्लास्यकालकरवालमहाम्बुवाहं' (४.५४) को उद्धृत किया है, जिस से आप की कविता के प्रसिद्ध होने की सूचना मिलती है। आप के महाकाव्य का नाम है

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‘ कफ्फिणाभ्युदय ’। बौद्धसाहित्य में ‘ कप्फिण ’ दक्षिण देश (लीलावती) के राजा थे। कारणवश इन्हों ने श्रावस्ती के राजा प्रसेनजित् को परास्त किया। प्रसेनजित् ने भगवान् बुद्ध का ध्यान किया, जिस से प्रकट होकर उन्हों ने कफ्फिण को पराजित कर दिया। अन्ततः यह राजा बुद्ध की शरण में आ गया और धर्मामृत का पान कर कृतकृत्य हुआ। इस कथानक का वर्णन शिवस्वामी ने २० सर्गों में नानाप्रकार के छन्दों द्वारा किया है। कथा को अलङ्कृत तथा विकसित करने के लिए कवि ने मलयपर्वत-६ स., षड्तु ८ स., कुसुमावचय ९ स., ज़लक्रीडा १० स., सूर्यास्त ११ स., चन्द्रोदय १२ स., मदिरापान १३ स., कामसूत्रानुसार शृंगारिकक्रीडा १४ स., और प्रभात का १५ सर्ग में बड़ा ही कलापूर्ण वर्णन किया है। १८ वें सर्ग में चित्रयुद्धवर्णन चित्रकाव्य की छटा है तो, १९ वें सर्ग में बुद्ध की संस्कृत-प्राकृतमिश्रित भाषा में प्रशस्तस्तुति होने से शान्त का सरस प्रवाह है। प्रत्येक सर्ग के अन्तिम श्लोक में ‘ शिव ’ शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है, अतः काव्य को ‘ शिवाङ्क ’ कहा गया है।

शिवस्वामी सचमुच एक महान् प्रतिभाशाली कवि थे और शैवमतावलम्बी थे, फिर भी आपने अपने से भिन्न धर्म के एक सामान्य आख्यान में अपनी प्रतिभा के बल से ज़ान फूँक दी है, जिससे वह पाठकों के सामने परिष्कृत तथा विशिष्ट-आकार में चलता-फिरता सा दीख पड़ता है। आपने अपने को बहुत कथाओं को जानने वाला, चित्रकाव्य का उपदेष्टा ‘ यमक कवि ’ कहा है और यह अक्षरशः सत्य है। सरस एवं मृदुल शब्दों के गुम्फन की शक्ति इन में खूब है। काव्यप्रतिभा का सौन्दर्य आप के काव्य में विशेष मुग्धकारी है। शब्दालङ्कार के समान आपने अर्थालङ्कारों, विशेषतः उपमा, उत्प्रेक्षा एवं श्लेष का प्रयोग बड़ी सुन्दरता से किया है। आप की शब्दों पर विशेष प्रभुता है, प्राकृत का ज्ञान भी कम चमत्कारी नहीं। हमारी दृष्टि में शिवस्वामी का यह महाकाव्य संस्कृत-साहित्य का एक रत्न है, जिसकी प्रभा विशेष अनुशीलन करने पर बढ़ती जाएगी। शिवस्वामी ने कालिदास, भर्तृमेण्ठ तथा दण्डी को उपजीव्य माना है। माघ तथा

रत्नाकर के काव्यों का आपने गाढ़-अनुशीलन किया था, जिससे इनकी छाया इस कवि के काव्य पर पड़ी स्पष्ट दिखाई देती है। देखिए एक विरहिणी की यह शक्ति कितनी रमणीय एवं चमत्कारयुक्त है -

गतोऽस्तं घर्मांशुर्भज सहचरीनीड़मधुना
सुखं भ्रातः सुप्याः सुजनचरितं वायसकृतम् ।
मयि स्नेहाद् बाष्पस्थगितनयनायामपघृणो
रुदत्यां यो तातस्त्वयि स विलपत्येष्यति कथम् ॥

हे भाई कौए! सूर्य डूब गया, अब अपनी सहचरी के नीड़ में चले जाइए और वहां सुखपूर्वक रहिए। तूँने तो सज्जनता ही दर्शाई है कि जो तुम आँसुओं से ढ़क जाने पर भी मेरे रोने का ख्याल न कर चले गए। भला! वह निर्दयी भी कभी तुम्हारे शब्द करने पर आएगा?

सूक्ति का सौन्दर्य एवं भाव सुतरां अवलोकनीय है। आपके कतिपय पद्य निम्नाङ्कित हैं, जिनमें पहला पद्य सूर्यास्त और अन्तिम दोनों पद्य ऋतुवर्णन से सम्बन्धित हैं -

प्रणतिपरायणा परिकलय्य दिनापचये
परिणतिमीयिवांसमभिसन्ध्यमशीतकरम् ।
करपुटकुड्मलानि नियमेन दधे जनता
न हि महतां क्षयेऽपि गुणगौरवमेति हतिम् ॥ ११.१८

नवकदम्बकदम्बकसन्ततप्रसवनीयवनीयकषट्पदः ।
अकृत तोयततो यशसे नगो भुवि भुजङ्गभुजङ्गलितापदम् ॥ ८.३६

प्रववृते परितः परिचुम्बितुं कुमुदकाननमुन्मुखरागवत् ।
शिशिररश्मिमुखेन शरत्प्रिया विलसदंसुसदंशुकशोभिना ॥ ८.४२

क्षेमेन्द्र

संस्कृतकवियों में क्षेमेन्द्र का स्थान अद्वितीय है। आपने विभिन्न विषयों पर अपनी कलम चलाई है। आपने संस्कृत में इतने अधिक ग्रन्थों

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की रचना की, जिस का वर्णन कठिन है। सम्भवतः महाभारतप्रणेता व्यास के बाद रचना की विपुलता को ध्यान में रखते हुए दूसरा स्थान आप को ही देना पड़ेगा। दूसरी बात यह है कि जिस प्रकार व्यासजी ने लोकोपकार के लिए अपने ग्रन्थों की रचना की है, उसी प्रकार आपने भी नीति एवं शिक्षाप्रद तथा लोकव्यवहार की शिक्षा देनेवाले ग्रन्थों का प्रणयन किया है। सम्भवतः इन्हीं दोनों कारणों से आप अपने-आप को 'व्यासदेव' भी लिखा करते थे। आप काश्मीर के एक धनाढ्य कुल में पैदा हुए थे। आप के पितामह का नाम 'सिन्धु' एवं पिता का नाम 'प्रकाशेन्द्र' था। आपके पिता बड़े दानी थे। आपने अपने पिताजी के विषय में लिखा है कि वे मेरु के समान उदार और कल्याणप्रदत्तसम्पत्ति से युक्त थे तथा इन के घर में असंख्य ब्राह्मणों का भोजन हुआ करता था। क्षेमेन्द्र ने आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त से साहित्यविद्या का अध्ययन किया था। इस प्रकार काश्मीर के सर्वश्रेष्ठ साहित्यिक विद्वान् के आप शिष्य थे। आप काश्मीर के राजा अनन्त (१०२८ ई. से १०६३ तक) और कलश (१०६३ ई. से १०८२) के राज्यकाल में विद्यमान थे, अतः आप का समय एकादश शतक का मध्यकाल समझना चाहिए। आपने अपने ग्रन्थ दशावतार-चरित की समाप्ति ४१ लौकिकाब्द (१०६६ ई.) में की, सम्भवतः आप का अन्तिम-ग्रन्थ यही था और शैवमण्डल में रहते हुए भी आप परमवैष्णव थे, जिसका कारण भागवदाचार्य सोमपाद की शिक्षा का प्रभाव था।

आप ने अनेक विपुलकाय ग्रन्थों की रचना की है, जिनमें से प्रधान निम्नाङ्कित हैं :-

१. रामायणमञ्जरी, २. भारतमञ्जरी, ३. बृहत्कथामञ्जरी.

उक्त तीनों ग्रन्थ क्रमशः रामायण, महाभारत और गुणाढ्य की बृहत्कथा के कवित्वमय सारांश हैं और स्वतन्त्र काव्यमयग्रन्थ हैं।

४. दशावतारचरित - आप का नितान्त प्रौढ महाकाव्य है, जिस में भगवान् विष्णु के दशावतारों का बड़ा ही रोचक एवं विस्तृत वर्णन है।

५. बोधिसत्त्वावदान-कल्पलता, बौद्धजातक कथा ओं का सुन्दर एवं सुबोध पद्यों में वर्णन है। इस के अतिरिक्त आप के लघुकाव्यग्रन्थ निम्नाङ्कित हैं-

६. कलाविलास, ७. चतुर्वर्गसंग्रह, ८. चारुचर्या, ८. नीति-कल्पतरु, १०. समयमातृका, ११ सेव्यसेवकोपदेश.

क्षेमेन्द्र ने सच्चा कविहृदय पाया था, संसार का आप को पूरा अनुभव था। आप भलीभान्ति जानते थे कि संसार के प्रलोभन इतने अधिक हैं कि वे सुकुमार हृदयों को अपनी ओर आकृष्ट कर दुर्गति के गर्त्त में गिराने के लिए सदा तय्यार रहते हैं। जगत्कल्याण की इसी भावना से प्रेरित होकर आप ने अपने नीतिमय ग्रन्थों की रचना की है। आप की भाषा बड़ी ही मधुर, सरस एवं सुबोध है, न तो कहीं पाण्डित्य का प्रदर्शन है और न कहीं शब्दों में अनावश्यक चमत्कार उत्पन्न करने का व्यर्थ प्रयास है। आप की भाषा में प्रवाह हैं, पदावलि इतनी स्निग्ध है कि कहीं भी अनमेल शब्दों का प्रयोग नहीं दीखता। उदाहरण के रूप में देखिए कि परस्त्री का हरण कितना बड़ा अपराध है, यह कवि के शब्दों में ही सुनिए-

सर्वापकारः सुकृतप्रहारः क्लेशावतारः कुशलापसारः।
शालापचारः कुपदाभिसारः पापप्रकारः परदारहारः॥ ७ ११८

अरण्यवास में कितना आनन्द है, यह भी देखिए -

दयितजनवियोगोद्वेगरोगातुराणां
विभवविरहदैन्यम्लानमानाननानाम्।
शमयति शितशल्यं हन्त नैराश्यनश्य-
द्भवपरिभवतान्तेश्शान्तिरन्ते वनान्ते॥

जिन लोगों का हृदय दयितजनों के वियोगरूपी रोग से आक्रान्त है और धन के नाश से पैदा होने वाली दीनता के कारण जिनका मुख फीका पड़ गया है, उन के हृदयगत तेजवाण को दूर हराने में एक ही वस्तु समर्थ होती है और वह है, वन में वास। इन के चित्त में निराशा के

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कारण संसार के परिभव का क्लेश दूर भाग जाता है और वे शान्ति का आनन्द लेने लगते हैं।

मङ्खक

निष्कलङ्क तवैकस्य श्रीमङ्ख कविताद्भुतम्।
स्पष्टोक्तिर्यस्य नास्तुत्यः स्तुतिकीर्तनपांसुभिः॥

क्षेमेन्द्र के बाद एक शताब्दी के भीतर ही काश्मीर के एक दूसरे महाकवि ने नवीन महाकाव्य की रचना की, जिन का नाम मङ्खक है। मङ्खक के 'श्रीकण्ठचरितम्' में भगवान् शङ्कर और त्रिपुरासुर युद्ध का साहित्यिक-वर्णन प्रस्तुत किया है। अपने कैलाशवासी पिता के आदेश से कविने इस काव्य का प्रणयन किया था। प्रसिद्ध आलङ्कारिक 'रुय्यक' आप के गुरु थे। गुरु-शिष्य आप दोनों काश्मीर नरेश श्री जयसिंह (११२८-५० ई.) के सभापण्डित थे।

'श्रीकण्ठचरितम्' नामक आप का काव्य २५ सर्गों में विभक्त है। मूलकथानक तो छोटा ही है, पर महाकाव्य की पूर्ति के लिए दोला, पुष्पावचय, जलक्रीड़ा, सन्ध्या, चन्द्र, चन्द्रोदय, प्रसाधन, पानकेलि, क्रीड़ा तथा प्रभात का विस्तृत वर्णन ७ वें सर्ग से लेकर १६ वें सर्ग तक क्रमशः किया गया है। २५ वां सर्ग तो तत्कालीन काश्मीर के कवियों का साहित्यिक वर्णन है, जो कवि बड़े भाई अमात्य 'अलङ्कार' की सभा को अलङ्कृत करते थे, यह अत्यन्त जीवन्त एवं रोचक वर्णन है। इस का साहित्यिक मूल्य अत्यधिक है, कविता उच्चकोटि की है। काश्मीरी कवियों की कविता का एक राग ही अलग है, जिस का माधुर्य सहृदयों को बरबस अपनी ओर आकृष्ट करता है। पदों का सुन्दर विन्यास, अर्थों की मनोहर कल्पना और भक्ति का उद्रेक, इस की विशेषताएं हैं। द्वितीय सर्ग में कवि और काव्य की मार्मिक समीक्षा है। रमणीय उक्तियों में दोष का पता उसी प्रकार जल्दी-जल्दी चलता है, जिस प्रकार धुले वस्त्र में जरासा धब्बा, जिस से कठिनपरीक्षा के बिना कविता का गुण नहीं ज्ञात होता। क्योंकि

आन्धी के विना मणिदीप और साधारण दीपक का अनार प्रतीत नहीं हुआ करता है। ये उक्तियां मङ्खक के समीक्षात्मक विचार को प्रकट करती हैं।

अन्धकार का यह वर्णन कितना मौलिक, चमत्कारपूर्ण और मनोरम है। कवि कहता है कि सायंकाल का सूर्य जगत् के व्यवहार की गणना करने वाले भगवान् का सुवर्णनिर्मित मसीपात्र (दवात) है। शाम को जब वह सूर्य उल्टा मुख करके गिर पड़ता है तो वही काली स्याही दवात से निकाल कर सारे संसार में अन्धकार के रूप में फैल जाती है -

किन्तु कालगणनापतेर्मसीभाण्डमर्यमवपुर्हिरण्मयम् ।
तत्र यद्विपरिवर्तिताननं लिम्पति स्म धरणिं तमो मषी ॥

विरहवर्णन के ये श्लोक कितने मर्मस्पर्शी तथा हृदयग्राही हैं, इनमें चन्द्रमा का उपालम्भ सुन्दर शब्दों में किया गया है -

रात्रिराज ! सुकुमारशरीरः कस्य सहेत तव नाम मयूरवान् ।
स्पर्शमाप्य सहसैव यदीयं चन्द्रकान्तदृषदोऽपि गलन्ति ॥

कालकूटमधुनापि निहन्तुं हन्त नो वहसि लाञ्छनभङ्ग्या ।
यद्भयादिव निगीर्णमपि त्वामाशु मुञ्चति सुधाकर राहुः ॥

सन्ध्याकाल का यह वर्णन संस्कृतसाहित्य में बिल्कुल अनूठा है, जिसमें प्रथमार्ध समस्या है और द्वितीयार्ध मङ्खक द्वारा की गई पूर्ति हैं -

एतद्भ्रुकचानुकारिकिरणं राजद्रुहोऽह्नः शिर-
श्छेदाभं वियतः प्रतीचि निपतत्यब्धौ रवेर्मण्डलम् ।
एषापि द्युरमा प्रियानुगमनं प्रोद्दामकाष्ठोत्थिते
सन्ध्याग्नौ विरचय्य तारकमिषाज्जातास्थिशेषस्थितिः ॥ २५.१०५

बिल्हण

ऐतिहासिक महाकाव्यों की गणना करते समय इतिहास के घटनाचक्र पर 'विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरित' काव्य विशेष ज़ोर देता है, जिस के रचयिता महाकवि बिल्हण काश्मीर के निवासी थे। १८ वें सर्ग में कवि ने अपने

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जीवनचरित का बड़े विस्तार के साथ वर्णन किया है। आप के प्रपितामह का नाम मुक्तिकलश और पितामह का राज्यकलश एवं पिता का ज्येष्ठकलश था। आप की माता का नाम नागा देवी था। इष्टराय और आनन्द आप के दो भाई थे। आश्रयदाता की खोज में बिल्हण काश्मीर से निकल पड़े और मथुरा, कन्नौज, प्रयाग, काशी आदि स्थानों में होते हुए दक्षिणभारत के कल्याणनगरीय चालुक्यवंश के प्रसिद्ध नरेश विक्रमादित्य षष्ठ (१०७६-११२७ ई) के दरबार में जा पहुँचे। गुणग्राही राजा ने आप का खूब स्वागत किया।

विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरित में विक्रमादित्य तथा आप के वंश का विस्तृत वर्णन दिया हुआ है। ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं के निर्देश करने में बिल्हण ने इतनी तत्परता दिखाई है कि यह काव्य कल्याण के चालुक्यवंशी नरेशों का इतिहास जानने के लिए परम उपयोगी हो गया है। काव्यदृष्टि से बिल्हण वैदर्भीमार्ग के कवि हैं। ग्रन्थ के १८ सर्गों में माधुर्य तथा प्रसाद का पर्याप्त पुट है। इस काव्य की प्रौढ़ता प्राचीन साहित्यिको में चिरकाल से प्रसिद्ध है। इस की अनूठी उक्तियां विदग्धों की जिह्वा पर नाचा करती हैं। रसों में वीर तो प्रधान है ही, पर शृंगार तथा दग्धहृदय सदा से इस कविता पर रीझता आता है। आप का कहना है कि कवीश्वरों के भावों को अन्य कवि कितना भी ग्रहण करते जाएं, उनमें किसीप्रकार की न्यूनता नहीं आती। राक्षसों ने असंख्य रत्नों कों छीन लिया, तो भी समुद्र रत्नाकर ही बना हुआ है। आप राजदरबार में कविजनों को रखने एवं प्रतिष्ठा देने के बड़े भारी पक्षपाती हैं। आप का कहना है कि राम का यश जगत् में फैलाने और रावण का यश संकुचित होने का एकमात्र कारण महर्षि वाल्मीकि ही हैं। इसलिए कविजनों का तिरस्कार कभी नहीं करना चाहिए। सुन्दर रसीली कविता को सुनकर भी उसके दोषों को खोजने में दुर्जन लोग लगे ही रहते हैं। सुन्दर केलिवन में आने पर भी ऊँट केवल कांटों को ही खोजता है। कोमल फूल तथा पत्रों पर उस की दृष्टि कदापि नहीं जाती -

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कर्णामृतं सूक्तिरसं विमुच्य दोषे प्रयत्नः सुमहान् खलानाम् ।
निरीक्षते केलिवनं प्रविष्टः क्रमेलकः कण्टककालमेव ॥ । १.२६ ॥

साहित्यविद्या से अनभिज्ञ लोगों के ऊपर कवियों की उक्तियों का कुछ भी प्रभाव नही पड़ता । स्त्रियों के न भीगे हुए केशों के ऊपर काले अगर धूप का वास क्या प्रभाव ड़ाल सकता है ।

कण्ठत्वमायाति गुणः कवीनां साहित्यविद्याश्रमवर्जितेषु ।
कुर्यादनीद्रेषु किमङ्गनानां केशेषु कृष्णागुरुधूपवासः ॥ १.१४

कल्हण

आप की लिखी हुई 'राजतरंगिणी' विशुद्ध इतिहास के रूप में ग्रहण की गई है । इस में काश्मीर के राजाओं का इतिहास प्राचीनकाल से आरम्भकर के १२ वें शतक तक साङ्गोपाङ्गरूप से दिया गया है । कवि ने आरम्भ में अपने कुल का भी इतिहास दिया है । काश्मीरनरेश श्री जयसिंह (११२७-११४९) के राज्यकाल में कल्हण ने इस ग्रन्थ की रचना की थी । आप के गुरु का नाम 'अलकदत्त' था, जिस का मङ्खक ने 'श्रीकण्ठचरितम्' में वर्णन किया है । कल्हण तो काश्मीरी नाम है, इस का संस्कृत रूप 'कल्याण' है, जिसे मङ्खक ने अपने काव्य में दिया है । बिल्हण की कविता का आपने पर्याप्त अनुशीलन किया था, इसीलिए आप के काव्य को उनकी कविता से 'संक्रान्त' कहा गया है । आपने ११४९ ई. में ग्रन्थ लिखना आरम्भ किया और दूसरे वर्ष उसे समाप्त कर दिया । कल्हण का जन्म काश्मीर के एक ब्राह्मणकुल में हुआ था । आप के पिता चणपक (चम्पक) महाराज हर्ष (१०८९-११०९) के विश्वासपात्र राजनैतिक सचिव थे । हर्ष का बंध किए जाने पर आपने राजनीति में भाग लेना छोड़ दिया । आप के 'कनक' भी राजा हर्ष के प्रियपात्रों में से थे, जिन की मृत्यु के अनन्तर आप काशी चले गए और यहाँ आपने वैराग्यमय जीवन बिताया । कल्हण ने राजनीति से वञ्चित होकर अपने देश का राजनैतिक-इतिहास लिखना आरम्भ किया । इस के लिए आपने तत्कालीन उपलब्ध सामग्री का अच्छा उपयोग किया । संस्कृतसाहित्य में कल्हण का

एक विशेष स्थान है । घटनाओं को कालक्रम से निबद्ध करना तथा उससे उपदेश ग्रहण करने की कला का सर्वप्रथम प्रचार आपने ही किया । राजतरंगिणी में पौराणिक काल से लेकर १२ वीं सदी तक का विस्तृत एवं क्रमबद्ध राजनैतिक तथा सांस्कृतिक-इतिहास लिखा पाया जाता है। नवम शताब्दी के पूर्व का इतिहास बिल्कुल अधूरा है तथा धुंधला है। अन्तिम शताब्दिओं का इतिहास बड़ा स्पष्ट, विस्तृत और घटनाबहुल है । कल्हण की ऐतिहासिक घटना राजाओं की तिथि और युद्ध का समय दे देने में नहीं है, बल्कि सांस्कृतिक-इतिहास प्रस्तुत करने में है । इसलिए आपने कविओं की स्थान-स्थान पर विस्तृत चर्चा की है । काव्य की दृष्टि से भी इस ग्रन्थ का कुछ कम महत्त्व नहीं है । कवि का ध्यान चलती भाषा लिखने की ओर अधिक गया हैं । वह अपनी कविता को अलङ्कार के बोझ से दबाना नहीं चाहता । यहां आप की कविता के कुछ उदाहरण दिए जाते हैं -

भास्वद्बिम्बाधरा कृष्णकेशी सितकराननना ।
हरिमध्या शिवाकारा सर्वदेवमयीव सा ॥

भुजवनतरुच्छायां येषां निषेव्य महौजसां
जलधिरशना मेदिन्यासीदसावकुतोभया ।
स्मृतिमपि न ते यान्ति क्ष्मापा विना यदनुग्रहं
प्रकृतिमहते कुर्मः स्वस्मै नमः कविकर्मणे ॥ १.४६

कल्हण की इस अमर कृति के ज़ोड़ की अन्य ऐतिहासिक रचना संस्कृत में नहीं है । जो कुछ है, वह काव्यदृष्टि से ही उपादेय है ।

उस दुर्दैव को हम किन शब्दों से कोसें, जिसने हिन्दुसाम्राज्य के अन्तिम सम्राट् पृथ्वीराज का जीवनचरित 'पृथ्वीराजविजय' की एक ही हस्तलिखित प्रति, सो भी अधूरी, में सुरक्षित रखा है । इस महाकाव्य के टीकाकार जोनराज (१४४८) के आसपास ही काश्मीरी नहीं हैं, अपि तु इस के रचयिता भी उसी देश के वासी थे । जब पृथ्वीराज की कीर्त्ति सर्वत्र

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व्याप्त हो रही थी, उसी समय इस ग्रन्थ की रचना हुई थी। यह ग्रन्थ ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिकोण से अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण है।

प्रवरसेन

कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला।
सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥

प्राकृत के दो महाकाव्य विख्यात हैं, १. प्रवरसेन का सेतुबन्ध-२. वाक्पतिराज का गौड़वध.

इन में प्रवरसेन के ऐतिहासिक व्यक्तित्व का पूरा परिचय नहीं मिलता। इस महाकाव्य के रचयिता का नाम प्रवरसेन था, जो किसी देश के राजा थे, पर इसका ठीक-ठीक पता नहीं चलता। कुछ लोग आप को काश्मीर का राजा मानते हैं, अन्य वाकाटक वंश के राजा प्रवरसेन से आप की अभिन्नता मानते हैं।

काश्मीर के कवियों ने अनेक प्रशस्ति-स्तोत्रों की भी रचना की है, जिन में उत्पलदेव की 'शिवस्तोत्रावलि' तथा जगद्धरभट्ट की 'स्तुति-कुसुमाञ्जलि' नितान्त प्रसिद्ध है। काश्मीरी शैवों में इन स्तोत्रों की वही प्रतिष्ठा है, यही आदर है, जो वैष्णवों में विष्णुस्तोत्रों को उपलब्ध है।

उत्पलदेव

उत्पलदेव त्रिकदर्शन के आचार्यों में अन्यतम हैं। त्रिकदर्शन की आप ने अपने ग्रन्थों से पर्याप्त प्रतिष्ठा की। आप का समय नवम शताब्दी है। आप की शिवस्तोत्रावलि में २१ विभिन्न स्तोत्रों का संग्रह है। इन सब का एक ही विषय है—भगवान् शङ्कर के अनन्त गुणों का वर्णन और उन के कमनीय रूप की मधुर झाँकी। इन पद्यों के भाव बड़े ही उच्चकोटि के हैं। भगवान् शङ्कर से सम्पर्क रखनेवाली छोटी से छोटी चीज़ हमारे भक्तकवि को प्यारी है, पर महादेव के सम्बन्ध से रहित प्रशस्त वस्तु भी आप को रुचिकर नहीं लगती -

कण्ठकोणविनिविष्टमीश ते कालकूटमपि महामृतम् ।
अप्युपात्तममृतं भवद्वपुर्भेदवृत्ति यदि मे न रोचते ॥

हे भगवन्! आप के कण्ठ के कोण में रखा गया कालकूट भी मेरे लिए महान् अमृत के समान पोषक एवं संजीव है, परं तु यदि आप के शरीर से पृथक् हो कर रहने वाला अमृत भी हो तो मुझे नहीं रुचता।

भक्तकवि की भावुकता कितने स्पष्ट अक्षरों में अभिव्यक्त हुई है।

जगद्धर भट्ट

१४ वीं शदाब्दी में आप गौरधर के पौत्र एवं रत्नधर के पुत्र थे। आप का निवासस्थान काश्मीर था। आप का सर्वश्रेष्ठ ग्रन्थ है 'स्तुति-कुसुमाञ्जलि'। जिसमें ३८ स्तोत्र और १४०० श्लोक हैं। जगद्धर भगवान् शङ्कर के अनन्त उपासक थे। आप की कविता भक्तिपरिपूरित हृदय की मनोरम उद्गार है। आप की विलक्षण कविता में श्लेष, अनुप्रास एवं यमक का अपूर्व सम्मिलन है। आप की कविता अतीव सरस तथा सरल है, जिस का अधिकांशभाग करुणरसपरिपूर्ण है। कवि ने ऐसे प्रभावोत्पादक और हृदयद्रावक ढंग से शङ्कर को आत्मनिवेदन किया हैं कि कठोर-हृदय-व्यक्तियों का भी चित्त भक्तिभाव से आर्द्र हो जाता है।

भगवन्! क्या मुझे आप अधम, पापात्मा एवं खल समझ कर तो कहीं मेरी उपेक्षा नहीं कर रहे हो? नहीं, नहीं, ऐसा समझना तो करुणासागर के लिए उचित नहीं है, क्यों कि अकुतोभय पुण्यात्मा को आप की रक्षा की क्या आवश्यकता है? आप की अनुकम्पा तो हम सरीखे असाधु, अधम और पापात्माओं पर ही सार्थक हो सकती है। अतः हम लोग ही आप की दया के पात्र हैं -

स्वैरेव यद्यपि गतोऽहमधः कुकृत्यैस्तत्रापि नाथ तव नास्म्यवलेपपात्रम् ।
दृप्तः पशुः पतति यः स्वयमन्धकूपेनोपेक्षते तमपि कारुणिको हि लोकः ॥

पञ्चतन्त्र जिन कथाओं का संग्रह है वे भारत में नितान्त प्राचीन है। पञ्चतन्त्र के भिन्नशताब्दियो में एवं भिन्नप्रान्तों में अनेक संस्करण हुए, कुछ

तो आज भी उपलब्ध हैं। इन में सबसे प्राचीन संस्करण ‘तन्त्राख्यायिका’ के नाम से विख्यात है, जिस का मूलस्थान काश्मीर है।

क्षेमेन्द्र काश्मीर के राजा अनन्त के आश्रित कवि थे, आप का समय ११ वीं शताब्दी था। आप का लिखा काव्य ‘बृहत्कथामञ्जरी’ है, जिस में ७५०० श्लोक हैं। कविता उच्चकोटि की है पर मूल कथानक का कितना रक्षण हो पाया है, यह कहना कठिन है।

वामन

वामन के ग्रन्थ में अलंकारशास्त्र के रीतिसंप्रदाय का चरम-उत्कर्ष दिखाई पड़ता है। आप रीति को काव्य की आत्मा मानने वाले महनीय आलङ्कारिक हैं, ‘रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य’। आप के ग्रन्थ का नाम है काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र, जिस में आपने अलङ्कारशास्त्र के समग्र सिद्धान्तों का विवेचन सूत्रों में किया है और इन सूत्रों पर वृत्ति भी लिखी है। सूत्रों की संख्या ३१८ है। ग्रन्थ में कुल पाँच परिच्छेद या अधिकरण हैं। काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र के प्राचीन टीकाकार सहदेव का कथन है कि वामन का यह ग्रन्थ किसी कारण से नष्ट हो चुका था, जिस का उद्धार मुकुलभट्ट ने दशम शतक के आरम्भ में किया। वामन काश्मीरनरेश जयापीड़ के मन्त्री थे -

मनोरथः शंखदत्तश्चटकः सन्धिमाँस्तथा।
बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्यश्च मन्त्रिणः॥

जयापीड़ का समय अष्टमशतक का अन्तिमभाग है और वामन का भी यही समय है।

उद्भट

आप वामन के समकालीन थे। जयापीड़ के सभा के आप सभापण्डित थे। कल्हण पण्डित का कहना है कि आप का दैनिक वेतन एक करोड़ दीनार (सुवर्णमुद्रा) था। यदि यह सत्य है तो उद्भट महाधनी और भाग्यशाली व्यक्ति होंगे। एक ही राजा के आश्रय में रहने पर भी वामन और उद्भट साहित्यिक क्षेत्र में प्रतिस्पर्धी प्रतीत होते हैं। वामन

रीतिसम्प्रदाय के उन्नायक थे तो उद्भट अलङ्कारसम्प्रदाय के पृष्ठपोषक थे। दोनों ही अपने विषय के मौलिक सिद्धान्तों के आविष्कर्ता एवं आराधनीय आचार्य हैं। आपने भामह के ग्रन्थ पर 'भामहविवरण'-नामक व्याख्या-ग्रन्थ लिखा था। उद्भट की कीर्ति 'काव्यालङ्कारसारसंग्रह'-नामक ग्रन्थ के ऊपर ही अवलम्बित है। इस ग्रन्थ के ६ वर्ग हैं। जिनमें ७६ कारिकाओं के द्वारा ४१ अलङ्कारों का वर्णन है। ग्रन्थ का विषय अलङ्कार ही है, उस की टीका मुकुलभट्ट के शिष्य प्रतिहारेन्दुराज (९५० ई.) ने की है। भामह के समान अलङ्कार सम्प्रदाय के अनुयायी होने पर भी आप भामह से अनेक सिद्धान्तों में भिन्नता रखते हैं।

रुद्रट

आप काश्मीर के रहने वाले थे। राजशेखर (९०० ई.) ने काव्यमीमांसा में आप के नाम का निर्देश 'काकुवक्रोक्ति' को शब्दालङ्कार मानने के अवसर पर किया है। 'काकुवक्रोक्तिर्नाम शब्दालङ्कारोऽयम्' इति रुद्रटः। इस से स्पष्ट है कि आप ९०० से प्राचीन हैं। आप का ग्रन्थ 'काव्यालङ्कार' विषय की दृष्टि से अतीव व्यापक है और इस में अलङ्कारशास्त्र के समस्त सिद्धान्तों की विस्तृत समीक्षा की गई है। काव्य के प्रयोजन, उद्देश्य एवं काव्यसामग्री के अनन्तर अलङ्कार का विस्तृत तथा सुव्यवस्थित-वर्णन इस ग्रन्थ में किया गया है। भाषा, रीति, रस तथा वृत्ति की मीमांसा होने पर भी अलङ्कारों की समीक्षा ही ग्रन्थ का मुख्य उद्देश्य है। रुद्रट ने पहले-पहल अलङ्कारों का वैज्ञानिक विभाग किया है। आप ने अलङ्कारों के लिए चार मूलतत्त्व खोज निकाले हैं - वास्तव, औपम्य, अतिशय, श्लेष. भामह और उद्भट के द्वारा व्याख्यात अनेक अलङ्कारों को रुद्रट ने छोड़ दिया है और कहीं-कहीं अनेक के लिए नामों का निर्देश किया है। जैसे रुद्रट का व्याजश्लेष (१०.११), भामह की व्याजस्तुति, 'जाति' मम्मट की स्वभावोक्ति और 'पूर्व' अलङ्कार अतिशयोक्ति का चतुर्थ प्रकार है। कहीं-कहीं आप ने नए अलङ्कारों की भी कल्पना की है। रसों का भी

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आपने विस्तार के साथ वर्णन किया है। पर इन का आग्रह अलङ्कार के ऊपर ही है।

आनन्दवर्धन

आनन्दवर्धन का नाम साहित्यशास्त्र के इतिहास में सुवर्णाक्षरों से लिखने योग्य है। आप ने 'ध्वन्यालोक' लिख कर इस शास्त्र के सिद्धान्त को सदा के लिए आलोकित कर दिया है। 'ध्वन्यालोक' नवीनयुग का उत्पादक ग्रन्थ है। अलङ्कारशास्त्र में इस का वही स्थान है, जो वेदान्त में सूत्रों का है। इस के प्रतिपृष्ठ पर ग्रन्थकार की मौलिकता, सूक्ष्मविवेचन, शक्ति एवं गूढ़विषयग्राहिता का परिचय मिलता है। आनन्दवर्धन काश्मीर के राजा अवन्तिवर्मा के सभापण्डित थे। आप के लिखने की शैली बड़ी ही प्रौढ़, विद्वत्तापूर्ण एवं रोचक है। आप कवि भी थे। आप ने अर्जुनचरित, विषमबाणलीला एवं देवीशतक जैसे सरस काव्यों की रचना भी की है, पर आनन्द की विपुल कीर्त्ति ध्वन्यालोक के ऊपर ही अवलम्बित रहेगी। राजशेखर का कथन बिल्कुल सत्य है -

> ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यतत्त्वनिवेशिना।
> आनन्दवर्धनः कस्य नासीदानन्दवर्धनः॥

आनन्दवर्धन की महाविशेषता ध्वनिविरोधियों के सिद्धान्तों का प्रबल खण्डन कर ध्वनि एवं व्यञ्जना की स्थापना है। इन से पूर्व ध्वनि के विषय में तीन मत थे - अभाववाद, भक्तिवाद, अनिर्वचनीयतावाद। इन तीनों का मुंहतोड़ उत्तर देकर आनन्द ने व्यञ्जना की स्वतन्त्र सत्ता सिद्ध की और ध्वनि के प्रकारों का पहली बार विवेचन किया है। इस ग्रन्थ का प्रभाव अवान्तर ग्रन्थकारों के ऊपर बहुत पड़ा। ध्वनिसम्प्रदाय की उत्पत्ति यहीं से हुई।

अभिनवगुप्त

आनन्दवर्धन को एक बड़े ही विद्वान् टीकाकार उपलब्ध हुए जिन्हों ने इन के सिद्धान्तों के मर्म को भलीभान्ति समझा दिया। इनका

नाम था आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त। आप भी काश्मीर के वासी थे और लगभग दशमीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध में विद्यमान थे। आप शैवदर्शन के माननीय आचार्य थे, आप का एक ही ग्रन्थ 'तन्त्रालोक' तन्त्रशास्त्र का विश्वकोश है। साहित्यिकक्षेत्र में आप की दो कृतियां हैं और ये दोनों ही टीकाएं हैं - लोचन ध्वन्यालोक की टीका, अभिनवभारती.

अभिनवभारती भरत नाटयशास्त्र का एकमात्र उपलब्ध व्याख्याग्रन्थ है। टीकाग्रन्थ होने पर भी ये दोनों ग्रन्थ नितान्त मौलिक हैं। हम अभिनवगुप्त के अनेक रससिद्धान्तों के लिए ऋणी है। रसविषयक इन की जो समीक्षा है, वह नितान्त वैज्ञानिक एवं युक्तियुक्त है। अभिनवभारती न होती तो नाट्यशास्त्र का पता आज भलीभान्ति न चलता।

ध्वनिविरोधी आचार्य

इन दोनों माननीय आचार्यों द्वारा ध्वनि की स्थापना होने पर भी इस के दो बड़े विरोधी आचार्यों ने नवीन ग्रन्थों की रचना की। दोनों प्रायः समकालीन ही थे। एक का नाम है कुन्तक तथा दूसरे का महिमभट्ट। दोनों काश्मीर के वासी थे और दोनों ने एकादश शताब्द के आरम्भ में अपने ग्रन्थ बनाएं। कुन्तक के ग्रन्थ का नाम है 'वक्रोक्तिजीवित'। दुर्भाग्यवश यह ग्रन्थ अपूर्ण ही प्राप्त हुआ है, पर इस के उपलब्ध अंशों से ही कुन्तक की मौलिकता तथा सूक्ष्मविवेचनशैली का पर्याप्त परिचय मिलता है। वक्रोक्ति की मूलकल्पना भामह की है, परं तु उसे व्यापक साहित्यिक तत्त्व के रूप में विकसित करना कुन्तक की निजी विशेषता है। वक्रोक्ति के भीतर ही समस्त साहित्य तत्त्व को सम्मिलित कर कुन्तक ने जिस विदग्धता का परिचय दिया है, उस पर साहित्य का मर्मज्ञ सदा रीझता रहेगा।

महिमभट्ट का ग्रन्थ 'व्यक्तिविवेक' प्रसिद्ध है, इस में तीन विमर्श हैं। ग्रन्थ का मुख्य उद्देश्य ध्वनि के अनुमान का ही प्रकार बतलाना है। ध्वनि कोई पृथक् वस्तु नही है, जिसे प्रतिपादित करने के लिए उन्हों ने अपने उत्कट पाण्डित्य का प्रदर्शन किया है। मम्मट ने महिमभट्ट का खण्डन किया

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हैं, पर अनौचित्य विषयक उस के समस्त सिद्धान्त को अपने दोषप्रकरण में भलीभान्ति अपनाया है।

ध्वनिमार्ग के आचार्य

ध्वनिविरोधियों के मत का खण्डन आचार्य मम्मट ने इतने सुचारु रूप से किया है कि उनके अनन्तर किसी को ध्वनि का विरोध करने का साहस न रहा। इसी कारण मम्मट को 'ध्वनिप्रस्थापन-परमाचार्य' की उपाधि दी गई है। आप भी काश्मीर के ही निवासी थे। सुनते हैं कि 'महाभाष्य-प्रदीप'-रचयिता कैयट और वेदान्तभाष्यकार उव्वट के अनुज थे। भोजराज की दानशीलता की आपने प्रशंसा की है, अतः आप का समय एकादश शतक का उत्तारार्ध है। मम्मट बड़े भारी विद्वान् थे, आप बहुश्रुत वैयाकरण प्रतीत होते हैं। लेखनशैली सूत्रात्मक है, सभी तो आप के ग्रन्थ काव्यप्रकाश की विपुलटीकाओं के होने पर भी वह आज भी वैसा ही दुर्गम माना जाता है। यह ग्रन्थ नितान्त प्रौढ़, सारगर्भित एवं पाण्डित्यपूर्ण है, ध्वनिमार्ग का इस से सुन्दर विवेचन अन्यत्र नहीं मिलता। इस के ऊपर टीका लिखना पाण्डित्य की कसौटी समझा जाता। इसीलिए विश्वनाथ कविराज जैसे मौलिक ग्रन्थों के रचयिता विद्वानों ने भी इस पर व्याख्या लिखना अपनी परमप्रतिष्ठा मानी। दशम उल्लास के परिकर अलङ्कार तक ग्रन्थ मम्मट की रचना है। अगला भाग अलक या अलट नामक किसी काश्मीरी विद्वान् ने लिख कर ग्रन्थ पूर्ण किया।

क्षेमेन्द्र

मम्भट के समकालीन आलङ्कारिक क्षेमेन्द्र के ग्रन्थों में हमें अनेक मौलिक सिद्धान्त उपलब्ध होते हैं। आप भी काश्मीर के ही निवासी थे और मम्मट के समान ही एकादश शतक के उत्तरार्ध में विद्यमान थे। महाकवि होने के नाते आप का विस्तृत वर्णन पीछे लिखा जा चुका है। आप का 'सुवृत्ततिलक' छन्दःशास्त्र का अनुपम ग्रन्थ है। जिसमें छन्दविषयक अनेक मौलिक बातें प्रस्तुत की गई हैं। 'कविकण्ठाभरण'

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में काव्य के बाह्य साधनों की विशिष्ट चर्चा है, परं तु आपकी सब से मौलिक कृति है 'औचित्यविचारचर्चा,' जिसमें औचित्य के महत्त्वपूर्ण सिद्धान्तों की विस्तृत समीक्षा की गई हैं।

रुय्यक

आप भी काश्मीर के निवासी थे। आप काश्मीर के राजा जयसिंह (११२८-४९) के सान्धिविग्रहिक मङ्खक के गुरु थे। इसलिए आप का समय १२-वीं शताब्दी का मध्यभाग है। आप की प्रसिद्ध रचना 'अलङ्कार-सर्वस्व' है, जिसमें ८५ अर्थालङ्कारों तथा ६ शब्दालङ्कारों का पाण्डित्यपूर्ण वर्णन है। उनकी समीक्षा मम्मट की समीक्षा से कहीं अधिक व्यापक एवं विस्तृत है, इस के ऊपर जयरथ तथा समुद्रबन्ध की पाण्डित्यपूर्ण टीकाएं हैं

CONTRIBUTION OF KASHMIR TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE—BILHAṆA - A STUDY

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Kashmir of yore has been the cradle of Sanskrit lore and learning. From the 9th to the 12th century A. D. bright luminaries in Sanskrit literature have shone on its firmament. A galaxy of rhetoricians, philosophers, poets, and historians, all in their own way brought fame and lustre to this part of the country and justified its name of *Śāradā Deśa*. To quote Dr. Raghavan: "If there is a prominent Indian Aesthetics which could be applied to all fine arts, it is to Kashmir we owe it."[1] Among these literary giants Ānandavardhana, Vāmana, Mammaṭa and others are prominent. Diverse subjects like dramaturgy and philosophy could be ably handled by one and the same person like Abhinavagupta. And his pupil Kṣemendra is an example of rare versatility combined with prodigious production and originality.

The intellectual climate was all the more enhanced by a unique system of philosophy, the 'S'aivadarśana', which is 'the synthesis of different trends,[2] a happy compromise between the personal and the impersonal and the monistic and the dualistic approaches, punctuated with the traditions and terms of thought and practices of the Buddhists and the orthodox'.[3]

'History', says Macdonnel, 'is the one weak spot in Indian literature. It is in fact non-existent.'[4] Here again, it is Kashmir which gave the few works of history that we have, the works of Kalhaṇa whose torch was kept alive by Jona Rāja, Śrīvara and Prājya Bhaṭṭa in later years.

Sanskrit as such could not have been the language of the elite only, as it is often contended, but should have been

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1. Presidential Address, 25th All India Oriental Conference, Srinagar, October, 1961.
2. Dr. K. C. Pandey, Introduction to *Bhāskarī*.
3. Dr. Raghavan, *Ibid.*; also Dr. R. K. Kaw, Sāradā Pīṭha Research Series Vol. I, Jan. 1959.
4. *History of Sanskrit Literature*.

fairly understood by the people in general. In the absence of such a hypothesis, such a gigantic literary activity could not have fructified. This very fact is further elaborated by Bilhaṇa himself when he says :

> यत्र स्त्रीणामपि किमपरं जन्मभाषावदेव
> प्रत्यावासं विलसति वचः संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च ॥[1]

'Where even the women in their household speak Sanskrit and Prakrit as fluently as their mother tongue.'

This information is further corroborated by Stein when he says: 'The continued popular use of Sanskrit even among Mohammadans is strikingly proved by the Sanskrit inscriptions on a tomb in the cemetery of Bahau-Din-Sahib at Srinagar (A.D. 1484)"[6]. It is therefore, erroneous to assume that Sanskrit as a spoken word had lost its pristine glory. 'Brief Sanskrit inscriptions without dates have been found by me on a number of old Muhammadan tombs in Srinagar, near Martand and elsewhere.'[7] During this period when Sanskrit was not only the vehicle of Kashmiri scholars but also the spoken word of the people at large, Bilhaṇa was born. The first extant reference about him is given by Kalhaṇa[8] :

> कश्मीरेभ्यो विनिर्यान्तं राज्ये कलशभूपतेः ।
> विद्यापतिं यं कर्णाटश्चक्रे पर्माडिभूपतिः ॥
> प्रसर्पतः करिटिभिः कर्णाटककान्तारे ।
> राज्ञाग्रे ददृशे तुङ्गं यस्यैवातपवारणम् ॥
> त्यागिनं हर्षदेवं स श्रुत्वा सुकविबान्धवम् ।
> बिल्हणो वञ्चनां मेने विभूतिं तावतीमपि ॥

It is evident from this that 'Bilhaṇa who had left Kashmir in the reign of King Kalaśa was made by Parmāḍi, the Lord of Karnāṭa, his Chief Pandit'.[9] Some of his verses are also found in *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa and *Bālabodhinīvṛtti* of Kātantra; some of his didactic verses not found in the works ascribed to him are also

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5. *Vikrāmāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII. 6.
6. *Rājatraṅgiṇī*, English Translation, Introduction.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* VII. 935–37.
9. More probably *Vidyāpati* is a title.

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given in the anthologies. This shows that Bilhaṇa had attained popularity in his home-land even though he had been physically away from it.

The credit of unearthing Bilhaṇa goes to Dr. Buhler and that also, paradoxically enough, outside Kashmir. In 1877 A.D. while in search of Sanskrit manuscripts he came across an old palm leaf ms. of *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* in Jesalmere, formerly a Central Indian State and now, a part of Rajasthan.

The name Bilhaṇa does not seem to be of Sanskrit origin. Perhaps it has a Dardic base and might have connoted some meaning in the local dialect. The same can be said about Kalhaṇa which some critics[10] have taken as the Kalyāṇa, given in Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhcarita*. Barring some prominent names which have a Sanskritic base the majority of names seems to have been derived from the local dialect, e.g., Mammaṭa and other names ending in 'ṭa.'

Bilhaṇa does not leave us guessing as regards to his birth-place. He gives a description of the village in which he was born:

तस्मादस्ति प्रवरपुरतः सार्धगव्यूतिमात्रां
भूमिं त्यक्त्वा जयवनमिति स्थानमुत्तुङ्गचैत्यम् ।
कुण्डं यस्मिन्नमलसलिलं तक्षकस्याहिभर्तु-
र्धर्मध्वंसोद्यतकलिशिरश्छेदचक्रत्वमेति ॥
यस्यास्ति खोनमुख इत्युपकण्ठसीम्नि
ग्रामः समग्रगुणसंपदवाप्तकीर्तिः ।[11]

"There is at a distance of two and a half Kośas from Pravarapura (Srinagar) a rising plateau named Jayavana in which there is a spring of Takṣaka (serpent-king) of crystal clear water, veritably a disc to chop away the head of Kālī ready to annihilate *Dharma*. Quite close to it is the famous village endowed with all virtues named Khonamukha."

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[10] Dr. A. B. Keith, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*.
[11] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* XVIII.

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This Khonamukha village is even to-day, exactly situated as it was given by Bilhaṇa some eight hundred years ago. In one edition the name Khonamusa is given, which, according to Buhler, is the correct word. He had suggested that the copyist must have been a Jaina who pronounced "sa" and "kha" alike. This could be also due to the Kashmiri mode of pronunciation and the peculiarities of Sarada Script.

Khonamukha is situated on a 'rising mound', a tableland on the Srinagar Jammu National Highway, where it branches off to the left near Pandrethan at a distance of five miles from Srinagar. In this volcanic range are situated Zevani, Wuyan[12] and Khrewa[13]. It is at a distance of seven miles from Srinagar, as pointed out by the poet, one and a half *gavyūti*. *Gavyūti* is taken to be roughly equal to four miles.

The *takṣakanāga* referred to above has undergone cultural conquest. There is a grave-yard adjacent to it. The water is not as crystal clear as known to the poet. It is not also altogether circular in shape now. The saffron fields and the vineyards are even to-day as luxuriant in their brilliance as in the days of the poet. Only the Vitastā (Jhelum) seems to have gone farther away from it, perhaps by a distance of two to three miles.

Bilhaṇa was born of Jyeṣṭha Kalaśa and Nāga Devī[14]. Jyeṣṭha Kalaśa was a commentator of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. In a way his illustrious father bequeathed to him as an heirloom the love for Sanskrit muse.

The exact date of his birth or death cannot be given for obvious reasons. Even though he has written profusely about himself, he has not mentioned any date. His date is known however, from stray references about him in the works of his successors or contemporaries and from indirect evidences in his writings. Kalhaṇa provides a clue to the year in which Bilhaṇa left Kashmir.[15] King Kalaśa, in whose time Bilhaṇa left Kashmir, was the son of Ananta, who ruled from 1029 to 1064 A.D. Towards the end of his rule he performed the *Abhiṣeka* of his son and made over his kingdom to

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[12] Now known for cement plant.

[13] Jwālāmukhi pilgrimage.

[14] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* XVII. 79, 80.

[15] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 935-38,

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him in his life-time in 1066 A.D. This can safely be fixed as the date of the departure of Bilhaṇa to Central India. The immediate predecessor of Bilhaṇa, the polymath Kṣemendra also gives the detail about the above-mentioned kings and indirectly helps us to have an idea of the years in which Bilhaṇa lived.[16]

The second clue to Bilhaṇa's date is that of Parmāḍi of Karnāṭa, which is also supplied by Kalhaṇa. The Vikrama referred to by Bilhaṇa has been identified as King Chalukya Vikramaditya VI of Kalyan, who reigned from 1076 A.D. to 1127 A.D. So it seems probable that Bilhaṇa lived between the last two quarters of the eleventh century.

Probably the life of the poet was cut short in 1088 A.D. as he has ignored his patron's biggest military campaign to the South in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. Thus we can tentatively assume that the life-span of our poet outside Kashmir ranges from 1066 A.D., when Kalaśa ascended the throne of Kashmir, to 1088 A.D., when his Karnāṭaka patron started his military campaign towards the South. However, this assertion cannot be termed as final because—

(i) It is also possible that he need not have left Kashmir in the first year of Kalaśa's reign as Kalhaṇa just says that he left during the reign of King Kalaśa.

(ii) Moreover, Bilhaṇa might have fallen into the disfavour of his Karnāṭaka patron and therefore he may not have eulogized this patron's later exploits.

Bilhaṇa, as the tradition goes, has three compositions to his credit—*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*,[17] a historical *Kāvya*, *Caurapañcāśikā*,[18] a lyric of fifty stanzas and a drama of four acts, *Karṇasundarī*.[19] One more work *Bilhaṇacarita*, ostensibly an autobiography, has also been ascribed to him. But in it the name of the writer does not appear anywhere. It may have been written by one of his admirers who preferred to remain unknown. Moreover, the details and dates given in it do not agree with those given in *Vikramāṅkādevacarita*.

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16. *Suvṛttatilaka*.
17. First edited and published by Dr. Buhler.
18. Kāvyamālā edn.
19. Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1895.

Of these three compositions only the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* reaches the high water-mark. It is definitely a work of mature judgement and composed demeanour. As mentioned already it must have been written before 1088 A.D. and is in 18 cantos and about 2500 verses. The last chapter is devoted to the personal account of the poet. In this composition history has been wedded to romance and war. King Vikramāditya, his patron, is portrayed in the brightest possible colours. The historical content is subservient to the poetic fancy.

The two introductory verses of the Kashmiri mss. of *Caurpañcāśikā*, the genuineness of which is corroborated by Bilhaṇa himself, show that this *kāvya* was written in Kalyan before the poet had obtained the favour of King Vikrama. The mention of the Lord of Kuntala and the indignant address to his envious rivals and enemies prove this. It is often ascribed to "Caura Kavi", which is not however a name but a pseudonym for Bilhaṇa. It is obviously due to the corrupt reading in the colophon, चौरसुरतपञ्चाशिका समाप्ता । (Thus end the fifty verses of amor by Caura.)

Caurapañcāśikā (the fifty stanzas of a thief) or the 'love lament', aptly called so by Sir Edwin Arnold[20] is a lyric of a lover ready to mount the scaffold for enticing a princess. During this fateful suspense when the life of the lover hangs on a slender thread, the reminiscences of the days spent in the sweet company of the princess oppress his heart and he ventilates his feelings in a sensuous and pathetic versified form. The refrain of each stanza begins with अद्यापि (even to-day).

The theme of this lyric according to tradition is a leaf from the personal experience of the poet. This can be also an imagined situation which poets can visualize easily by virtue of their creative faculties. The freshness of the poem is eternal.

Karṇasundarī is the name of the heroine of a play bearing the same name. In this small play of four Acts is a love-episode between Karṇasundarī, a princess and Karṇa, son of Bhīmadeva, a scion of Chalukya dynasty. Like other Sanskrit plays it is more of a dramatic poem than of a drama. The story is commonplace with a happy blending of history and imagination. Prose pieces are simple and short. Prakrits have also been well employed.

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[20] London, 1896.

It can now safely be asserted that *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* is the poet's last work and the other two works precede it.

Bilhaṇa is essentially a romantic poet. His *forte* is love. While staying in Central and Southern India he cherished the sweet memory of Kashmir, the land of 'learning, saffron, ice water and grapes, making it a super-paradise.'[21] Bilhaṇa makes use of Alaṅkāras profusely and in a dexterous way. His similes are apt and impressive. Even though he uses a variety of metres in his compositions, yet his favourite seems to be Mandākrāntā. When he takes pride in narrating the two peerless products of his motherland, it seems no exaggeration.

सहोदराः कुङ्कुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः ।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ॥[22]

'Verily the saffron and the poetic prowess are born of the same womb. Outside S'āradā Des'a (Kashmir) I have not seen them growing in any place.

Bilhaṇa has been fortunate enough to receive recognition in his life-time, which is not always the case with Sanskrit writers. This goes to prove Bilhaṇa's greatness as a poet.

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21. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 42.
22. *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, I. 21.

CONTRIBUTION OF KASHMIR TO SANSKRIT—PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, THOUGHT AND CULTURE

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Kashmir became famous as the abode of Sarasvatī, the Indian muse. Bālacandra, the Gujarati author of the epic called *Vasantavilāsa* says :

काश्मीरवासव्यसनासनाऽपि सरस्वती पुण्यवशादुपेत्य ।
वसत्यवश्यं कविताविलासरूपेण चिद्रूपमुखाम्बुजेषु ॥[1]

For a man of letters Kashmir used to serve as the final test of his merits. S'rīharṣa recalls with pride the reception of his work in Kashmir as a great achievement :

काश्मीरैर्महिते चतुर्दशतयीं विद्यां विदद्भिर्महा-
काव्ये चारुणि नैषधीयचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोज्जवल: ॥[2]

We are reminded of Bilhaṇa's[3] description of his homeland, the land of Śāradā, as having the unique privilege of producing saffron filaments together with poetic gifts. And were we to add that Kashmir is equally the land of philosophical speculation and creative thinking, we will not be guilty of hyperbole. The long history and voluminous literature of religio-philosophical thought of Kashmir only goes to justify the above contention. Jayaratha has not failed to take note of these twin peculiarities[4] of

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1. Quoted by Rasiklal C. Parikh in his Presidential Address to thc Classical Sanskrit Section, Proceedings of AIOC, 21st Session, Srinagar, p. 118.
2. *Naiṣadhīya*, 16. 131.
3. सहोदरा: कुङ्कुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासा: ।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोह: ॥ *Vik*. 1. 21
This we find repeated in the concluding *Praśasti* of *Karṇasundarī-nāṭikā*.
4. श्रीसोमानन्दपादप्रभृतिगुरुवरादिष्टसन्नीतिमार्गो
लब्ध्वा यत्रैव सम्यक्पटिमनि घटनामीश्वराद्वैतवाद: ।
कश्मीरेभ्य: प्रसृत्य प्रकटपरिमलो रञ्जयन् सर्वदेशान्
देशेऽन्यस्मिन्न दृष्टो घुसृणविसरवत्सर्ववन्यत्वमाप ॥
T. A. V., Vol. XII, p. 429, v. 7.

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Kashmir, the seat of the Goddess of learning,[5] with special reference to Kashmir Śaiva monism. Even the plan and design of the city of Srinagar has been patterned on that of the *Śrīcakra*, according to a tradition current to this day.[6]

The moment we think of Kashmir's philosophical and cultural heritage we are immediately reminded of Kashmir S'aivism, the greatest humanistic attainment of Kashmir. This Kashmir Śaivism is generally believed to be monistic in temper and idealistic in ideology. We have, however, to be very clear that the word 'Kashmir Śaivism' has a wide connotation and includes within its range all the branches of Śaiva speculation-monistic, monistic-cum-dualistic and dualistic-associated with Kashmir. This Śaivism is elastic enough to include Śākta schools of thought within its ambit.[7] If Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* is any guide, the Trika or Kashmir Śaivism stands for the total Tāntric lore of Kashmir. It has to be specifically stated that in his *magnum opus* i.e., *Tantrāloka*, Abhinavagupta dwells on both the currents of thought, namely, *Tantraprakriyā* and *Kulaprakriyā*.[8] While *Tantraprakriyā* is traced straight to Tryambaka, the first ancestor referred to by Somānanda, the *Kulaprakriyā* is traced to Tryambaka through his daughter and

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[5] युक्ता बोधप्रधाना स्थितनिजमहसा शारदा पीठदेवी
विद्यापीठे प्रथीयःप्रथितनिखिलवागत्र काश्मीरनाम्नि ॥ *Ibid.*, v. 4.

[6] In the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there is a ms. of the text named *Vidyārṇava* by a student of Pragalbhācārya, which also records this tradition. By implication Srinagar is an abbreviation of the original 'Śrīvidyānagara'.

[7] Although Somānanda, at the very outset of his third Āhnika, castigates the Śākta Monist, yet he calls them his own kith and kin: स्वयूथ्यानद्वैतवादिनः प्रतीदानीमारम्भः। (*Śivadṛṣṭi*, p. 94). This Śāktism is later assimilated into the Tripurā School, which is an offshoot of the Kula system, as well as in the Southern School of the Krama system. This point will be enlarged upon in the sequel.

[8] अतश्च वक्ष्यमाणशास्त्रस्य कुलतन्त्रप्रक्रियात्मकेन द्वैविध्ये। *T.A.V.* Vol. I, p. 24
For details see Author's Doctoral thesis, *Philosophy of Krama Monism of Kashmir : An Analytical Study*, Part I, Chapter 3 (submitted to Lucknow University in 1967).

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is therefore designated 'Ardha-Tryambaka'[9]. To be brief, the Kula-system is identified with *Kulaprakriyā* while the three independent monistic systems namely, Trika, Krama and Pratyabhijñā are subsumed under the *Tattvaprakrīyā* or the Traiyambaka School.

In this scheme Abhinavagupta does not include the Spanda branch, possibly because of its lack of Tāntric character and deep affiliation to the Śākta mode of thinking. This fact has been noted by Kṣemarāja, though in a different context[10]. With all their differences, however, they constitute what is precisely meant by Kashmir S'aivism. So far these four represent the monistic trend of thought. The schools founded by Āmardaka and Śrīnātha and continued by their spiritual descendents relate to the dualistic and dualistic-cum-monistic currents of thought respectively and are also covered by the term Kashmir S'aivism. Out of these two, the Kashmir School of S'aiva Siddhānta headed by Sadyojyotis is a logical development of the dualistic line emanating from Āmardaka. It may be stressed in passing that all these systems, though they havc different secular history, seem to be one in their Tāntric origin.

From the foregoing lines it is apparent that the popular classification of monistic Śaiva thought into Āgama S'āstra, Spanda Śāstra, and Pratyabhijñā Śāstra does not stand strict logical scrutiny. It is an overlapping though handy attempt to classify the Śaiva Monism in a non-orthodox manner. At the most, we may resort to one classification from the point of view of the lands of their origin. Thus broadly we have two types of schools :—

(i) Those which originated in Kashmir, and

(ii) Others which were associated with other parts, originally through the ancestral line of preceptors, but were nurtured and developed afresh in Kashmir.

Under the previous head we have Krama, Spanda and Trika systems which were brought into existence by Śivānanda (800 A.D), Kallaṭa (825 A.D) and Vasugupta (800 A.D.) respectively. The roots of the Krama system even go to a much earlier date and may be traced to one Gandhamādana (675 A. D), who is said to be the preceptor of one Vātūlanātha to whom is ascribed the authorship of a very late work called *Vātūlanātha Sūtra*. This work, alleged to be one on the S'āhasa School, is now conclusively proved to be a text on a sub-school of the Krama system. It is interesting to note that the system has two phases, earlier and later, which develop into two full-grown schools and may be designated the Northern and Southern Schools respectively. The Northern belonging to Kashmir, is Śiva-oriented with obvious S'ākta leanings and has claimed contributions from Siddhanātha (900-950 A.D.). Bhaṭṭa Utpala, Bhūtirāja (900–950 A.D), Cakrabhānu (1050-1100 A. D), Ramyadeva (1100-1150 A. D), Śrīvatsa (13th century), Śitikaṇṭha (16th century) etc. in addition to the recognised stalwarts like Abhinavagupta and Jayaratha. The Southern School, which also traces its origin to Kashmir, in fact, belongs to the Chola country and is Śakti-oriented. This tradition is nurtured by Śivānanda II (12th century), Mahāprakāśa (12th century) and Maheśvarānanda (13th cen.), the illustrious author of the *Mahārthamañjarī*. Thus the Southern School of the Krama has also made substantial contribution to the Tripurā School. This we know on the authority of S'ivānanda and Maheśvarānanda themselves.

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[9] *T. A. V.*, Vol. I, p. 27.

[10] अनन्तापरटीकाकृन्मध्ये स्थितिमस्पृष्यता ।
विवृतं स्पन्दशास्त्रं नो गुरुणा नो, मयास्य तु ॥
Sp. N., p. 77, concluding verse 2

Kallaṭa, the first exponent of the Spanda system, is a famous Siddha during the reign of Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.) as recorded by Kalhaṇa. His *Spanda Kārikā*[11] is commented upon by himself, Utpala Vaiṣṇava (10th cen.), Rāmakaṇṭha (10th cen.) and Kṣemarāja (10th-11th century). Vasugupta's famous *Śivasūtras* furnish a philosophical foot-hold to the Tāntric lore and accord a mystic bias to the Trika line of thought. He is commented upon by Kallaṭa (9th century), Bhāskara (10th century), Kṣemarāja, Varadarāja (11th century) and others.

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[11] The authorship of *Spanda Kārikā* is a controversial point. In the traditional circle the group headed by Utpala, the author of the *Pradīpikā* commentry on *Sp. K.*, ascribes the authorship of the Kārikās to Kallaṭa, whereas the one headed by Kṣemarāja, to Vasugupta. Therefore we have two recensions of *Sp. K.* For further discussions see author's thesis on Krama system, Part I, Chap. 4.

Under the second head may be placed Kula and Pratyabhijñā. Of the two, the Kula system as propagated by Abhinavagupta, by and large, appears to be of outside origin. Abhinavagupta owes his initiation in the system to one Śambhunātha who hailed from Jālandhara and received the deepest veneration at the hands of the former. The alien origin of the Kula system is further corroborated by Jayaratha's observation that the Vāmakeśvarī branch of the system was promulgated in Kashmir by Īśvaraśiva (9th century), the celebrated author of the *Rāsamahodadhi* and Śankararāśi (9th century)[12]. Jayaratha seems to have inherited this tradition straight through Viśvāvarta (2th century)[13] who happens to be a precursor of Śambhunātha. Other Kashmirians of eminence are Dīpikānātha (10th century) and Kalyāṇavarman (11th century). Somānanda, Abhinava's great grand-teacher in Pratyābhijñā also wrote a commentary on the *Parātriṁśikā*,[14] avowedly a Kula tantra. It, therefore, appears certain that the view that it came from outside could not be sustained any longer; this system is represented to have begun in Kashmir[15] by the followers of the Southern School of the Kula system. However, this Kula culminates in Pratyabhijñā i. e., Anupāya, according to Abhinavagupta's own verdict in the *Tantrāloka*.

On the threshold of the Pratyabhijñā system, though we notice that the ancestral lineages of the two stalwarts of the system, Somānanda and Abhinavagupta, were brought to Kashmir from outside, yet the enormous gap between their settling down and taking to philosophical exposition hardly justifies us in treating them as immigrants.

Somānanda (9th century) is credited with breaking entirely new ground towards human emancipation and furnishing a logical

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12. वस्तुतो हि अस्य दर्शनस्य एतदेव आचार्यद्वयं कश्मीरेषु अवतारकम् ।
Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa by Jayaratha, p. 58. (KSS).

13. ततश्च श्रीविश्वावर्तमुखेनैवं लक्ष्यते यत्, तदेव इदमस्मत्पर्यन्तं शिष्यप्रशिष्यक्रमेण सर्वेषामपि प्राप्तम् । *Ibid.*

14. *Parātrimiśikāvivaraṇa*, Abhinavagupta. p. 16, (KSS).

15. संप्रदायस्य काश्मीरदेशोद्भूतत्वात् । *Ṛjuvimarśinī* on *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava tantra*, S'ivānanda, Varanasi, p. 114.

and rational basis in his *Śivadṛṣṭi* for the scattered Tāntric ideals.[16] He is rightly hailed as the 'originator of reasoning' (Tarkasya kartā). He is followed by a galaxy of great authors, e.g., Utpala, Lakṣmaṇagupta, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja, Yogarāja, Jayaratha and others. Utpala enlarges the scope and consolidates the rational side of the system in his learned commentary on *Śivadṛṣti* and his independent treatises like *Īśvara-pratyabhiñā Kārikā* and *Siddhitrayī*, though in themselves they are the logical continuation of his master's work. Through Lakṣmaṇgupta, the author of *Śrīśāstra*[17], he is succeeded by Abhinavagupta (950-1020 A.D.), the greatest of all Kashmirian and one of the greatest among all Indian, thinkers. Abhinavagupta is credited with the authorship of more than forty-two works[18]. Of these the *Tantrāloka*, *Vimarśinī* and *Bṛhatī Vimarśinī* on Utpala's *Kārikās* and *Vṛtti* respectively, *Vivaraṇa* on *Parātriṁśikā*, *Dhvanyālokalocana* and *Abhinavabhārati* are works of extreme value and have been serving as reference books in their respective fields for centuries. With his unparalleled genius, synoptic vision, tremendous study and creative insight he has enriched and illuminated the Saiva philosophy, Tāntric culture and aesthetic thought, at the same time. In him Somānanda's aim of establishing the system on a sound footing against the onslaughts of Buddhists, Grammarians, S'ākta Monists and S'aiva Dualists, a hint of which is echoed in the preamble of the *Śivasūtravārttika* of Varadarāja[19], is realized for good.

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[16] इति प्रकटितो मया सुघट एष मार्गो नवो
महागुरुभिरुच्यते स्म शिवदृष्टिशास्त्रे यथा ।
Īśvarapratyabhijñā Kārikā. 4-1-16.

[17] Identical with the *Śāradātilakatantra* on the authority of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, author of the commentary called *Padārthādarśa*.

[18] Vide *Abhinavagupta: An Historical & Philosophical Study*, K. C. Pandey, 2nd edition, pp. 27-76; vide also 'Works of Abhinavagupta', V. Raghavan, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras. Vol. XIV. iv, 1933, pp. 318-28, and *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Madras University, Vol. I 1969 (Revised ed,), pp. 300-302.

[19] नागबोध्यादिभिः सिद्धैर्नास्तिकानां पुरःसरैः ।
आक्रान्ते जीवलोकेऽस्मिन्नात्मेश्वरनिरासकैः ॥ *S. S. Vā.*, K. S. S, I. 1.

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Coming to the thought-content of these systems, their agreement on fundamental principles impresses a keen student. Their mutual differences centre round varying orientations and emphases, which cannot be taken up here. Their originality lies in the novel approach to the problems of philosophy and human emancipation which may be summed up as below :—

(i) Reality is consciousness$_s$ not only pure but perfect also. Perfection and totality resulting in self-spontaneous manifestation of the Absolute as psycho-metaphysical subjectivity on the one hand and obective data on the other.

(ii) Reality though kinetic is continuous and suffers no gap. This is brought about by Tāntric transformation of the Sāṁkhya thesis of Sadṛśapariṇāmavāda into Ābhāsavāda, that of Śāmya (perfect harmony of three guṇas in Prakṛti) into Sāmarasya of the subjective and the objective. In addition, the Yogic concepts of Pariṇāmi-nityatā and Kūṭasthanityatā referring to different entities are concised and fused into one as Maheśvara, the dynamic Absolute or autonomous consciousness (Svatantrā Saṁvit).

(iii) The autonomy of consciousness, by its very implication, reconciles contradiction (Parasparaparihāra) and synthesizes dichotomy of subjective and objective of the dualists into pure, perfect and intuitive experience. Thus the ultimate unity is not an abstract unity but a concrete unity[20]. In the words of Dr. Pandey: ‘It is not only the unity of opposites, as Hegel maintains his Absolute to be, but also the unity of distincts as Croce maintains”.[21] Hence the Reality is essentially unity in multiplicity.

(iv) The autonomy i.e., self-spontaenity, of consciousness also renders the entire causal explanation as futile and dogmatic. In Hegel the instances of reality are ‘deduced’ from Absolute, here

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[20] तस्मात्प्रत्यभिज्ञानबलाद् एकोऽप्यसौ पदार्थात्मा स्वभावभेदान् विरुद्धान् यावद् अङ्गीकुरुते तावत् ते विरोधादेव क्रमरूपतया निर्भासमानाः तमेकं क्रियाश्रयं संपादयन्ति । *Bhāskarī*, Pt. II, Edited by Iyer and Pandey, p. 9.

[21] *Comparative Aesthetics*, Vol. I, ‘Indian’, K. C. Pandey, second edn., p. 101.

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they are 'manifested' or 'expressed'. The cosmic law of causation is, therefore, transformed into Absolutic functionalism.

(v) This perfect consciousness is not something remote but essentially identical with self-consciousness and is the 'ever present point of reference in every experience, actual or possible'.

(vi) Such a view of reality revolutionizes the very mode and method of our time-old thinking and the following conclusions, of necessity, follow:

(a) Axiologically, emancipation of human soul is the highest value. Here Mokṣa consists in the inculcation of synthesis of worldly enjoyments and transcendental experience of self (भोगमोक्षसामरस्यात्मा मोक्षः). The world is liberation in a changed perspective. This is a minimum pre-supposition of any definition of absolute perfection.

(b) This leads to a marked difference from other systems of Indian thought. Notwithstanding their mutual divergences, most schools are unanimous that Mukti follows in the wake of our distinguishing the self from the not-self. Broadly speaking Mukti is negation or sublation of the not-self. On the contrary, here the self-realization consists in the synthesis of these two opposites and rules out the negation of either.

(c) Self-realisation is, therefore, 'recognition'. Whatever has been passing through as 'this' hitherto, is now recognised as 'I', because of the intrinsic oneness of their character as freedom and consciousness (Kartṛtva and Jñātṛtva).

(d) Hence, knowledge is not 'knowing afresh' but 'knowing the known', that is, it is a removal of the veil of ignorance which is defined as imperfect consciousness (अपूर्णम्मन्यता).

(e) Such a view of reality, apart from its epistemic implications, contains cultural margins of no mean consequence. It has a very optimistic appeal and culminates into deep commitment to life putting a seal of approval on all that life contains or stands for. This may be

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> termed as a life-affirming attitude of the Tāntric culture that makes it a truly humanistic movement, where all spiritual pathways form part of one integrated scheme[22] and cease to be isolated events and, where the entire mankind is welcomed to the threshold of true wisdom without reference to caste, creed, sex and social status[23].

Side by side with the growth of monistic schools, another branch-line of Śaivisim preaching dualistic ideology was very active [4]. This dualistic school also originated from Tantras and sought its anchorage in ten Dvaita Tantras. Later on, but long before Abhinavagupta, the fusion of these ten dualistic Tantras and eighteen dualistic-cum-non-dualistic Tantras[25] was responsible for the rise of a school now known as 'Śaiva Siddhānta'.[26] This school is identical in its approach with its counterpart in the South. In Kashmir, it produced great philosophers like Sadyojyotis, Bṛhaspati and Śaṅkaranandana. From Somānanda down to Varadarāja there are evidences that there existed direct confrontation between the monistic and dualistic schools. This accounts for Abhinavagupta's disdain for dualism. Sadyojyotis's (9th century) *Nareśvaraparīkṣā* is an important work of this school. This was commented upon by Rāmakaṇṭha II (1100–1130 A.D.). This work is available in print. This masterpiece highly speaks of the philosophical acumen of the author as well as the commentator. The *Bhoga-*

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22. तद्भूमिकाः सर्वदर्शनस्थितयः । *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*. Kṣemarāja, Sūtras.

23. केचिदाचक्षते द्विजराजन्यप्रशंसापरमेतद्वाक्यं न तु स्त्र्यादिवर्गप्राप्तितात्पर्येण । ते हि भगवतः सर्वानुग्राहिकां शक्तिं मितविषयतया खण्डयन्तः ...मात्सर्यविहित्थलज्जाजिह्मीकृतावाङ्मुखदृष्टयः ... हास्यरसविषयभावमात्मनि आरोपयन्ति । *Gītārthasaṁgraha* on *Bh. G.* 9.35, Abhinavagupta, ed. by Lakshman Raina, p. 108.

24. Prof. P. T. Raju has confused these two different and anamolous lines of thought as analogous in his *Idealistic Thought of India*, London, pp. 136–145.

25. Vide *Abhinavagupta*, Pandey, pp. 167–169.

26. अष्टाविंशतिसंख्योऽसौ सिद्धान्त इति संज्ञितः ।
Mṛgendratantra, Introduction, K. S. S., P. 2.

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kārikā, *Mokṣakārikā* etc. are among his six other works. Bṛhaspati is supposed to be Sadyojyotis himself and is the author of the *Śivatanu Śāstra*. Śaṅkaranandana is referred to by Abhinava as the author of the *Prajñālaṁkāra*.[27]

Vidyāpati and Devabala are also dualistic S'aiva authors preceding Abhinavagupta. In the post-Abhinavagupta period we have King Bhojadeva (1018–60 A.D.), author of the *Tattvaprakāśikā*; Rāmakaṇṭha I (1035–1050 A.D.), author of the *Nādakārikā* and *Vṛtti* on *Mṛgendra Tantra*; Śrīkaṇṭha (1050–1075 A.D.), author of the *Ratnatraya*; Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha (1075–1100 A.D.), author of a commentary on the *Mṛgendra Tantra*; Rāmakaṇṭha II and Aghoraśiva (1130–58 A.D.). The last one is credited with commentaries on all the major works of dualistic Śaivism. This is a very impressive list and explains why monistic Śaivism viewed it as a formidable opponent. In fact the Śaiva dualistic thought made deep inroads into the monistic philosophy and tried to interpret the monistic *āgamas* in the dualistic light. Kṣemarāja in his commentary on the *Svacchanda Tantra* makes a pointed reference to it.[28] Similarly Aghoraśivācārya charges monists as having commented upon the *Tattvaprakāśikā* of Bhoja without any insight into the discipline and he, in order to undo the wrong, had to undertake a commentary on the same.[29]

Still another line of Śaivists declaring their adherence to the eighteen Dvaitādvaita Tantras arrests our attention. This system is known as Lakulīsa Pāsupata. Abhinavagupta seems to have a soft corner for the system and prefers it to the Śiddhānta, avowedly a dualistic system[30]. But it is difficult to say whether it was a Kashmirian system.

Outside the pale of S'aivism, yet within the Tāntric fold, we have sufficient reason, according to Dr. Schrader, to believe that a

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27. विस्तरेण च प्रज्ञालङ्कारे दर्शितम् आचार्यशङ्करनन्दनेन: *Bhāskarī*, Pt. I, p. 225.

28. Vide *Bhāskarī*, Pt. III, Pandey, Introduction, p. xviii.

29. Vide *Bhāskarī*, Pt. III, p. xviii.

30. *Abhinavagupta*, Pandey, p. 169.

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considerable part of Pāñcarātra Āgamic literature was produced in Kashmir.[31] Utpala Vaiṣṇava, the early 10th century author of the *Spandapradīpikā*, mentions the following *saṁhitās* by name: *Jayākhya*, *Haṁśaparameśvara*, *Vaihāyasa*, *Śrīkālaparā* and *Śrī Śāttvata*[32]. In addition, he gives eight quotations from Pāñcarātra scriptures without naming them. It is to be noted that of all these saṁhitās *Pauṣkara*, *Sāttvata* and *Jaya* have "on the whole been considered, the most authoritative part of the Pāncarātra scripture".[33] *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* was definitely composed in Kashmir in the early eighth century as indicated by the episode of Muktāpīḍa (699–735 A.D.) contained in the 48th chapter. Again, *Lakṣmītantra* ls quoted by Yogarāja[34] (11th century), Abhinavagupta's pupil, and by Maheśvarānanda (13th century),[35] a South Indian author on Kashmir Śaivism. Even the authors in the dualistic line, notably Rāmakaṇṭha II, group the adherents of Pāñcarātra system into two classes e.g., Saṁkarṣaṇa Pāñcarātra[36] and Saṁhitā Pāñcarātra[37]. Kṣemarāja, another student of Abhinavagupta, assigns the Pāñcarātra-concept of the ultimate reality to the realm of Avyakta.[38] The most significant thing in this connection is a work known as *Kāśmīrāgamaprāmaṇya* by Yāmunācārya (11th century) which is now lost but of which we are told in his *Āgamaprāmāṇya*[39]. A man of Yāmuna's eminence would never write a work on Kashmir scriptures unless he found something of interest and intrinsic worth in them. Vedānta Des′ika echoes this very contention.[40] It is an irony of history that after these few celebrated names, the centre of Pāñcarātra activity shifted to the South and the tradition died out in the land of its origin.

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[31] Introduction to Pāñcarātra and the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, F. Otto Schradar, Adyar, 1916, pp. 96–97.

[32] *Spandapradīpikā*, edited by Islampurkar, 1828, pp. 9, 11, 20, 33–34 and 54.

[33] Vide Introduction to Pāñcarātra, p. 21.

[34] *Paramārṭhasāra-vivaraṇa*. K. S. S., p. 164.

[35] *Mahārthamañjarī-parimala*, T.S.S., pp. 67, 182.

[36] अन्तःकरणचैतनिकाः साङ्कर्षणपाञ्चरात्रिकाः ।
Nareśvaraparīkṣā, K.S.S., p. 87.

[37] परिणतिवेदान्तविदः संहितापाञ्चरात्राः । *Ibid*. p. 91.

[38] *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, K. S. S., p. 17.

[39] Vide *Āgamaprāmāṇya*, end.

Another allied system of thought which seems to have evoked considerable interest in Kashmir is that of Bhartṛhari. Though Kashmir has received more from him than it has given to Bhartṛhari, yet the contribution of Kashmir cannot be left unaccounted for. Philosophy of language has remained an integral part of basic structure of every Tāntric system. Language in its most subtle and universal form is implied in the concept of Vimarśa which serves as the very core of Reality. It is the concept of Parā (the ultimate) stage of Supreme Speech evolved in the course of criticism of the grammarian's concept of Paśyantī, the S′abdabrahman that had led post-Somānanda grammarians to conceive Parā as distinct from and transcendental to Paśyantī. Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa*, a commentary on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, apart from its grammatical importance, is full of philosophical observations. In tradition, he is held to be Mammaṭa's brother (11th century). Similarly Helārāja, to whom we owe most of our understanding of Bhartṛhari, belongs to Kashmir and on his own testimony is the son of Bhūtirāja[41] (Bhūtirājatanayahelārājakṛte). Abhinavagupta was the student in dualistic branch (भूतिराजतनयः स्वपितृप्रसादः). On internal evidence he appears to be the brother of Bhaṭṭendurāja, Abhinava's teacher in literature (900–950 A.D.).

Coming close to the scene of the orthodox Indian philosophy, no account is deemed to be complete without a study of the Vedāntic Prasthānatrayī. Of these the *Bhagavadgītā* has enjoyed a unique place in Indian thought through the ages. In this sphere too, Kashmir

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40. यथा चैकायनशाखायाम् अपौरुषेयत्वं तथा काश्मीरागमप्रामाण्य एवं प्रपञ्चितमिति नेह प्रस्तूयते । *Pāñcarātra-rakṣā*, *Vedāntadeśika-granthamālā*, p. 95.

This view is repeated in *Nyāya-pariśuddhi* (same series), p. 168.

41. Vide Author's Thesis on the Krama System, Pt. I. pp. 207-213.

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claims its share of originality. First of all, attention was drawn to the existence of the Kashmir recension of *Gītā* by Dr. Schrader[42] as far back as in 1930. Since then considerable amount of work has been produced on the problem.[43] The Kashmir recension of *Gītā* contains 745 verses as against 700 verses of the popular recension adopted by S'aṅkara etc. The text seems to have been commented upon by a host of Kashmirian scholars headed by Vasugupta who wrote the *Vāsavīṭikā.* He was followed by Ānandavardhana, Rāmakaṇṭha, Abhinavagupta, Lāsaka and others. Of these only two commentaries have come down to us, one by Abhinavagupta under the title *Gītārthasaṁgraha* and the other by Rāmakaṇṭha under the title *Sarvatobhadra.* Abhinavagupta, true to his synthetic ideology, lays equal emphasis on each of the three approaches— Jñāna, Karma and Bhakti as conducive to spiritual enlightenment. To Abhinavagupta the fight between Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas is symbolic of a war that is constantly raging between the lower and upper impulses of our personality.[44] Rāmakaṇṭha, the younger brother of Muktākaṇa, a contemporary of Avantivarman (855–883 A.D.), advocated Jñānạkarma-samuccaya as a way to spiritual realisation in his *Sarvatobhadra.* According to Dr. Chintamani[45], Rāmakaṇṭha adopts the Bhedābheda view in his commentary. Chintamani has raised a doubt as to whether Bhāskara, the known Bhedābhedavādin and a commentator on *Gītā*, is identical with his namesake in Kashmir to whom also is attributed the authorship of a commentary on *Gītā.* This is indeed a very important problem of Indology as well as Indian thought that calls for further investigation by scholars. It is premature to say on the problem, because the Jñānakarma-samuccaya may also be explained in the light of

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[42] Vide *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā Sarvatobhadra*, ed. T. R. Chintamani, Introd. pp. xiv, xxi.

[43] Vide S. K. Belvalkar's two papers in *New Indian Antiquary*, July 1939. pp. 211–51 and *Annals, BORI* Vol. XIX. pp. 335–48.

[44] *Gītārthasaṁgraha* on I. 1., p. 3.

[45] *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* with *Sarvatobhadra*, Introduction, p. xli.

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synthetic thesis of the monistic Śaivism which is ideologically different from identity-in-difference approach.[46]

Kashmir, from early times, has been a meeting ground of a variety of faiths and divergent thought-currents. Kashmir's attachment to Buddhism dates back to the time of Aśoka (273–232 B.C.). Nāgasena (150 B.C.), the author of *Milinda-Paṇho*, is said to be a Kashmiri.[47] Kaniṣka (78–102 A.D.) convened the 2nd Buddhist Council in Kashmir and brought Aśvaghoṣa to act as its Vice-President.[48] Kumāralabdha, one of the four famous luminaries of Buddhism, is believed to be a Kashmiri.[49] Jan Yun-hua in his learned paper[50] draws our attention to the activities of Kashmirian monks in medieval China and evaluates their contribution to Buddhism in the Far East. This tradition begins about the early fourth century and continues upto the 11th century. Kashmirians' contribution, at large, includes translations into Chinese of Buddhist canons and ritualistic texts. They also translated Tāntric texts. Among the early authors, Jan Yun-hua mentions Prajñākūṭa (307–317 A.D.), Sanghabhūti, Puṇyatara (404 A.D.), Dharmamitra (356–442 A.D.) and a host of others. Similarly the Gilgit manuscripts published by the Research Department of the Kashmir Government containing a large number of Buddhist manuscripts found in 1931 in Gilgit, now under Pakistani occupation, were written around the 5th century, according to Nalinaksa Dutt, and belong to a section of Mahāyāna Sanskrit canon.[51] As the tradition has it, Nāgārjuna, a devout Mahāyānist, came to power after receiving Kashmir (Kaniṣka-puram) as a gift from Kaniṣka and propagated his faith. This may possibly explain the prevalence of Mahāyānic literature in these manuscripts which form a solid creative part of Buddhist genius in Kashmir.

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[46] Dr. V. Raghavan has shown that the Bhedābheda Vedāntin Bhāskara was a Karṇāṭaka, WZKSO, XII-XIII, Festschrift fur E. Frauwallner, 1968-69, pp. 282-3.

[47] *Doctrine of Recognition*, R. K. Kaw. V. V. R. I. edn. p. 5; vide also *History of Philosophy: Eastern & Western*, ed. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Pt. I, p. 38.

[48] Vide *Doctrine of Recognition*. p, 5.

[49] *Ibid*.

[50] 'Contribution of Kashmir to the Expansion of Buddhism in Far East', AIOC, Srinagar, 1961, Summaries of Papers, pp. 221–22.

[51] *A Descriptive Analysis*, pp. 45–46.

The Kashmir School of Buddhist logic, according to Stcherbatsky,[52] begins with Dharmottara whose main aim is to unearth the "deep philosophic contents of the system of Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti, regarding it as a critical system of logic and epistemology".[53] He was invited by King Jayāpīḍa (779–813 A.D.), as reported by Kalhaṇa,[54] to Kashmir, which he chose as a centre of his academic pursuits. He wrote detailed commentaries on *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and *Nyāyabindu*, the first being called his 'great comment' and the second his 'small comment'. This may be treated as a possible source of Abhinavagupta's inspiration who also wrote the small and great commentaries. Dharmottara's importance as a first rate logician and philosopher can be gauged from the fact that Abhinavagupta's celebrated *Vimarśinī* and *Bṛhatī Vimarśinī* have been attempted primarily as a critique of Dharmakīrti as interpreted by Dharmottara. He has written some other works also which are preserved in Tibetan translation alone. From Abhinavagupta[55] we learn that Ānandavardhana[56] wrote a commentary called *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkāvivṛti*. This work is now lost to us. Another sub-commentary on the same was written by Jñānaśrī. Its Tibetan translation is preserved in the Tanjur collection. This tradition was continued by Śaṅkarānanda (middle of 11th century). He undertook to write an exhaustive commentary on *Pramāṇavārttika*, but could not complete it. He also wrote other works. All of them are available now in Tibetan translation only. In addition, a passing reference may be made to Ravigupta (725 A.D.), the author of the *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkāvṛtti*.[57] Among others Arcaṭa, author of the *Hetubindu-ṭīkā*; Dānaśīla (988–1038 A.D.) who migrated from Kashmir

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[52] *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. I, Dover edn., p. 41.

[53] *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. I, p. 41.

[54] *Rāj*,, IV. 498.

[55] *Dh. Locana* (Kāvyamālā), p. 233.

[56] *Buddhist Logic*, p. 42.

[57] Vide *Cultural Heritage of Kashmir*, S.C. Banerji, Calcutta, p. 123.

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to Jaggadal monastery of Bengal[58] and wrote *Pustakapāṭhopāya*, Jinamitra (close of 10th century), author of the *Nyāyabindupiṇḍārtha*[59], and Ratnavajra (10th century), author of the *Yuktiprayoga* deserve special mention.

As is evident from the foregoing account, S'aivism and Buddhism have been extensively cultivated in Kashmir, while other systems grew and developed sporadically. Among these our attention is arrested by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, an outstanding scholar of the Nyāya system. He is the author of the famous *Nyāyamañjarī* and a contemporary of King S'aṅkaravarman (883-902 A.D.). This Jayanta was a great-grand son of S'aktisvāmin, minister of King Muktāpīḍa. Jayanta's other work on Nyāya Philosophy is the *Nyāyakalikā*. He has also written a drama called *Āgamaḍambara*[60] or *Ṣaṇmatanāṭaka* on the six orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy. In his *Nyāyasāra*, Bhāsarvajña departs from the tradition inasmuch as he rejects the claims of Upamāna as an independent means of knowledge. His concept of Mokṣa as characterised by eternal happiness and final elimination of pain[61] also does not fall in tune with the traditional viewpoint. This clearly betrays the influence of Kashmir S'aivism on him.

We now come to another phase of Kashmir's cultural heritage. In the context of Indian Philosophy, three approaches are generally noticed for self-realisation-cognitive, moral and emotional (Jñāna, Karma and Bhakti-Mārgas). The cognitive and the moral, both pin their faith in human agency. In the former demands are put on *a priori* intuition as the only way, whereas in the latter, on ideal action. This is the domain of philosophy and ethics. But in emotional approach human agency and cognitive movements are totally resigned to the divine will. This is the realm of devotion i.e., Bhakti. The cognitive approach lays more stress on the transcendent side of reality while the emotive leans towards the immanent side, both following from the very definition of reality. In fact, the Jñāna blooms forth into Bhakti (समावेशपल्लवा एव).[62]

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[58] *Ibid.*

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] Ed. Dr. V. Raghavan and A. Thakur, Darbhanga, 1964.

[61] अनेन सुखेन विशिष्टा आत्यन्तिकी दुःखनिवृत्तिः पुरुषस्य मोक्षः ।

[62] *Bhāskarī*, Pt. II, p. 258.

It is the expression of the Ānanda-aspect according to Gopinath Kaviraj[63], where unity is fundamental and duality is deliberate in order to realise the self-hood.

Like the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti cult in other parts of India, the S'aiva cult of Bhakti in Kashmir flooded the valley since the time of Utpala's *Stotrāvalī*. It was followed by Kalhaṇa's *Ardhanārīśvara Stotra*. During this period the *Karmastotra* attributed to Siddhanātha[64] is worthy of mention. Abhinava has composed a number of devotional poems. *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha and *Bhāvopahāra* of Cakrapāṇi are other hymns of repute. Kṣemarāja and Jayaratha have also composcd quite a few stotras. This cult of total dedication and absolute self-surrender to the divine reaches its culminating point in Lalla De (1335 A. D.). According to Nilla Cram Cook in her book *The Way of the Swan*,[65] a close parallel is discernible between the poet-philosophers of Erfan in Central Asia and the S'aiva writers of Kashmir. The two movements of Śaiva philosophers and Erfan met in Kashmir in the fourteenth century when Lalla De met Shah-I-Hamdan[66] resulting in the fusion of the two streams of thought e.g., S'aivism and Erfanism (i.e. Sufism). Thus Lalla De was acclaimed by all sections of society as the prophet of the new movement[67] preaching social equality of mankind and essential unity of all creeds. This process of fusion, initiated by the Bhakti movement, got a fillip in the hands of King Zain-ul-abidin who displayed tolerance and catholicity. Says Cook: "Had the example of Kashmir been followed (by Akbar), a secular India might have come into being then and there".[68] This cult was continued by Sheikh Noorudin (1438 A.D.),[69] a Hindu saint converted to Islam, who, all through his life, stood by the basic unity and fraternity of humanity. Jaggadhara's (1450 A.D.) *Stutikusumāñjali* is a devotional work of the same time. After him this movement begins to fade out and by the time we reach Sahibakaula's *Devīnāma-vilāsa* (1666 A.D.), we come across only decadent pieces of devotional poetry. This tradition, however, blossomed outside the skirts of Kashmir in the "Confluence of Two oceans" of Dara Shikoh but that too could not survive the religious fanaticism of his brother.

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[63] काश्मीरीय शैवदर्शन, भारतीय संस्कृति और साधना भाग, १ पटना, पृ.७-१०.
[64] Vide author's Thesis on the Krama system, Pt. I, cha. 6.
[65] Vide *Kashmir Bi-annual*, Vol. I, pp. 89-91.
[66] *Doctrine of Recognition*, p. 366.
[67] *Doctrine of Recognition*, p. 365.
[68] Vide *Kashmir Bi-annual*, p. 90.
[69] *Doctrine of Recognition*, p. 366.

Kashmir's contribution to the realm of thought and culture is manifold. From abstract metaphysis we may switch over to the field of applied philosophy. For example, in the field of fine arts Abhinavagupta's contribution is matchless. As Poetics is not presently our concern, we refrain from referring to his theory of aesthetic experience which he evolved after a careful examination of a galaxy of illustrious thinkers preceding him. But his observations on music in the 3rd Āhnika of the *Tantrāloka* and Gānādhyāyas of *Abhinavabhāratī* and those of his teacher Utpala as preserved by him in his *Abhinavabhāratī* and those of Ratnakaṇṭha and Rāmakaṇṭha as contained in the *Ratnatraya* and *Nādakārikā* respectively,[70] are comparable only to those of Bhartṛhari and merit our careful consideration. S'ārṅgadeva (1132-1169 A.D.), the celebrated author of the work on classical music called *Saṅgītaratnākara* hailed from a Kashmirian family. His grand-father, Bhāskara, migrated from Kashmir and settled down at Deogiri. Hence the credit on this account is to be shared between Kashmir and the South equally. Similarly a small text on the science of Architecture named *Prāsādamaṇḍana* by Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana has been brought out by the Research Department of Kashmir Government.[71] It contains an outline sketch of architectural and sculptural aspects of temples and places. Professor Rasiklal C. Parikh tells[72] us on the basis of *Vastupālapraśasti* that the Śāradā temple in Kashmir had influenced the Jain architecture in Gujarat and small temples of Sarasvatī were built along with the bigger temples of Tīrthaṁkaras. These were called 'Kaśmirāvatāra' (कास्मीरावतारश्रीसरस्वतीमूर्तिंदेवकुलिय) and were designed on the architectural pattern of the S'āradā temple in Kashmir.

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[70] Vide *Comparative Aesthetics*, Pt. I, pp. 540, 557-566.

[71] K.[S. S. No. LXVII.

[72] *Proceedings of AIOC*, 21st Session, pp. 112-18.

Coming to the secular sciences we find the celebrated combination of Vāmana and Jayāditya as co-authors of *Kāśikā-vṛtti* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. This Vāmana is said to be identical with the famous poetician who was also a minister of King Jayāpīḍa (779–813 A.D.). Similarly the typically cultural treatises in the form of *Nīlamata Purāṇa* and *Viṣṇudharmottara*, an Upapurāṇa, are in all probability texts of Kashmirian origin and afford us a deep insight into the culture, life, religion of the people and topography of the valley. Buhler refers to two recensions of the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* in his report.[73] In the same tradition we find Kṣemendra's *Lokaprakāśa* which seems to have received finishing touches by several authors as late as the 17th century. This work is indispensable for an understanding of the social, political and commercial conditions of the then Kashmir. While closing, we are reminded of a feeling reference made by Kalhaṇa,[74] the illustrious author of the Royal Chronicle, which even to-day rings true in our memory :

विद्यावेश्मानि तुङ्गानि कुङ्कुमं सहिमं पयः ।
द्राक्षेति यत्र सामान्यमस्ति त्रिदिवदुर्लभम् ॥

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[73] *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss*. p. 38.

[74] *Rāj*. I. 42.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF KERALA TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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Sanskrit, the language of Indian culture down the centuries, has been developed by the various parts of India which vied with one another in cultivating and enriching it. Among the many centres where Sanskrit flourished with unabated enthusiasm Kerala is one of the most important. The contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature is quite significant in volume and value, in variety and continuity, in production and preservation. From about the seventh century A.D. Sanskrit began to permeate the culture of Kerala and in the course of a few centuries the land became saturated with Sanskrit culture. The affluent and leisurely Nambūtiri Brahmins of Kerala were at the top in the spiritual and social hierarchy and could devote their entire time to the cultivation and patronage of literature and arts. The existence of a large number of kingdoms also contributed to the enrichment of Sanskrit literature in the land; many of the kings and chieftains were not only patrons of literature, but were also scholars and poets. The temples also formed powerful centres of cultivation and dissemination of Sanskrit culture. Moreover the peculiar system of primogeniture among the Nambūtiris confirming inheritances to the eldest son of the family, who alone could marry in his own caste, and allowing the younger brothers to enter into marital companionship with the women of the hypergamous matrilinear Kṣatriyas, Nairs etc., was also responsible for the study of Sanskrit to penetrate and permeate the lower strata of society, unlike in other parts of India where it was mainly confined to the Brahmins and Kṣatriyas, The literary patronage of Kerala princes attracted not only scholars and poets from within, but also those from outside, especially from the neighbouring Tamilnadu.

The contribution of Kerala to the systems of Philosophy like Vedānta and Mīmāmsā, the technical subjects like astronomy and medicine, and the esoteric lore of *mantra* and *tantra* is very immense; the part played by the land in preserving manuscripts of ancient classics produced in other parts of India like Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* the plays of Bhāsa, Abhinavagupta's monumental commentary on the *Nāṭya Śāstra* is also important. In this paper I shall confine

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myself to the contribution of Kerala to pure Sanskrit literature, which itself is outstanding in volume, variety and intrinsic merit.[1]

The stotra literature is perhaps the most outstanding, continuous and interesting among the Kerala contribution. The earliest work available is the *Mukundamālā* of King Kulaśekhara, probably identical with the famous Tamil Ālvār. The name of Śaṅkara alone is sufficient to make the contribution conspicuous, several stotras are attributed to this great exponent of Advaita philosophy. Among other prominent stotra-writers are the devotional mystic Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala, author of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*, and Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the scholar-poet whose *Nārāyaṇīya* epitomising the *Bhāgavata* in about a thousand verses is perhaps the most popular stotra in the !and.

Kerala has produced several *Mahākāvyas* of various types. Firsly are those following the model of Kālidāsa which are the most popular; the *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* by Sukumāra is usually included in the general study: and is taught prior to the works of Kālidāsa ; *Kṛṣṇavijaya* by Śaṅkara composed under the patronage of King Kerala Varma of Kolattunāḍu, the *Bharatacarita* by Kṛṣṇa, the *Uttararāmacarita* probably by Vāsudeva of Malamangalam, the *Rāghavīya* and *Viṣṇuvilāsa* by *Rāmapāṇivāḍa*, *Uttaranaiṣadha* of Mādhava of Arur family and the *Rāmacarita* by Godavarma Raja of Cranganore are the outstanding works of this type. The historical Mahākāvya, *Mūṣakavamśa*, by Atula of the twelfth century deals with lengendary and historical events in the northern part of Kerala ; this interesting work is yet to be published. The *Śivavilāsa* by Dāmodara Cākyār is a semi-historical kāvya in eight cantos composed in the fourteenth century under the patronage of King Keralavarman of Kāyankulam.

Another type of Mahākāvyas is the Śāstraic poems on the model of *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. Of these the *Subhadrāharaṇa* by Nārāyaṇa of Kulallur, is earlier than the sixteenth century, and in twenty cantos, it illustrates the grammatical rules of Pāṇini. The *Vāsudevavijaya* of Vāsudeva of Perumanam, and the *Dhātukāvya* by Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa are other interesting works of this type.

Yamaka poems form an important part of Kerala Sanskrit literature. Vāsudeva, patronized by King Kulaśekhara of Mahodayapura of the tenth century, has to his credit three important Yamaka poems. The *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* in eight cantos on the story of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Tripuradahana* in three cantos where the Yamaka is maintained throughout without repeating the morphological elements anywhere, and the *Śaurikathodaya* on the story of Kṛṣṇa based on the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *Harivamśa*. A member of the Payyūr family, also called Vāsudeva, has written four short Yamaka works, which remain obtrusive since there is no commentary. Other Yamaka works are the *Sītāharaṇa* by one Nārāyaṇa and *Gaurīkalyāṇa* by Govindanātha.

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[1] For a detailed account of this, see my Thesis 'The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit,' University of Madras, 1958.

There are many simple and lucid poems, mostly on Purāṇic themes, intended for beginners. The *Rāmodanta* is the most popular among these. *Govindacarita*, *Saṅkeṣpabhārata*, *Saṅkṣeparāmāyaṇa* and *Kalyāṇanaiṣadha* were written by one Vāsudeva of Puramana, who is probably identical with the author of the *Vāsudevavijaya*.

Among minor works the *Sandeśa-kāvyas* written on the model of Kālidāsa's *Meghasandeśa* occupy a high place. They are important not only from the literary point of view, but also because of the large amount of information, geographical, historical, cultural and religious, about mediaeval Kerala which they give while describing the route for the messenger. The *Śukasandeśa* by Lakṣmīdāsa is the earliest and belongs to the fourteenth century; it is an ornate poem written in chaste and dignified style, and the existence of seven commentaries on it indicates its popularity. The *Kokilasandeśa* by Uddaṇḍa S'āstrin, the *Mayūrasandeśa* by Udaya Rāja, author of the commentary *Kaumudī* on Abhinavagupta's *Locana*, the *Subhagasandeśa* by Nārāyaṇa, *Bhramarasandeśa* by Vāsudeva, *Kāmasandeśa* by Viṣṇutrāta, *Nīlakaṇṭhasandeśa* by Śrīdharan Nampi and many other anonymous works are available.

Love lyrics like the *Svātīpraśamsā*, probably by Uddaṇḍa Śāstrin, *Āśleṣā-śataka* by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, *Rāsakrīḍā* by Nārāyaṇa of Mahiṣamangalam, and various popular stray verses attributed to different poets deserve special mention.

Campū and prose literature are represented by the *Pūrvabhārata campu* by prince Mānaveda of Calicut, the *Cāṇakyakathā* by Ravi Cākyār and the various *Prabandhas* on Purāṇic and Itihāsa themes by Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and others. Of these the

Niranunāsikacampū describing Śūrpaṇakhā's lamentation before Rāvaṇa eschews completely all nasal sounds. The *Prabandhas* on Purāṇic stories are used by the Cākyārs, or the professional actors of Kerala, for religious discourses in the temples.

In the field of Sanskrit drama Kerala has not only produced works of high quality like Śaktibhadra's *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*, and the *Subhadrādhanañjaya* and *Tapatīsamvaraṇa* by the royal dramatist Kulaśekharavarman of Mahodayapuram; she has also preserved as a temple art ancient Sanskrit theatre as a living institution, while it has ceased to exist in other parts of the country. Thus Bhāsa-plays were preserved in Kerala. The art of staging Sanskrit plays is called *Kūḍiyāṭṭam;* the professional actors are called Cākyārs; this is preserved as a temple art. There are several *kriyākrama*-texts giving detailed stage-directions for the acting. Not only Kerala plays, but also other works like the *Nāgānanda* of King Harṣa and the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* are staged. The *Bhagavad-ajjukaprahasana* has a detailed Sanskrit commentary by Nārāyaṇa intended to help the Cākyārs.

Among other important Sanskrit dramas of Kerala may be mentioned the *Pradyumnābhyudaya* by King Ravi Varma of the 13th cen., *Mallikāmāruta* Prakaraṇa by Uddaṇḍa Sāstrin and *Vasumatī-mānavikramīya* by Kakkasseri Dāmodara bhaṭṭa, *Kamalinīrājahamsa* by Pūrṇasarasvatī, and *Sītārāghava* by Rāmapāṇivāda. Other dramas, of a mediocre type are the *Ratnaketūdaya* and the *Rāma-varmavilāsa* by Bālakavi, patronised by a King Rāmavarman of Cochin; *Candrikākalāpīḍa* by Prince Rāmavarman of Kolattunāḍ, *Pūrṇapuruṣārthacandrodaya* by Jātavedas, and *Subālāvajratuṇḍa* by Prince Śrīrāma, where Vajratuṇḍa, a rat, is the hero. Another interesting work is the *Kṛṣṇagīti* by Prince Mānaveda of Calicut, written on the model of the *Gītagovinda*, but used as the basic text for the *Kṛṣṇanāṭṭam* dance-drama, started by the prince; this is still popular, and was the precursor to the popular *Kathakali* of Kerala.

Special mention must be made of the Bhāṇas, since Kerala has produced about a dozen Bhāṇas including the *Viṭanidrā*[1], the earliest South Indian Bhāṇa, and the *Mahiṣamangala* Bhāṇa, on of the best from the literary point of view. The *Rasasadana* by prince Godavarman of Cranganore is also quite important. It may be noted that the four ancient Bhāṇas, known as *Caturbhāṇī* were also preserved in manuscript form in Kerala.

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[1] See my detailed account of this in *Samskrita Ranga Annual* VI, Madras, 1972, pp. 153-167.

In the field of literary criticism Kerala has produced three sub-commentaries on Abhinavagupta's *Locana* on the *Dhvanyāloka*, the *Līlātilaka* on Malayalam *maṇipravāla* language and literature, the *Godavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa* by Aruṇagirinātha, and the *Bālarāma-bharata* on dancing. Many of the commentators on classical works were literary critics of a very high order. Aruṇagirinātha and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, commentators on the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kumārasambhava*; Pūrṇasarasvatī, commentator the *Mālatīmādhava* and the *Meghasendeśa*, Rāghavānanda who commented on the *Bhāgavata*, and Citrabhānu, author of the *Trisargī* commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya* are some of them. The *Vyaṅgyavyākhyās* on Kulaśekhara's plays, the anonymous *Carcā* on the *Śākuntala* and the *Naṭāṅkuśa* criticising the Cākyārs for their innovations while staging Sanskrit plays deserve special attention.

Sanskrit is still popular in Kerala. Malayalam translations are available for most of the classical works. There are more than a dozen translations of the *Śākuntala*. The Stotra literature in Sanskrit is still alive, and the stotras by poets like Ottur Unni Nambutirippad and P. C. Vasudevan Elayath are quite popular among the devotees.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF KERALA TO SANSKRIT-ŚĀSTRAS

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Kerala, the West coast strip on the Southern end of India, is well known as the repository of mss. of some of the most rare and valuable Sanskrit works like the plays of Bhāsa, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya, *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka and the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja. It has also made substantial contribution to Sanskrit literature, both Sāhitya and Śāstra. An account of the contribution to general literature like poetry and drama is already available[1]. Here an attempt is made to give a brief account of the contribution of Kerala to Śāstra literature.

Vedic

Reference to Kerala's contribution to Vedic exegesis is found at least from the 7th century A. D. In the *Avantisundarī-kathā* of Daṇḍin, there is mention of Bhavatrāta, a commentator on Kalpasūtras, and of his son Mātṛdatta, a learned interpreter of Vedic lore and Daṇḍin's own friend, both of them belonging to Kerala[2]. This Mātṛdatta, seems to be identical with Mātṛdatta, commentator on the *Gṛhyasūtra* and, *Śrautasūtra* of the Satyāṣāḍha or Hiraṇyakeśī school of the Black Yajurveda[3]. Bhavatrāta, son of Mātṛdatta, is the author of com-

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1. K. Kunjunni Raja, *The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1958.
2. Vide *Avantisundarī* of Daṇḍin, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 172, 1954, pp. 13-14.
3. Vide S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, 'Mātṛdatta, a friend of Daṇḍin', *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XIX, pp. 161-62. The *Śrautasūtravyākhyā* for chapters 19 and 20 is published in the Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, Poona (No. 53. Part 8), 1920. Manuscript of the *Gṛhyasūtravākhyā* is available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Extracts are published in J. Kirste's edition of the work (Vienna, 1889).

mentaries on *Jaiminīyagṛhyasūtra*[4] and *Kauṣītakīgṛhyasūtrā*[5]. Although the latter work pertained to a *śākhā* different from the author's which he states to be (*Jaiminīya*) *Sāma*, he could write it because he was well versed in all the Vedas (*Caturvedavid*). Bhavatrāta's method of exposition reminds one of the early Bhāṣyakāras of the period of Śaṅkara[6]. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya is the author of the learned commentaries *Vedārthadīpikā* on *Sarvānukramaṇī*[7], *Sukhapradā* on *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa*[8], *Mokṣapradā* on *Aitareyāraṇyakā*[9] and *Abhyudayapradā* on *Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra*[10]. His real name is not known but he is called 'Ṣaḍguruśiṣya' because he speaks of himself as the disciple of six teachers, Vināyaka, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Vyāsa and Śivayogī, the last of whom was perhaps his human perceptor. The occurrence of many Malayalam expressions in the commentaries[11] and the reference in them to readings of northerners indicate him to be a native of Kerala and a chronogram in the *Vedārthadīpikā* enables us to assign him to the 12th century[12]. A commentary called *Dīpaprabhā* on S'aunaka's *Sarvānukramaṇī* was written by Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri of Akkittam (*Āhitāgni*) family at Vennanāḍu in Perumpally near Trippunithura. This author was the son of Deva and Āryā and can be placed in the 16th century[13]. Udaya of Muku-

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4. Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library, L. 321; Madras, R. 5507.
5. Edited by T. R. Chintamani, Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 15, 1944.
6. *Ibid*., Introduction, p. lxx.
7. Extracts given by Macdonell in his edition of *Sarvānukramaṇī*, Oxford, 1886.
8. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Nos. 149, 167, 176.
9. *Ibid*,, No. 221.
10. Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.
11. *Saṁhitā śaṅkitā gṛhyam kirihyam dakṣiṇā tathā |*
takaṇā tavaṇā mūlam mutal munpum punastu pin ||
Aitareyāraṇyaka, TSS. 167, p. 265.
Here *śaṅkitā, kirihyaṁ, tavaṇā, mutal, munpu, pin* are all Malayalam words.
12. *Khagotyānmeṣumāyā* - 1565132 kali days (1178 A. D.)
13. Vide Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, *Keralasāhityacaritram*, Vol. II, Trivandrum, 1962, pp. 404, 408.

ndamaṅgalam illam at Brahmakkulam, son of Nārāyaṇayajvan, is the author of *Sukhadā*, a commentary on *Kauṣītakabrāhmaṇa*[13a].

Nīlakaṇṭha Yogiyār of Taikkāṭu illam, one of the six most prominent Vaidika families in Kerala, is the author of a *Śrautaprāyaścittasaṅgraha* dealing with the expiatory ceremonies in connection with Śrauta rituals.[14] He belonged to the 16th century. The versatile scholar and the celebrated Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (1650–1666) has written a *Kriyākrama* in verse on the order of the rituals in each gṛhya ceremony of Āśvalāyana school.[15] He has also written a curious *śāstrakāvya* called *Sūktaśloka* which, while forming a Devīstuti, gives the statistical details relating to the *aṣṭaka-adhyāya-varga* classification of the *Ṛgveda* applying the *kaṭapayādi* mnemonics.[16] Vidvān Goda Varma Eḷaya Tampurān of Koṭuṅṅallūr (1800–1851), also known as Yuvarāja Kavi, is the author of *Garuḍacayanapramāṇa*.[17]

It may be noted that there are certain peculiarities in the recitation of Vedas by the Nampūtiri Brahmins of Kerala. Their accentuation is one more of stress than of pitch and they pronounce certain sounds in a particular manner, as for instance '*t*' in final positions and as initial member in a conjunct consonant as '*l*'; the visarga as a velar spirant and voiceless plosives as voiced.[18]

Dharmaśāstra

In Dharmaśāstra the most important work is the *Laghudharmaprakāśikā*, also known as *Śaṅkarasmṛti*, wrongly attributed to the great philosoper Śaṅkara but actually belonging to the 12th century or a little later. This work describes itself as based on *Bhārgava-*

[13a] Edited by E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma, Tirupati.

[14] Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library (Palace collection).

[15] *Ibid.*, Ms. 5611.

[16] Edited by C. Kunhan Raja in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. VIII; see also S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, 'The Śāstrakāvyas of Kerala', *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, 1971, p. 33.

[17] Ullur, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, 1964, p. 37.

[18] For details see J. F. Staal, *Nambūdiri Veda Recitation* The Hague, 1961.

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smṛti attributed to Paraśurāma, a work which is yet to be discovered. The importance of this work lies in its giving, amidst other things, the observances believed to be peculiar to the Nampūtiri brahmins of Kerala including the so-called sixty-four *anācāras*, among which are strange practices like the restriction of endogamous marriage to the eldest son, cremation of the dead body in the family-premises, purdah for women and the constant escort for them by Śūdra women, avoidance of nose-ornament, bath after sunrise etc.[19]

The *Vyavahāramālā*, [20] a work in 19 sections based on the Smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya and others, was the basic manual in Kerala for civil and criminal law till the advent of the British. There is no mention of the author in the work itself, but based on the statement in some manuscripts that the work is by 'Mahiṣamaṅgalam', some scholars take him to be Nārāyaṇa Nampūtiri of Mahiṣamaṅgalam family,[21] who lived in the 16th century and was a distinguished poet and an authority on Śrauta and Smārta rites.

Many works are available relating to expiations in connection with ācāra and smārta ceremonies. Among these *Smārtaprāyaścittavimarśinī* of Nārāyaṇa of Mahiṣamaṅgalam, an exhaustive work in five paricchedas, is the most authoritative. There is a commentary on this by Mahāmahopādhyāya Goda Varma Bhaṭṭan Tampurān (1896–1934) of Koṭuṅṅūr. The other important works are *Smārtaprāyaścitta* by Taikkāṭu Nīlakaṇṭha Yogiyār,[22] a work of the same name by Putumana Comātiri (Nūtanageha Somayājin) assigned by some to the 15th century,[23] but actually perhaps belonging to the 17th century,[24] and dealing with the prāyaścittas of the Ṛgvedins, and *Smārtavaitānikaprāyaścitta* of Māndhātā of uncertain date but belonging to Cerumukku, one of the most important Vaidika families of Kerala, and dealing with the expiatory rites in the performance of sacrifices.[25]

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[19] See S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, 'The Anācāras of Kerala', *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, Vol. XLVII, 1969, p. 581.

[20] Published as No. 9 in the Trivandrum Malayalam Series (in Malayalam character) by Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, Trivandrum, 1926,

[21] Ullur, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 300.

[22] For a brief account of this work, see Vatakkumkur Rajaraja Varma, *Keralīyasamskṛtasāhityacaritram*, Vol. II, Trichur, pp. 671–678.

[23] Ullur, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 107.

There are several works on *āśauca* or pollution. One is the *Āśaucāṣṭaka* attributed to a Vararuci[26] and another, *Aghavivecana*, an anonymous work.[27] But the most important is the *Āśaucadīpikā*[28] of Parameśvara of Mahiṣamaṅgalam composed in 1579,[29] and dealing in 167 verses with pollution arising from birth and death and also stating the differences in the observances between the people in the north of Trichur and those in the south. The work is popularly known as '*Malamaṅgalam āśaucam*',

There are several commentaries on this work and among them is the one by Vidvān Goda Varma Iḷaya Tampurān, who has also an independent work on the subject called *Āśaucacintāmaṇi*.[30] There is also a metrical summary of this work by Parameśvara Śivadvija of Vaikom, better known as Vaikkattu Pāccu Mūttatu, called *Sukhabodhaka*.[31]

Among other works may be mentioned the *Praiṣārthavivṛti* called *Dīpaprabhā* by Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri of Akkittam, an elaborate metrical exposition of different instructions to Brahmacārins,

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[24] See S. K. Nayar's edition of *Karaṇapaddhati*, Madras 1956, Introduction, pp. xxvi–xxx.

[25] Ullur, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 319. Ms. in Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

[26] Edited by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 37.

[27] Ms. in Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] The chronogram giving the date of completion is *Jālāṅgadhanasevyanut* which works out to this date.

[30] Published with the commentary of Taraṇanallūr Govinda Bhaṭṭatiri, Trivandrum.

[31] Published along with a Malayalam commentary of the author in Trivandrum, 1882.

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and *Dattakamīmāṁsā* on adoption by Goda Varma Bhaṭṭan Tampurān.[32]

Darśana

In darśana the main contribution is to Pūrvamīmāṁsā. Vedānta comes next. Tarka finds a place only in recent times. There is little noteworthy contribution to the other systems.

Mīmāṁsā

Prabhākara, the originator of the school of Mīmāṁsā that goes by his name, is according to tradition prevalent in Kerala, a son of this region. The name of his family is given as Kuttullimana in Malabar and a pair of slippers believed to be his, is worshipped in Kumbalam Sabhāmaṭham. But this nativity has not been accepted by all. Further contribution to this school, so far as our present knowledge goes, is also confined to two works, the *Prameyapārāyaṇa*, also called *Tarkārṇava*, of Dāmodara, which still remains unpublished,[33] and which can be taken as written some time between the 10th and 14th centuries,[34] and the anonymous tract of uncertain date, the *Gurusammatapadārtha*, both dealing with *padārthas*.[35]

But the case of the Bhāṭṭa school is different. It was introduced in Kerala by an early king belonging to the Koṭṭayam royal family in North Malabar and its study was pursued and valuable contributions made particularly by six generations of scholars in the famous family of Payyūr Bhaṭṭas (1300–1500). Among them Parameśvara I is the author of *Nyāyasamuccaya* and of the commentaries *Juṣadhvamkaraṇī* and *Svaditamkaraṇī* on the *Nyāyakaṇikā* of Vācaspatimiśra, but the last work alone has come down to us.[36]

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[32] Ullur, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, 1957, p. 951.

[33] Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

[34] Vide V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, 'Tarkārṇava (Prameyapārāyaṇa) of Dāmodara, a rare work on Prābhākaramīmāṁsā', All India Oriental Conference, Session XVI, *Summaries of Papers*, pp. 217–219.

[35] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 171.

[36] Ms., Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

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Parameśvara II wrote the commentary *Tattvavibhāvanā* on Vācaspati's *Tattvabindu,*[37] and a commentary[38] on the *Nītitattvāvirbhāva* of Cidānanda,[39] who too is presumed to be a Keraliya[40] and who belonged to the 13th century. Parameśvara III is the author of *Jaiminīyasūtrārthasaṅgraha,*[41] a detailed and valuable commentary in a mixture of prose and verse, on the *Mīmāṁsāsūtras*. This work shows some significant variants in the readings of the sūtras, which warrant the belief that Kerala possibly had its own distinctive readings.[42] The *Kaumārilayuktimālā* by a Vāsudeva of this family briefly gives the principles of the Bhāṭṭa system in verses which incorporate in them the *jyotiṣavākyas* of Vararuci.

The *Nītitattvāvirbhāva* mentioned above is a unique work discussing as many as 44 nyāyas or fundamental principles of Mīmāmsā. But the most popular and authoritative manual is the *Mānameyodaya*, the *pramāṇa*-part of which was written by Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and the *prameya*-part on the same lines by his younger contemporary Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita,[43] who has an independent work also by name *Kaumārilamatopanyāsa*.[44] Among modern works, the *Mīmāmsāśāstrasāra* by Mahāmahopādhyāya N. S. Anantakrishna Sastri[45] deserves mention. It is an original exposition of the śāstra.

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[37] Edited by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Annamalai University Sanskrit Series No. 3, 1936.

[38] Ms., Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

[39] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 168.

[40] V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Introduction to Tattvabindu, p. 26.

[41] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 156, 1961, edited by P. K. Narayana Pillai with an Introduction.

[42] These are collected and given with an indication of the significance of each, by P. K. Narayana Pillai in the Introduction to his edition.

[43] Edited by T. Ganapati Sastri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 19, 1912; also by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and C. Kunhan Raja, Adyar Library, Madras, 1933.

[44] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. No. 171, along with *Gurusammatapadārtha*.

[45] Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1931.

Vedānta

Strangely in the land of S'aṅkara, the greatest exponent of Advaita, apart from his own works-the most outstanding among them being his commentaries on the *Brahmasūtra*, the *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagavad Gitā*—works on this darśana are not many. The people in general seem to have preferred ritualism to meditation.

Among the four great direct disciples of Śaṅkara, Padmapāda is believed to have belonged to the Nampūtiri house of Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr.[46] He is the author of the commentary *Pañcapādikā* on the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, but only the portion for the first four sūtras is available. Sarvajñātman, who is now generally accepted to be a Keralīya on sufficient evidence, was probably a Puṣpāñjali svāmiyār attached to the S'rīpadmanābhasvāmi temple in Trivandrum, and lived in the 10th century.[47] He was a disciple of Deveśvara and is the author of *Śaṅkṣepaśārīraka* which is a summary of Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* with some original ideas[48], *Pañcaprakriyā*[49] on evolution and *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa*[50] on epistemology. Durgāprasādayati of the 14th century is the author of *Advaitaprakāśa*, which deals with the essentials of Advaita Vedānta.[51]

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[46] The *Padmapādācāryacarita* (Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library) gives the details of his family and life.

[47] T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II, pp. 143-44 ; T. R. Chintamani, Introduction to his edition of *Pañcaprakriyā*.

[48] See S. N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, London, 1961, pp. 111-116. There are commentaries on *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka* by Nṛsimhāśrama, Rāmatīrtha, Puruṣottama, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and others. There are also many editions of the work, as for instance, in Kasi Sanskrit Series No. 2, Benares, with the commentary of Rāmatīrtha and in the Sarasvatibhavana Texts No. 69, Benares, with the commentary of Nṛsīmhāśrama.

[49] Edited with the commentaries of Ānandajñāna and Pūrṇavidya by T. R. Chintamani, Madras University, 1946.

[50] Ms., in the Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

[51] Ullur, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 157-158.

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In the present century there have been some noteworthy contributions. Nīlakaṇṭha Tīrthapāda has written a number of small works on Advaita like *Kaivalyakandalī*, *Citsudhāryāśataka*, *Praśnottaramañjarī*[52] etc. Nārāyaṇagurusvāmi, the well-known saint and social reformer, is the author of *Darśanamālā*[53], a small work in ten sections, giving the chief tenets of Advaita briefly. The *Vedāntaparibhāṣāsaṅgraha*[54] of Rāma Varma Maharaja of Cochin, epitomises the well-known work of Dharmarājādhvarin. Substantial contribution to the exposition of Advaita Vedānta has been made by Mahāmahopādhyāya N. S. Anantakrishna Sastri. His *Śatabhūṣaṇī*[55] meets the arguments raised against Advaita by the celebrated Viśiṣṭādvaita writer Vedānta Deśika. His *Śārīrakanyāyasaṅgrahadīpikā* is a commentary on the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* of S'aṅkara from the point of view of the Vivaraṇa school, and the *Śārīrakamīmāṁsābhāṣyapradīpa*, another, from the point of view of the Bhāmatī school. The *Praśnottarasāhasrī* contains one thousand questions and answers relating to Advaita.[56]

Tarka

The study of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika does not seem to have been very popular in Kerala until the latter part of the last century. Only in the present century do we find works written on this. Goda Varma Bhaṭṭan Tampurān has written the *Siddhāntamālā*.[57] a summary of Gadādhara's *Vyutpattivāda* and a commentary on his *Prāmāṇyavāda*[58]. Rāma Varma Parīkṣit Maharaja is the author of *Subodhinī*[59],

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52. These are published in small collections.
53. Included in the collected works of Śrī Nārāyaṇaguru, Sivagiri Mutt, Varkala.
54. Edited by N. S. Anantakrishna Sastri, Cochin Sanskrit Series, No. 1, Trippunithura, 1937.
55. B. G. Paul & Sons, Madras, 1956.
56. These works of Anantakrishna Sastri are included in his edition of *Brahmasūtraśaṅkarabhāṣya* with five commentaries in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. 1, Part III, 1941.
57. Edited by Attoor Krishna Pisharoti, Mangalodyam, Trichur.
58. Ullur, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 951.
59. Published from Trippunithura, 1956.

an elucidatory commentary on select portions from *Bhāṣāparicccheda*, *Muktāvalī*, *Dinakarī* and *Rāmarudrī*. S'āstṛ S'arman, also known as Māntiṭṭa Kuñcu Nampūtiri, is the author of *Nacaratnamālā* on the second vyāptilakṣaṇa of Pragalbhamis'ra. He has also written a commentary on it called *Nūtanāloka*.[60] The work derives its name from the numerous statements in it beginning with *naca*. Vidvān Goda Varma Eḷaya Tampurān has written an interesting śāstrakāvya, *Hetvābhāsadaśaka*,[61] illustrating the hetvābhāsas in ten ślokas which are invocations of Lord Rāma.

Saṅgrahas

There are some works which give in a nutshell all the systems of Indian Philosophy. Among these the *Sarvamatasiddhāntasaṅgraha* of Rāghavānanda is the foremost.[62] It deals with the various pramāṇas and then the systems starting with Cārvāka and ending with Paurāṇika, which is considered a branch of Uttaramīmāṁsā system taking bhakti as the means for the purification of the mind. Rāghavānanda is identified with the saint Kokkunattu S'ivayogi who became a sannyāsi in 1314.[63] It may also be incidentally noted that Rāghavānanda is the author of a remarkable commentary called *Kṛṣṇapadī* on *Śrīmadbhāgavata*[64] from the

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60. The text and commentary together with another commentary *Ālokaprakāśa* by the author's disciples published in the Sarasvatībhavanagranthamālā, Vol. 93, Varanasi, 1965.

61. Published by V. Varadachari in the *Acharya Dhruva Smāraka Grantha*, Part III, Ahmedabad, 1946.

62. This has been published by T. Ganapati Sastri as an anonymous work with the name *Sarvamatasaṅgraha* in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 62, 1918. But a palm-leaf manuscript (No. 1779 D of the Curator's collection, Trivandrum) contains a verse which clearly states that the work is by Rāghavānanda and its name is *Siddhāntasaṅgraha*. The scribe of this particular manuscript states himself to be a great grand-disciple of the author.

63. The chronogram is *puṇyāṭavyām yatiḥ syāt*.

64. Published in Rama Varma Granthavali, No. 2. Cochin, 1964.

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Advaitic point of view. *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha* by Śaṅkarārya, brother of another Śaṅkarārya,[65] and *Sarvamatasiddhāntasāra* by Melputtūr Mātṛdatta Bhaṭṭa[66] of the 16th century are other important works.

Tantra

In the field of Tantra, Kerala has made very significant contribution to temple-architecture, sculpture and ritual.[67] The *Prayogamañjarī* of Ravi, son of Aṣṭamūrti, in 21 sections, and *Kriyāsāra* of anonymous authorship, in 69 sections, are two basic texts on consecration and ritualistic worship of deities, among whom are, besides the well-known ones like Viṣṇu, Śiva and Durgā, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Hariharaputra, Paraśurāma, Vaiśravaṇa and Rurujit. Both these are earlier than the 12th century.[68] The *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* is a vast and comprehensive work dealing with all aspects of Tantra in four sections named Sāmānyapāda, Mantrapāda, Kriyāpāda and Yogapāda.[69] It also incidentally deals with the cure of ailments by means of mantras. The *Śilparatna*[70] of Śrīkumāra of the 16th century is an important work on temple-architecture and iconography. It contains also descriptions of certain uncommon forms of some deities. But by far the most popular manuals on the subject are the *Tantrasamuccaya* of Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri and its supplement, the *Śeṣasamucaya* by a disciple of his composed in the

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[65] Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library. This work is different from the one of the same name attributed to the great Śaṅkarācārya.

[66] Vide S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, 'Melputtūr Mātṛdatta Bhaṭṭa', *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol XXVIII, 1967, p. 67.

[67] For a brief account of the specialities in this regard, see S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, 'The Essentials of Tantra in Kerala', *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. VI. Hoshiarpur, 1969, pp. 88-92.

[68] Vide Ullur, *op. cit.*. Vol. I, pp. 171-73. Mss. available in Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

[69] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series Nos. 69, 72 77, 83.

[70] *Ibid.*, Nos. 75, 98.

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5th century. The *Tantrasumuccaya*[71] is a compendium based on several treatises, and in twelve sections it gives the details relating to the construction of temples, consecration of the deities, routine worship, special ritual, expiation, renovation etc., with regard to the deities Viṣṇu, S'iva, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Durgā, Skanda, Gaṇapati and Śāstā. The *Śeṣasamuccaya*[72] in ten sections deals with the same for other deities like Brahmā, Sūrya, Vaiśravaṇa, Sarasvatī etc. The *Dhyānapaddhati* of Rāghavānanda and the *Kramadīpikā* of Kṛṣṇalilāśuka of the 14th century are devoted to Viṣṇu-worship, the latter in his form as Kṛṣṇa.[73] Toḷānūr Nārāyaṇa is the author of *Anuṣṭhānasamuccaya*, a work on the model of *Tantrasamuccaya*, and *Tantraprāyaścitta* on expiation. He was a disciple of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and hence may be assigned to the 17th century.[74]

Among other works mention may be made of *Anuṣṭhānapaddhati* of Parameśvara, *Tāntrikakriyā* of Kṛṣṇapāṣāṇavipra, *Kriyāsaṅgraha* of Gartāraṇya Śaṅkara and *Kriyāleśasmṛti* of Nīlakaṇṭha. There are also several other works on particular topics iike *Pratiṣṭhā*, *Jīrṇoddhāra*, *Bimbalakṣaṇa*, *Balikalpa* etc.[75]

Āyurveda

Kerala has preserved some of the specialities in Āyurvedic treatment like some forms of *svedana* and *dhārā* and many rare texts. Among its contribution to literature on the subject, the most important are in the form of commentaries on Vāhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*. The anonymous *Pāṭhya* is the oldest in this category and is the basis for many later commentaries. *Vākyapradipikā* by Parameśvaran Nampūtiri of Ālattūr, of uncertain date, is another. *Kairali*

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[71] Published with the commentary *Vimarśinī* in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series Nos. 67, 71 ; with the commentary *Vivaraṇa* in addition in Nos. 15I, I69, 200.

[72] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 166 (1951)

[73] Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

[74] See S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, 'Anuṣṭhānasamuccaya of Nārāyaṇa', *Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Vol. V, 1949.

[75] Mss. in Oriental Mss. Libraries at Trivandrum and Madras.

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by Plāntol Mūssatu is on the Uttarasthāna of the work and contains Malayalam equivalents of many terms and variant readings. *Lalitā* by Śaṅkaraṇ Mūssatu of Vayaskara is also important.[76] The *Tantrasārasaṅgraha*, popularly known as *Viṣanārāyaṇīya*, is mainly a work on toxicology and gives prescriptions for cure by māntric means.[77] The author belonged to S'ivapura and lived in the 16th century. Vaikkattu Pāccu Mūttatu (1813-1887) who was the court-physician of Āyilyam Tirunāl Maharaja of Travancore, has written the *Hṛdayapriya* in four parts comprising 60 chapters dealing with all aspects of Āyurveda, and it is a popular work[78] He has also written another work based on this called *Sukhasādhaka* in 12 sections[79]. The *Yogasārasaṅgraha* of Vāsudeva, of uncertain date, deals with medicinal preparations in nine sections.

Among modern authors, the most outstanding is Vaidyaratna P. S. Variyar (1869-1944), the founder of the Āryavaidyaśālā at Kottakkal. He has written the *Aṣṭāṅgaśārīraka*, a compendium based on *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* and other works, and has supplied a *ṭippaṇī* named *Gūḍhārthabodhinī*. His *Bṛhaccāriraka* is on anatomy and physiology in 21 chapters. Both these works carry diagrams and pictures and also take into account modern medical knowledge[80]. The *Aṇugrahamīmāṁsā* by Vaṭakkeppāṭu Nārāyaṇan Nayar (1878-1959) is a scientific work in six sections on bacteriology from the point of view of Āyurveda[81]. The origin of disease-germs and spread of infectious diseases are dealt with and it is also established that what is now known with the aid of powerful instruments was known to our ancient authorities without such aids.

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[76] Brief accounts of these commentaries are given in the *Keralīyasamskṛtasāhityacaritra* by Vatakkumkur Rajaraja Varma, Vol. I, Trivandrum, 1964, pp. 465-468. *Kairali* is published by Vaidyasarathi, Kottayam, 1938.

[77] Edited by Doraiswami Ayyangar, Madras Government Oriental Series, No. 15, 1950.

[78] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 111, 1931.

[79] Published with a Malayalam commentary by C.K.V. Sarma, Trichur.

[80] Published at Kottakkal.

[81] Published at Calicut in 1938.

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Jyotiṣa

Kerala has made substantial contribution to both astronomy and astrology. Although it is difficult to maintain the claims that Āryabhaṭa and Bhāskara I belonged to Kerala, Vararuci, the author of the *Candravākyas*[82] like *gīrnaḥ śreyaḥ* which give, in the system of notation known as *kaṭapayādi*, the positions of the moon each day for a lunar year, is taken by all to have belonged to Kerala and is assigned to the 4th century. So too the author Haridatta (7th century) who introduced the Parahita system of calculation through the basic work *Grahacāranibandhana*,[83] and the correction in calculation called *śakābdāsaṁskāra*. Parameśvaran Nampūtiri of Vaṭaśśeri illam (15th century) through his *Dṛggaṇita*[84] brought about another important correction.[85] This Parameśvara is also the author of several other important works like *Goladīpikā*, *Grahaṇamaṇḍana*, *Jātakapaddhati* and commentaries on *Sūryasiddhānta*, *Līlāvatī*, *Laghubhāskarīya*, *Mahābhāskarīya* and other works.[86] Nīlakaṇṭha Somayājin (1443-1548), the disciple of Parameśvara's son Dāmodara, is the author of *Āryabhaṭīyabhāṣya*,[87] *Tantrasaṅgraha*[88] dealing with astronomical calculations following the Dṛk system, *Siddhāntadarpaṇa*[89] on the fundamental astronomical constants and *Golasāra*[90] on spherical astronomy. Acyuta Piṣāroṭi of Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr (1550-1621) is the author of *Karaṇottama*, a manual on mathematics. *Uparāgakriyākrama* on eclipses and *Horasāroccaya* on astrology.[91] Putumana Comātiri in his *Karaṇapaddhati* explains many mathematical problems[92]. The *Sadratnamālā* of S'aṅkarāvarma Tampurān of Katattanāḍu summarises the result of mathematical studies in Kerala.[93]

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[82] Edited by C. Kunhan Raja, Adyar Library, Madras, 1948.

[83] Edited by K. V. Sarma, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, 1954.

[84] Edited by K. V. Sarma, Visweswaranand Indological Series, No. 30, Hoshiarpur, 1963.

[85] The details of these corrections are given in the Introductions to the above editions.

[86] For a full account of the life and works of Parameśvara, see K. V. Sarma's Introductions to his editions of Parameśvara's works like *Goladīpikā* (Adyar, 1957), *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* (Hoshiarpur, 1965), *Dṛggaṇita* etc.

[87] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 101.

[88] *Ibid.*, No. 188.

[89] Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

[90] Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

Govinda Bhaṭṭatiri of Talakkulam (13th century) has written the *Daśādhyāyī*, a commentary on the first ten chapters of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka* on astrology. His *Muhūrtaratna* and the *Praśnamārga* of Panakkāṭṭu Nampūtiri (17th century) are authoritative works in the respective fields of *muhūrta* and *praśna*.

There are numerous other works on Jyotiṣa,

Vyākaraṇa

Vyākaraṇa is another subject to which Kerala has made noteworthy contribution. The most valuable work in this field is the *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, a broad-based and comprehensive work on Pāṇiniyan grammar, abounding in illustrations and drawing from non-Pāṇiniyan sources as well[94]. It is similar to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Siddhāntakaumudi* in pattern but is more liberal in its outlook. It contains a large admixture of verse and has some variant readings of Pāṇinisūtras[95]. The *Paryāyapadāvalī* of

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[91] See S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, ' Acyuta Piṣāroti, His date and works,' *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XXII, pp. 40 ff.

[92] Edited with two Malayalam commentaries by S. K. Nayar, Madras Government Oriental Series, No. 98, 1956.

[93] For a fuller account see K. Kunjunni Raja, 'Astronomy and Mathematics in Kerala', *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXVII, 1963.

[94] The work contains 20 sections of which the first nine have been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (Nos. 106, 139, 153, 174) and the nineteenth in the Madras University Sanskrit Series (No. 7, Part II).

[95] See S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Prakriyāsarvasva—A Critical Study*, Kerala University Sanskrit Department Publication No. 7, 1972.

Vāsudeva (15th century) deals with synonymous roots. The *Sarvapratyayamālā* of Śaṅkarārya and *Rūpānayanapaddhati* of Śaṅkara of Mahiṣamaṅgalam expound step by step the different kinds of grammatical formations[96]. The *Nīvī* by Śaṅkara Vāryār (16th century) on Dharmakīrti's *Rūpāvatāra*, *Kaṭhinaprakāśikā* by Akkittam Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri on Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa*, *Dīpaprabhā* by the same author on *Vāraucasaṅgraha*, *Puruṣakāra* by Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka on the *Daiva* of Deva are some of the more important works in the form of commentaries. *Pāṇinīyalaghuvivṛti* and *Pāṇinīyabṛhadvivṛti* are metrical commentaries on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by Rāmaśālidvija in the 16th century.[97] The *Praveśaka*[98] of Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr Acyuta Piṣāroṭi is a metrical introduction to Sanskrit grammar and the *Laghupāṇinīya*[99] of A. R. Rajaraja Varma of the present century is a practical manual commenting on and illustrating the more important sūtras of Pāṇini arranged under the headings Śikṣā, Pariniṣṭhā, Nirukta and Ākāṅkṣā, with a supplement comprising Vaidika and Svara-prakaraṇas and a general review of the system of Pāṇini and the history of Sanskrit language.

There are some noteworthy Vyākaraṇa-kāvyas. The *Subhadrāharaṇa* of Nārāyaṇa of Tiruvegappura (15th century), son of Brahmadatta, illustrates the sūtras of Pāṇini in 20 cantos[100]. The *Vāsudevavijaya* of Vāsudeva is another,[101] in continuation of which Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa wrote his *Dhātukāvya* in three cantos illustrating the roots in their order[102]. The *Rāmavarmamahārājacarita*[103] of Vaikkatu Pāccu Mūttatu is a historical kāvya illustrating the more important sūtras of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, one adhyāya in each of its eight cantos. The *Śrīcihnakāvya* of Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka is in illustration of Prākṛt grammar[104].

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[96] Mss. of both in Trivandrum Oriental Manuscripts Library. See S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, *Rūpānayanapaddhati* of Mahiṣamaṅgala Śaṅkara, *Journal of the Travancore University Manuscripts Library*, Vol. IV, 1948.

[97] The commentary on *Vārarucasaṁgraha* published along with the text in Trivandrum Sanskrit series, No. 33. Mss. of the other works, except *Bṛhadvivṛti* are available in Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

[98] Published in the Cochin Sanskrit Series No. 2, 1938.

[99] Published from Trivandrum in 1913.

[100] For an account see S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, *Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Vol. VI, 1950.

[101] Partly published with author's own commentary *Padacandrikā* in Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka X, Bombay.

The *Apāṇinīyapramāṇatā*[105] of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is an essay in justification of non-Pāṇiniyan usages.

Alaṅkāra and Vṛtta

In Alaṅkāra Śāstra two of the most important works are commentaries on the *Dhvanyālokalocana* of Abhinavagupta. One is the *Kaumudī*[106] of King Udaya of the 14th century, which, however, is available only for the first Uddyota, and the other is the *Bālapriya*[107] of Rāma Piṣāroṭi of the present century. Both are learned and very useful in clearing the obscurities in Abhinava's work. The *Kāvyollāsa*[108] of Nīlakaṇṭhan Mūssatu of Tirumangalam, whose date can be fixed to be the 16th century, is a redaction of Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*, and the *Kāvyakalānidhi*[109] of Kṛṣṇsudhī (19th century) is modelled on Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrīya* and is in praise of King Ravi Varma of Kolattunāḍ. The commentary *Uttejinī*[110] by Vedāntācārya on *Kāvyaprakāśa* is an elaborate commentary and the illustrative verses in the tenth section are in praise of King Ravi Varma of Cochin in the 16th century. There are numerous other *yaśobhūṣaṇas* in praise of different princes, but among them the most important are the *Godavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa* of Aruṇagiri (16th century) and *Bālarāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa*[112] of Sadāśivadīkṣita (18th century). They illustrate figures of speech with eulogies on their patrons.

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[102] Edited by S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer with the commentaries *Kṛṣṇārpaṇa* and *Vivaraṇa*, Kerala University Sanskrit Department Publication No. 6, 1970.

[103] Edited by V. Venkatarama Sarma, Trivandrum, 1957.

[104] This is serially published in the *Journal of Kerala University Manuscripts Library*; also issued as Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 235, 1971.

[105] Edited by E. V. Raman Namputiri, Trivandrum, 1942.

[106] Published by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, 1944.

[107] Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares.

[108] Ms., in the Sanskrit College, Trippunithura.

[109] Ms., Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library.

[110] Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

There is an anonymous work called *Līlātilaka*, assignable to the 14th century, on grammar and poetics of the Malayalam language.[113]

In Prosody the *Vṛttavārttika*[114] of the prolific writer Rāmapāṇivāḍa of the 18th century, is an important work giving definitions and illustrations of the different kinds of metres. The author is a renowned writer who has made contribution to every branch of Sanskrit literature. This work has an appendix named *Rāsakrīḍā*, a śāstrakāvya, in which the different prastāras of the Anuṣṭubh metre are illustrated while narrating the Rāsalīlā of Kṛṣṇa. The *Sadvṛttaratnāvali*[115] of Ilattūr Rāmaswāmi S'āstri, who was a distinguished scholar and poet in the court of King Āyilyam Tirunāl of Travancore in the last century, is another work on Metre and it deals with a number of rare vṛttas. The illustrations constitute a connected account of the story of Rāma. The *Vṛttaratnamālā* of Veḷḷānaśśeri Vāsuṇṇi Mūssu (1855-1914), one of the founders of the Sanskrit Journal *Vijñānacintāmaṇi*, is divided into 13 *ratnas*, and has definitions in prose and illustrations in verse.[116] Karuṇākara Piṣāroṭi is the author of *Kavicintāmaṇi*, a commentary on Kedārabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara*, and Vāsudeva, the author of the śāstrakavya *Gajendramokṣa* in five cantos Illustrating the metres dealt with

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111. Published in the *Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Mss. Library*. Vol. I, 1946.

112. Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

113. There are several editions of this work in the Malayalam script. An English translation by K. N. Ezhuttacchan is published in the *Annals of Oriental Research*, University of Madras, and a Tamil translation by M. Elaya Perumal by the Department of Tamil of the Universiry of Kerala.

114. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 131.

115. Printed in Malayalam characters, Trivandrum.

116. Ullur, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 702.

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therein.[117] Both these authors can be assigned to the 15th century.

Nāṭya and Saṅgīta

In dance, the anonymous *Hastalakṣaṇadīpikā*,[118] assignable to the 17th century, is the basic work regarding the *mudrās* or hand-poses in Kathakali, the indigenous dance-drama of Kerala. The *Bālarāmabharata*[119] of Kārttika Tirunāḷ Rāma Varma Maharaja of Travancore in the 18th century is an elaborate treatise covering the whole field of dance. It also records the special features in the classical dance of Kerala. The *Naṭāṅkuśa*[120] is a short treatise criticisng certain unhealthy tendencies that crept into the acting of Sanskrit dramas in Kerala, like the unwarranted elaborations and digressions, introduction of extraneous elements and the use of Malayalam language by the Vidūṣaka. It is attributed by some scholars to Uddaṇḍa S'āstri, a celebrated scholar in the court of the Zamorin of Calicut in the 15th century.

The original contribution to Saṅgītaśāstra is limited to a few works. The *Tālaprastāra*[121] of Rāmapāṇivāda deals with the technical item called *prastāra* under the constituents of tāla. Svāti Tirunāḷ Mahārāja has written a tract, the *Muhanāprāsādivyavasthā*[122] on the rules regarding the use of rhyme and alliteration in music compositions. Attoor Krishna Pisharoti (1876-1964) is the author of *Saṅgītacandrikā*[123], which in 12 sections called *prakāśas* comprehensively deals with the traditional music theory. It is in the form of sūtras in Sanskrit, but the author has supplied a detailed

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[117] Mss. of both available in the Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library. The work is recently published in the *Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library*, Vol. XVII, 2.

[118] This is given as Appendix I to *Kathakalimañjarī* by S. K. Nayar in the Madras Government Oriental Series, No. 90, 1956.

[119] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 118.

[120] Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

[121] Ms., Trivandrum Oriental Mss. Library.

[122] Published in Journal of the *Travancore University Oriental Mss. Library*, Vol. II, 1946.

[123] Published by Gita Ltd., Trichur, 1954.

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commentary iu Malayalam. The author postulates a new system of the classification of scales. The last section on gītās forms a connected account of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story.

Miscellaneous

There is contribution from Kerala to other S'āstras also. Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri, the author of *Tantrasamuccaya* on temple-architecture, is also the author of *Mānavavāstulakṣaṇa* dealing with domestic architecture in 44 verses[124], Nīlakaṇṭhan Mūssatu of Tirumaṅgalam, is the author of *Manuṣyālayacandrikā* in seven chapters on domestic architecture[125] based on a number of earlier works and *Mātaṅgalīlā*[126] in 12 sections on elephant-lore based mainly on the work of Pālakāpya. There is also a *Raṇadīpikā*[127] by Kumāra Gaṇaka on warfare.

Conclusion

It [can, be seen from the above survey that Kerala has contributed to the literature of almost all the major śāstras. Its most significant contribution is to Jyotiṣa, Mīmāṁsā, Tantra and Vyākaraṇa. Many treatises are in verse and even when they are in prose, many have a large admixture of verse. Even commentaries can be in metrical form, the preference for this being explained by one author as due to the facility it provides for easy memorisation. The commentaries are noted for their clarity of exposition and for the preservation of some of the best readings. On the basis of these readings, it is even possible to assume that Kerala had a distinct text-tradition of its own regarding some of the fundamental śāstra works. There are several poems in illustration of śāstras particularly, Vyākaraṇa and Vṛtta, and of topics relating to Veda and Tarka.

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[124] Ullur, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 64-65.

[125] Published in Malayalam characters by Kanippayyur Sankaran Namputiri with his own Malayalam commentary, Kunnamkulam.

[126] Edited by T. Ganapati Sastri in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 10; also '*The Elephant lore of the Hindus*' by F. Edgerton, 1931; an account in German by Zimmer, Munich, 1929.

[127] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 95.

CONTRIBUTION OF MADHYA PRADESH TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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The present Madhya Pradesh had, in ancient times, famous capitals under learned rulers like Ujjayinī, Dhārā, Māhiṣmatī, Daśapura, Vidiśā, besides other cities like the modern Rewa, Panna, Gwalior, Khajuraho, Eran etc. which became seats of learning at different periods. It is true, however, that on one side there is the difficulty of fixing the dates and places of a number of ancient writers and on the other, the growth of traditions and legends of little historical value regarding authors.

When we mention Ujjain, the name of Kālidāsa stands supreme before our eyes. Tradition says that he was one of the nine jewels at Vikramāditya's court, the others being Vararuci, Dhanvantari, Kṣpaṇaka, Amarasimha, S'aṅku, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Ghaṭakarpara and Varāhamihira. Some of these are mere names to us, and the identity of others is more or less established, which only disproves the authenticity of such tradition. But scholars even of the present day, believe that Kālidāsa at least lived at Ujjain under the patronage of Vikramāditya who is supposed to have founded the Vikram Era to signalise his victory over Śakas in 58 B.C. As such, Ujjain, at present, is the seat of studies on Kālidāsa and the centre of celebrations in glory of Kālidāsa, the greatest and the most famous poet of India.

Sanskrit Kāvyas: Kāvya attained its climax and a state of perfection in Kālidāsa. His kāvyas are too well known to be detailed here. Of the other 'gems', Vararuci is credited with *Rākṣasa kāvya* and *Nītiratna*, and Ghaṭakarpara with a poem of the same name Tradition associates with Ujjain the names of other famous poets. like Bhartṛhari, Bhāravi, Ārya S'ūra, Meṇṭha, Amaruka, Rūpa, Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra, Śūdraka and Mayūra, thus creating a halo of glory around the name of Ujjain, Although little historical value can be attached to such traditions, they are enough to show the high esteem accorded to Ujjain as the home of great poets.

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The importance of Ujjain shifted to Dhārā (modern Dhar) from the 10th century ander the Paramara rulers. Padmagupta, also known as Parimala Kālidāsa, was a court-poet of Muñja aud Sindhurāja at Dhārā and composed in the first quarter of the 10th cent. A.D. the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, a historical Mahākāvya on the life of his patron. This work in 18 cantos is in the conventional but comparatively pleasing style. Historical facts are here mixed with myth.

Anothes poet patronised by Muñja was Śobhana, a staunch follower of Jainism ; he wrote a Citrakāvya *Caturviṃśatikā* in praise of the fourteen Jain Tīrthaṅkaras. In this the second and fourth lines of each verse have the same words but convey different meanings. Śobhana's relative Dhanapāla wrote a commentary on it. Amitagati wrote *Subhāṣitaratnasandoha*.

Bhoja, the successor of Sindhurāja, flourished at Dhārā in the 2nd quarter of the 11th century. He was himself a poet and an authority on many S'āstras. Twenty-three works are ascribed to him, including the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*,[1] his *magnum opus*. He was a great patron of learning. The *Bhoja-prabandha*, a later work, records that Māgha, Mayūra and other famous poets were at the court of Bhoja where 1400 scholars were patronised. Though fictitious, these legendary accounts show that Bhoja, like Vikramāditya, had acquired a halo of glory.

Distinguished Jain ascetics continued to flourish under Paramāra rulers at Dhārā. Kavi Dāmodara composed *Jinacarita* during the reign of Devapāla about 1208 A.D. Bilhaṇa of Kashmir, the author of *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, a Mahākavya on Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI and of the lyric *Caurapañcāśīkā*, was a guest in the courts of Tripurī (modern Tewar near Jabalpur), the capital of Ḍāhala Maṇḍala (modern Bundelkhand) and of king Karṇadeva of the Kalacuris and in whose court, he composed the play *Karṇasundarī*.

From the 12th century onwards, poets and scholars composed devotional and panegyrical Kāvyas under the Bāndhava (Baghel) rulers of Rewa and the surrounding area. The royal patronge explains the origin of a large number of these Praśastis.

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[1] See Dr. V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, 1963.

Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa patronised by Vīradevasimha of Gahorā (about A.D.) composed *Rādhācarita* and two other poems. Verses from these works are found quoted in later anthologies.

Vīrabhānūdayu of Mādhava Uravya written during the reign of Vīrabhānu (1532-52 A.D.), is a kāvya in 12 sargas on the Baghelas till Vīrabhānu. Bhānudatta composed *Gītagāurīpati* and some Praśastis in Vīrabhānu's reign. The quotations of his verses show that the poet has praised Muslim rulers like Nizam Shah of Burhan with whom the Baghelas were friendly.

Govindabhaṭṭa, also known as Akabariya Kālidāsa because of favours bestowed by Akbar on him, composed *Rāmacandra-yaśah-prabandha* in praise of his patron Rāmacandra (1552-98 A.D.).

Viśvanāthasimha, the ruler of Rewa (1789-1854 A.D,), was a scholar in Sanskrit with 18 works to his credit which include Kāvyas, Nāṭakas, philosophical treatises, commentaries etc. He was a devotee of Rāma. His *Saṅgīta-raghunandana* is a melodious lyrical composition on the pattern of *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva.

Raghurājasimha (1854-80 A.D.), the successor of Viśvanātha Simha, composed *Sudharmavilāsa*, a devotional kāvya in 17 cantos on Kṛṣṇa and the other avatāras. His other poems are *Śambhu-śataka*, *Jagadīśa-śataka*, *Narmadā-śataka* and *Raghurāja-maṅgala-candrāvali*, which is a poem based on the 10th Skandha of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Some of the Stutis in his compositions are in the style of *Gītagovinda*, while elsewhere he imitates the style of Śankarācārya's stotras :

वक्रेण नक्रेन यथा हरिर्गजं ग्रस्त हि नक्रेण तमुज्जहार ।
तथैव मां पादरुजा गृहीतं त्वमुद्धरस्वाशु शशाङ्कशेखर ॥

महात्मनां सदात्मनां सुधर्मकर्मवर्तिनां
तपस्विनां यशस्विनां मनस्विनां मनःप्रिये ।
मनोहरे सरिद्वरे सुसंकरे भियां हरे
धराधरे जवोद्धरे नमामि देवि नर्मदे ॥

(शम्भुशतकम् ४३, नर्मदाष्टकम् ८)

Vamśadhārī Agnihotri, a contemporary of Raghurāja Simha, is the author of *Śambhu-kalpa-druma*, a kāvya based on the 4th skandha of *Śivpurāṇa*. Similar devotional poetry was produced during this reign by other authors also.

Other parts of Madhya Pradesh also contributed Sanskrit Kāvyas during this period. Lakṣmīparasāda Dīkṣita of Maṇḍla wrote *Gajendramokṣa Kāvya* in 1758 and dedicated it to Nijam Shah, a ruler of Mandla. Rūpanāth Ojha, a Maithila, (about 1790) composed the Kāvya *Rāmavijaya* and a historical kāvya. His historical poem *Gaḍheśanṛpavarṇana* describes the geneology of Gond rulers of Gaḍha-Maṇḍala. Of the Nine Sargas of this Kāvya only the 1st and 2nd describing Trikūṭa, Vindhya, and the flora and fauna of Mandla and the 9th, eulogising eight rulers from Prem Shah to Nijam Shah are available.

Before coming to the late 19th and the 20th century, we have to take into account another source of poetry which bridges the gap in this long range of time. It is difficult to believe that no work was composed in Sanskrit in Madhya Pradesh during the first nine centuries of this era. The inscriptions on stones and plates found scattered over the whole of Madhya Pradesh and belonging to various periods of history going as far back as the 4th and 5th centuries, are important not only as historical records but also as literary pieces in Sanskrit. Many of these inscriptions are poetical compositions of a high order.

Inscriptions at Eran, Udayagiri, Vidiśā of the Gupta period, inscriptions at Mandasor of the Guptas and of Yaśodharman, Gwalior Praśasti of the Prathihāra king Bhoja, Betma (near Indore) plates of Paramāra Bhoja and Khajuraho inscriptions of Dhanga are just a few illustrations. The Daśapura inscription (Mandasor) which records the restoration of the Sun-temple by silk weavers in 473 A.D., is composed in 44 verses by Vatsabhaṭṭi who resembles a master poet of Mahākāvya in the art of poetry.

The Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja composed by Bālāditya (9th cent.), is also in chaste and dignified kāvya style.

During the 20th century attempts were and are being made to keep up the age-long tradition of Sanskrit kāvya inspired not so much by patronage as by love for Sanskrit. The tendency, however, in M. P. as elsewhere, is towards short compositions, devotional, biographical or panegyrical. Translations in Sanskrit of works in other languages and lyrical compositions are also coming up.

One Mahākāvya of the traditional type was composed and published in Madhya Pradesh in 1969, *Sītācarita*[1] in 10 sargas with commentary by Dr. Rewaprasad Dwivedi. *Sanātana* is a unique composition. The author, born at Nander in M. P. and educated at Banaras, a former teacher at Govt. colleges at Raipur and Indore, and now a Reader in the Banaras Hindu University, is a sound scholar of Kāvyaśāstra and Kālidāsa.

Urvīdatta Śāstrī of Bhopal wrote two Mahākāvyas—*Edward-Mahākāvya* (published in 1905) and *Sultān-jahān-vinoda Mahākāvya* (unpublished).

Bhaṭṭa Śrīnivāsa Śāstrī Cakravarti (1883-1948), a Paurāṇika under the Rājā of Gwalior composed *Śrīnivāsa-sahasranāma* in praise of Veṅkaṭeśa, the deity at Tirupati, and short devotional poems in praise of Lakṣmī, Śrīnātha of Vallabha Sampradāya, Gangā, Yamunā and a praśasti on his patron Mādhavarao Sinde. Pannālal Jain of Saugar wrote *Ratnatrayī* in 2000 verses on Jain philosophy and three other religious poems. Rudradeva Tripāṭhi's *Gāyatrī-laharī* in 108 verses; Pritamlal Kachi's *Ārādhanā-śataka*, *Śāntiśataka*, *Unnatiśataka*, *Brahmacarya-śataka*, *Bhakti-śataka*; Lokanāth Śastrī's *Narmadā-taraṅgiṇī* in 40 verses and eight other Aṣṭakas on Śiva, Rāma, Sītā, Gaṇeśa, Kṛṣṇa etc.; Bihārilal Shastri's *Lāngalī-vilāsa kāvya* and two other short poems are some of the devotional Kāvyas.

Some khaṇḍa-kāvyas have been written in the patriotic spirit. *Bhūdānayajñagāthā* by Gaṇapati Shankar Shukla of Badwani, a lecturer at Indore, describes in two parts the ideal beginning and development of Bhūdāna, the country-wide Padayātrā, etc. in very simple Sanskrit verses. *Mātṛbhūmikathā* by Pritamlal Kachi, also a teacher at Indore and the author of devotional S'atakas, is a history of India in simple versified Sanskrit for school students. Rudradeva Tripāṭhi has composed *Satyāgraha-nītikāvya*. Suryanarayaṇa Vyasa of Ujjain (born, 1902) a much honoured scholar, is the author of *Bhavya-vībhūtayaḥ* in 56 simple verses on the lives of national leaders in political, religious, social, scientific and literary fields.

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[1] *Sītācarita* published by Sanskrit Pariṣad, University of Saugar, Saugar.

Rudradeva Tripathi (born 1924), already mentioned, the editor of the Sanskrit magazine *Mālava-mayūra* from Mandasor, and now at the L. B. S. Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Delhi, has written, besides works mentioned above, a Dūta-kāvya entitled *Patra-dūta.* This *Dūta-kāvya* in 164 verses, describes several places and persons met in a journey by rail by a *Letter* sent by the author from Bombay as a messenger to his Guru at Mandasor. His lucid style can be judged in the following verse:

एकं मित्रं विलसति यतो भूतले निर्धनानां
दूतं चैकं प्रकृतिमधुरं सौख्यदं पत्रमेव ।
एतच्चाल्पव्ययमनुचरं स्पष्टवाद्यप्रमादि
प्रीतेः पात्रं चरणरहितं शीघ्रगं दूरयायि ॥ १६ ॥

A new type of lyrical poetry, free from the orthodox traditional metres, is becoming popular. Sri S. B. Velankar, born in 1915 in Bombay, was at Bhopal as the Post Master General. He has written in new metres, lyrics *Javāhāra-cintana* and *Viraha-laharī*. Some of his other published khaṇḍa-kāvyas are *Viṣṇu-vardhāpana*, *Guruvardhāpana*, *Jivana-sāgara* on the life of Mahamahopadhyaya Kane, and *Jayamaṅgalā*, a translation of a Marāthī kāvya. These show his mastery over traditional metres. He has also some new plays to his credit.

Shamalāla Rawle's *Vaṭavallarī*, *Mugdhā* and *Pāvana*, and Śivasaran Śarma's *Jāgaraṇa* are collections of Sanskrit lyrical songs. *Preraṇa* by Rudradeva Tripathi is a collection of Sanskrit songs in the tunes of cinema songs, and *Vinodinī* and *Ḍiṇḍima* are collections of humorous songs in Sanskrit composed by the same author.

Translation in Sanskrit of works in other languages form still another type of modern Sanskrit composition. Hundred Sūktis of Mahatma Gandhi are rendered into Sanskrit sūtras by Ganapati Śankar Shukla. *Śrī Rāmadevalīlāmṛta* is a translation by Krishna Sarma Sastri of the Hindi poem of the same name by Kavi Lakshmīdatta Dingal. *Kālidāsapreritaśilpasangraha* and *Ajantā-darśana* of Rudradeva Tripathi, of a Hindi book on archaeological monuments and of a Gujarati book respectively. *Mānasāh Ślokāh* and *Karuṇāṣṭaka* are Sanskrit renderings by Shyamgopal Rawle of Rāmadāsa Swāmī's famous Marathi poems. Prem Nārāyaṇa Dwivedī's *Saundarya-saptaśati* is a Sanskrit rendering in different metres of Bihārī's Hindi *Saptaśati ; Ślokāvalī*, that of Dohās and songs of Hindi Saint poets, and *Sūkti-ratnākara*, of the sayings of great writers are some more translations. *Āngla-laghukāvyānuvāda* is a Sanskrit rendering of 35 famous poems of English poets by Pandit L. G. Khare, a retired Advocate.

Sanskrit verses in praise of various deities, felicitations on the occasion of weddings, jubilees, farewells, Praśastis and recitations in Kāvyagoṣṭhīs, Samasyāpūrtis, patriotic verses etc. are composed now and again. Sanskritists who show poetic talent when occasions arise, are many in M. P. Such poems, if published at all, find a place in Sanskrit Magazines. Shyamgopal Rawle, Ramdatt Shastri, Padmanarayan Shastri, Goswami Dhanagiri, Bhagavati Prasad, Mathura Prasad, Raghupati Shastri, Swami Badan Prasannacharya, S. S. Musalgaonkar, Dr. (Mrs.) V. Bhawalkar, Taranath Vyas, and Radhavallabh Tripathī are a few of numerous such writers of Madhya Pradesh.

Prose and Campū

Dhanapāla of the 10th cent. A. D. composed *Tilakamañjarī*, a prose romance, under the patronage of Muñja of Dhārā. This prose work in the style of Bāṇa begins with the eulogy of the Paramara rulers of Dhārā. Muñja's successor Bhoja was himself the author of *Campū Rāmāyaṇa* and the romance *Śṛṅgāramañjarī*.

Saṅkara Dīkṣita, who lived at the court of king Sabhāsimha of Bundelkhand in the 18th cent., wrote *Gaṅgāvataraṇa Campū* in the orthodox campū style, and *Śaṅkaracetovilāsa*, a campū on the life of Mahāraja Cetasimha, who was a magnate of Banaras in the time of Warren Hastings.

Mitra Miśra composed under the patronagc of Vīradevasimha of Orchā (1605–1627 A. D.) *Ānandakanda campū* on the early life of S'rī Kṛṣṇa.

Bhānukara was the author of *Bhārgavacampū* under the Bāndhava ruler Vīrabhānu (1515–1554 A. D.). The next ruler Vīrabhānu (1554–59 A. D.) himself wrote *Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi*, a treatise on Love, and *Daśakumārakathāsāra* in prose. Padmanābha Miśra Bhaṭṭācārya composed *Vīrabhadracampū* on the life of his patron. These campūs are in the traditional style. But king Viśwanāthasimha, the Bāndhava ruler at Rewa (1833–54) wrote

Rāmcandrāhnika, a devotional work in the campū-form, describing the daily routine of his deity Rāma in a lucid style.

A few Campūs were composed in the early 20th century. *Śinde-vijaya-campū* by Sadāśiva Sītārāma Musalgāonkar of Gwalior is a panegyrical composition on the Sindes, rulers of Gwalior. Gopī-kṛṣṇa S'āstrī of Ujjain wrote a short work in the campū style entitled *Śrīman-Nārāyaṇavyāsacarita* on the life of Pandit Nārāyaṇa Vyāsa, father of Sūrya Nārāyaṇa Vyāsa. Another Sanskritist of Gwalior composed *Padmāvatīpariṇaya Campū.*

The tendency amongst the prose writers of Sanskrit in the 20th cent., however, is to simplify Sanskrit for popular use.

Śripada S'astri Hasurkar, a retired lecturer of Sanskrit College at Indore, wrote a series of fifteen books on the lives of famous personalities of India like Rāṇā Pratāp, Shivājī, Rāmadāsa, Vallabh-ācārya, Guru Nānak, Buddha, Satīs of Rājasthān etc. The complete series is entitled "Samskṛta Bhārata Nararatnamālā." His style is fluent and lucid ; only six of these books are published.

Somanātha S'āstrī, a great scholar of Sanskrit and teacher at Indore, wrote *Vṛtta-Śripālacarita* in 1934.

A novel of the modern type entitled *Dvā Suparṇā*[1] is written by Prof. Rāmji Upādhyāya of the Saugar University. Based on the story of Kṛṣṇa and Sudāmā, it introduces new characters and incidents to bring forth the practical side of our ancient culture, useful even in modern times. The noble idea of an ideal university, the ideal character of the teacher and the taught, education of ladies and their contribution to civic life presented in this short novel are of great educational value.

Bhāgirathī Prasāda Tripathi's novel *Maṅgala-mayūkha* is unpublished. *Mahākavi Kaṇṭaka* by Radhāvallabha Tripathi, a fresh product of the Saugar University and teacher at Udaipur University, is a satirical sketch in the modern style in which fresh words like 'Chavigṛha' (cinema), 'Naravāhana' (Riksha), 'Dhvanivistāraka-yantra' (Loud speaker) etc. are freely coined in depicting our present-day life.

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[1] 2nd edition published by Deva Bharati Prakashana, Allahabad.

Kathā Samvartikā and *Tolstoya Kathā* by Bhagirathi Prasad Tripathi, folk tales by Gaṇapati S'ankara S'ukla, stories published in Sanskrit magazines etc. are a natural product of the modern age of short stories.

Besides stories and biographies, prose works on serious subjects are being written in Sanskrit. A book of 512 pages on Ancient Indian Culture, entitled *Bhāratasya Sāmskrtika-Nidhiḥ* by Prof. Ramji Upadhyaya was published in 1957.

Dr. Prabhudayal Agnihotri of the Education Department of Bhopal has published in 1957 his *Abhinava-manovijñāna* which is a treatise on psychology.

Maheśacandra Tarkacūḍāmaṇer-viśiṣṭādhyayana by Jagadīśa Prasāda Miśra is a doctorate thesis of 1964.

A large number of critical essays and research articles on literary, philosophical and other subjects written by scholars, students and lovers of Sanskrit and appearing in Sanskrit Journals and magazines have also enriched Sanskrit prose literature.

Drama

Māyurāja or Mātrārāja Anaṅgaharṣa was a Kalacuri king of Cedi-maṇḍala with his capital at Māhiṣmatī. Quotations from his two plays *Udāttarāghava*[1] and *Tāpasavatsarāja* (ptd.) are found in the works of Bhoja, Abhinavagupta, Dhanika and other writers on poetics.

Murāri, flourished at the end of 8th cent. at the court of a Kalacuri king of Māhiṣmati, the capital of Cedi-maṇḍala. He wrote the drama *Anargharāghava*,

Rājaśekhara, author of four dramas-*Bālarāmāyaṇa* in 10 acts, *Bālabhārata*, an incomplete play, *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, a Nāṭikā in four acts, and *Karpūramañjarī*, a saṭṭaka in Prākṛt, and probably of another Nāṭikā *Ratnamañjarī*, was a protege of Yuvarāja Keyūravarṣa, Kalacuri ruler of Tripurī in the 10th cent. His wife Avantisundarī was a learned lady for whose pleasure *Karpūramañjarī* was composed.

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[1] Dr. V. Raghavan is understood to have got mss. of this play and to be bringing out an edition of it.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Bilhaṇa, who lived for some time at the court of Karṇadeva of Tripurī, composed his play *Karṇasundarī* there.

Ācārya Mahāsena, a Jain teacher at the court of Muñja and Sindhurāja of Dhārā, wrote in the 10th cent. a drama *Pradyumnacarita.*

Bhoja Paramāra of Dhārā in early 11th century was responsible for the redaction of *Hanumannāṭaka* or *Mahānāṭaka,* a Chāyānāṭaka. It is an attempt to introduce a new type of drama.

Pārijātamañjārī, a play composed at about 1213 A.D. by Madana who was a preceptor of the Paramāra kings, has been recovered incomplete. It appears to be an imitation of *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa,

Three Chāyānāṭakas were written by Vyāsa Rāmadeva about 1402-1415 A.D. under the patronage of Kalacuri kings of Raipur. These plays *Rāmābhyūdaya*, *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya* and *Subhadrāpariṇaya* are mentioned in the catalogues of manuscripts.

Śaṅkara Dīkṣita, the court-poet of Bhīmasimha of Bundelkhand, composed and staged *Pradyumna-vijaya* on the occasion of the coronation of prince Sabhāsundara, grandson of Chatrasāla of Pannā.

Viśvanātha Simha, the Bāndhava ruler of Rewa (1883-1935), composed *Ānanda-raghunandana*, a drama in 7 acts based on the life of his deity Rāma, in conformity with old dramatic tradition. The prose-passages in the drama are full of compound words.

At the end of the 19th cent. Raghunātha Viṣṇu Velankar, Gwalior composed and published a Bhāṇa named *Jaganmohana.*

Jagannātha Tillu, a retired teacher of Sanskrit college at Indore, wrote during the first decade of the 20th cent. three plays, *Udayapremalīya*, *Kīrtimandira*, *Sāmrājya-pradarśana*—all three not available.

Viṣṇudatta Tripathī (born 1908), a teacher at Amarakaṇṭaka, is the author of two dramas, *Vidyottama* based on the legendary story of Kālidāsa, and *Anasūyā-carita*, a play in Śāntarasa, depicting the character of Anasūyā and Atri.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Ramajivana Misra of Kalyaṇpur emphasises the usefulness of Sanskrit language in modern times in his play *Sārasvata*.

A revival of the Sanskrit drama is seen during the last ten years with a tendency to modernise the form of the drama to suit the presents-day stage. Discarding the old traditions, dramas in three acts of two or three hours' durations on the stage, one-act plays, Radio plays, operas and ballets are coming up. With the establishment of dramatic societies, drama-competitions, performances in schools and colleges, broadcasting of Sanskrit programmes from All India Radio Stations, awards for Sanskrit works, etc. authors are getting encouragement to write Sanskrit plays suitable for staging.

S. B. Velankar of Bombay, mentioned already, has written *Kālidāsacarita*, an imaginative account of Kālidāsa. The author has translated *Saubhadra*, a Marathi play, very popular on the Marathi stage. He has to his credit another trilogy of plays about war, entitled *Raṇaraṅgaśrī* ; his *Kālindī* depicts the victory of principles of Ahimsā over Himsā and the conflict between karma and sannyāsa; *Svātantryalakṣmī* is a radio-play in three acts on important incidents in the life of Rāṇī Lakṣmībaī of Jhansi. *Kailāsakampa*, a Radio opera in three acts on the last Chinese aggression, with Śankara, Umā, Kailāsa, Indra, Śacī, Gaṇeśa etc. as characters of the play, is composed in traditional metres set to music in classical tunes. Two more Radio-plays under the title of *Prāṇāhūti* contain *Hutātmā* in musical verse based on the story of the ancient sage Dadhīci, and *Rāṇi Durgāvatī*, a drama in prose and verse about the famous queen who ruled over a portion of Madhya Pradesh (1525–64) with her capital at Gadhā near Jubalpur. Velankar in another of his operas *Meghadūtottara* attempts to complete the story of *Meghadūta* by showing the reunion of the lovers.

The present writer has written and staged two Sanskrit operas, composed in traditional metres and set to music in classical Rāgas and Tālas, entitled *Rāmavanagamana*, *Pārvatī-pārameśvarīya* in three acts based on *Kūmārasambhava*. *Pādadaṇḍa* is a play in prose by the same author, on a modern theme with Chinese War as its background. The play was broadcast from All India Radio.

Radhavallabha Tripathi, a young Sanskritist from Saugar University, has written and published recently *Premapīyūṣa*, a drama on the romance of Bhavabhūti, the hero of the play. *Kṛṣakāṇām Nāgapāśaḥ* is a radio play by Bhagirathi Prasāda Tripāthi and depicts the plight of farmers. One-act plays of Goswami Dhanagiri Sastri and others are published in Sanskrit magazines.

The need for plays for school-students suitable for staging is increasing. *Annadevatā*, *Bhakta-Dhruva* and a few other such short plays, and *Sītāharaṇa*, a ballet, are written by Mrs. V. Bhawalkar.

Alaṅkāra : Chandas

During the reign of Muñja at Dhārā in the late 10th cent. Dhanañjaya wrote under royal patronage *Daśarūpaka*, his famous book on dramaturgy. *Avaloka*, a commentary on it, was written by Dhanika, brother of Dhanañjaya. Halāyudha, a contemporary of these two, is the author of a commentary on Piṅgala's *Chandas-sūtras*.

Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa and *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja, and *Kāvyamīmāmsā* of Rājaśekhara, written in M. P., are too well known to need any comment. Bhānukara, under Vīrabhānu of Rewa, composed four works on poetics, *Rasamañjarī*, *Rasataraṅgiṇī*, *Śṛṅgārādīpikā* and *Alaṅkāratilaka*. Padmanābha Miśra Bhaṭṭācārya, a protege of Virabhadradeva in the middle of 16th cent. wrote *Śaradāgama*, a commentary on *Candrāloka*, and Bihārilāla Vyāsa of Ujjain, a commentary on the above *Rasamañjarī*. *Vṛttībodha* of Balabhadra Simha, written in simple language, and *Vāṇībhūṣaṇa* of Dāmodara Śāstrī, both from Rewa, are works on *Chandas*.

Gajānana Karamalkar Shastrī of Indore has composed *Lokamānyālaṅkāra* defining 100 Alaṅkāras and illustrating them with his own verses written on the life of Lokamānya Tilak. This book of 200 verses in easy Sanskrit and devoid of erotic sentiment is useful to students. Dr. Rewaprasāda Dvivedi's learned commentary on S'ingabhūpāla's *Rasārṇavasudhākara* is a recent publication.

Darśanasāra by Devasena, a Jain monk at Dhārā about 933 A. D. is a work on Jain Philosophy. Other works on Jain Philosophy followed. Uvvaṭa, brother of Mammaṭa, composed his *Vedabhāṣya* at Muñja's court at Dhārā. Bhoja himself is credited with a commentary on *Yogasūtras* and a Śaiva work *Tattvaprakāśa*. Brahmagupta's *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* (1200 A. D.), Padmanābha Miśra's *Rāddhāntamuktāhāra* and nine commentaries on different systems of philosophy, Rāmasakhendra's *Dvaitabhūṣaṇa*, about twenty philosophical works by Viśvanāth Simha of Rewa and his preceptor and contemporaries during 1830-60, including *Rādhāvallabhī-mata-pravartaka*, *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, and *Tattvamasyārtha-siddhānta-bhāṣya* are the works of the past centuries in M. P.

The following treatises and commentaries belong to the 20th century—*Mokṣamandirasya dvādaśasopānāvali* by Śrīpada Sastrī Hasurkar of Indore; *Ṭīkā* on *Pramāṇa-naya-tattvāvaloka* by Ramagopalacarya of Śivapuri (1932), *Ṭīkā* on Jain *Saptapadārthī* by Himansu Vijaya (1954), *Ṭīkā* on *Kārikāvalī* and another work by Lokanātha Śastri, *Pañcopaniṣadbhāṣya* by Pītambarapīṭha Swāmi of Datia; *Manorañjanī*, a *Ṭīkā* on *Saundaryalaharī* by Gourīsankara Pānde of Rewa (1910), *Sāragarbha*, a *Ṭīkā* on *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* by Gopinatha Sāstri (1924), *Ṭīkā* on *Pramāṇa-tattvāvaloka* of Vāsudevasūri by Ramagopalacarya, *Māthurī-pañcalakṣaṇī* by Mathurā Prasāda Śastrī, *Mumukṣu-sāra-saṅgraha*, *Svarūpa-prakāśa* and *Cidambararahasya* by late Narayana Tripathi, *Adhyātmavidyā* by late Bhauśāstri, *Vyutpattimaṇḍana* and *Upadeśamañjūṣā* by Raghunātha Vishnu Velankar of Gwalior, *Gītārtha-bindu* and three other works by Badari Prapannacharya, *Liṅgāṅgīdharmaprakāśa* and *Śāstrabodha* by Virūpākṣa Vadiār Swami. These and such other philosophical works, though mostly commentaries, show that there is no dearth of scholars of philosophy in M. P. even at present.

Dharma

Dharmaparīkṣā by Amitagati, a Digambara Jain ascetic in Muñja's reign at Dhārā, was followed by works on Jain religion written by his followers, like Māṇikyacandra's *Parīkṣāmukha*.

Vīramitrodaya of Mitra Miśra of Orchā (early 17th cent.), *Dharmaśāstratrimśat-ślokī* by the Bandhava ruler Viswanatha of Rewa (early 19th cent.), are some of the works on Dharmaśāstra. Jānakīvallabha Vyāsa of Ujjain wrote (about 1881) *Śrāddhakalpadruma* describing how a guest invited for Śrāddha is to be entertained.

Vyākaraṇa

Paribhāṣenduśekharaṭīkā by Viśvanātha Śastri, *Vijjalavāṭikā* of Vijjala Deva, both at Dhārā (19th cent.); *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra*

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of Gopīkṛṣṇa Śāstri (1924), and *Bījavṛkṣa*, a grammar for children by Bhāgirathī Prasād Tripathi are a few of the works on grammar in Sanskrit.

Jyotiṣa

Bhoja of Dhārā was himself well versed in Jyotiṣa and wrote *Rājamṛgāṅka*, and *Rājamārtaṇḍa*. *Sārāvalī* of the Bāndhava ruler Karṇadeva (1200 A.D.), *Sarvasaṅgraha* of Dīnānātha of Ujjain (published, 1874), *Siddhāntaśekhara* and *Jyotīṣaratnamālā* by Srīpati Bhaṭṭa of Buldhana, *Jyotirviveka-ratnākara* by Lakṣmīprasāda Pāthaka of Jabalpur (published 1939), *Sarvānandakaraṇa* of Govinda S. Apte of Ujjain (1931) give an idea of the astronomical literature of M. P.

Miscellaneous

Bhoja's *Cārucāryā*[1] deals with health and daily healthy habits. Bhaṭṭa Halāyudha's *Vyavahāramayūkha* written at the court of Muñja of Dhārā is a work on Rājanīti.

Dhanurvidyā on archery and *Rājarañjana* on Hunting were works of Viśvanāthasimha and Raghunāthasimha of Rewa respectively in the 19th eent. *Āyurvedadarśana* of Nārāyaṇadatta Tripāthī, and *Āyurvedaśabdakośa*, a dictionary of technical words in Āyurveda by Jagadīsa Prasāda of Mungali (1923) are Āyurvedic works. Two works on music by Rājā Hṛdayadāsa, *Nartanasarvasva* and *Tālatoyanidhi* and *Rāgaratnākara* by Cakradhara Simha of Rajgarh, a book on saṅgita by Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala of Burhanpur represent the Sanskrit books on music and dancing.

Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi by Vīrabhadradeva of Rewa (1677) and *Pañcasāyaka* by late Nārāyaṇa śāstrī are on Kāma Śāstra.

An interesting dictionary, giving words in six languages-Urdu, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, English and Sanskrit, was compiled in 1885 under the patronage of the Begum of Bhopal. The Sanskrit section was undertaken by Premanarāyana Śāstrī of Bhopal. *Nighaṇṭu-ratna* is another kośa work.

Editing of Sanskrit works in different branches has also been undertaken.

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1. Ed. Dr. Raghavan. *Malayamāruta* II (1971), pp. 79–95.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Journalism

The first journal in Sanskrit was started in 1866 at Banaras. *Kāvyakādambinī* under the auspices of a Sanskrit association began under the presidentship of Raghupati Śāstrī at Gwalior in 1896. After the closure of this association, he started *Vidvatkalā* in 1900. Though these journals were short-lived, they laid the foundation of Sanskrit Journalism in M. P. At present the following Sanskrit periodicals are published in M. P.:

(1) *Mālava-mayūra* edited by Rudradeva Tripathi at Mandasor, publishes stories, poems, articles etc. (2) *Sāgarikā*, started in 1962 under the editorship of Prof. Rāmji Upādhyāya of the Saugar University, is a quarterly research journal in Sanskrit. Besides research articles on varied subjects, the *Sāgarikā* has published *Rasārṇavasudhākara* edited by Dr. Rewaprasada Dwivedi with his own Sanskrit commentary, Sanskrit lectures by Dr. Fateh Singh on the script of Mohenjodaro, *Sītācarita*, a Mahākāvya by Dr. Rewaprasada Dwivedi with his own Sanskrit commentary, *Susamhata-bhārata*, a drama bv Pullelu Rāmachandra, *Bhāratasya Sāmskṛtikanidhi* by Prof. Ramji Upadhyaya, *Pādadaṇḍa*, a play by Dr. (Mrs.) V. Bhawalkar, Papers read at the Symposium on modern Sanskrit literature, etc. (3) *Medhā* from Raipur (4) *Ṛtambharā* from Jabalpur and (5) *Mālavikā* from Bhopal.

Reference Books:

1. *A History of Sanskrit Literature* Vol. I (English), S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De. University of Calcutta, 1962.
2. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (English), M. Krishnamachariar, First reprint by Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi-7. 1970.
3. *Arvācīna Samskrit Sāhitya* (Marathi), S. B. Varnekar, Modern Book stores, Nagpur, 1963.
4. *Samskrit Sāhitya kā Ālocanātmaka Itihāsa* (Hindi), Ramji Upadhyaya, Rama Narayan Lal, Benimadhav, Allahabad. 1963.
5. *Madhyapradesa kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), Late Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal. Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, Vārāṇasi.

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6. *Samskrit Sāhityānusīlanam* (Hindi Section-pp-1-4), Seminar on Modern Sanskrit & Hindi Literature. (Published by Sanskrit Pariṣad, Saugar University)

7. *Sāgarikā* (Sanskrit Quarterly Research Journal), Vol. VIII. (1969–70)

8. *Samskṛta Sāhitya ko Bāndhava Nareśon kī Dena* (Hindi) Rajiva Locana Agnihotri. Published by Baldeva Prasad Śāstrī, Martand Press, Rewa. 1957.

9. *Sanskrti Kendra–Ujjayini*, Brajakiśora Caturvedī, Indian Press Ltd., Prayāg.: 1955.

10. Select Sanskrit Inscriptions, V. W. Karambelkar, Nagpur, 1959.

11. *Madhya Pradesh ke Purātattva ki Rūparekhā* (Hindi). Dr. M. G. Dikshit. Saugar University, Saugar. 1954.

12. *Madhya Pradeś me Samskṛtādhyayana kā vikās* (1910-62), (unpublished) (Hindi) (Ph.D. Thesis by Kanhaiya Dwivedi, Saugar University. 1965).

13. *Samskṛta Patrakāritā kā Vikās* (1901-62) (unpublished) (Hindi) (Ph. D. Thesis by Ramagopal Mishra, 1964 Saugar University.)

14. *Guru Gopāla Dāsa Varaiya Smṛti Grantha* (Hindi) Akhila Bhāratavarṣīya-Digambara Jaina Vidvat-Pariṣad, Saugar 1967.

15. *Śukla Ābhinandana Grantha* (1955) (Hindi), Madhya Pradesh Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan, Nagpur-1 (Sāhitya Khanda, Pp. 3 ff.)[1]

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[1] See also Dr. V. Raghavan's accounts of Modern Sanskrit Literature in Sahitya Akademi's Volume *Contemporary Indian Literature* 1957, 1959 and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta* (*Letters*), IX. ii.

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CONTRIBUTION OF MAHARASṬRA TO SANSKRIT

Dr. R. N. Dandekar & Colleagues
University of Poona, Poona

The main paper on the subject of Mahārāṣṭra's contribution to Sanskrit was covered in a compehensive manner by Prof. R. N. Dandekar and his colleagues in the Sanskrit and Marathi Departments of the University of Poona. This survey was submitted in printed book-form[1] at the Conference and hence is not reproduced here. It comprised in Part 1 :

Pages
Introduction : Dr. R. N. Dandekar 1–2
The Veda and Vedic tradition : Dr. C. G. Kashikar 3–15
Vyākaraṇa and Lexicography : S. D. Laddu 17–23
Epics and Purāṇas : Dr. R. N. Dandekar and V. M. Bedekar 24–29
Dharma and Artha Sāstras : P. P. Apte 30–35
Dars'anas : V. G. Rahurkar and P. D. Nawathe 36–47
Poetics : K. P. Jog 48–52
Sangīta : G. U. Thite 53–54
Āyurveda : C. G. Kashikar 55–59
Mathematics and Astronomy : Dr. R. N. Dandekar 60–61
Creative Literature : G. B. Palsule 62–79
Pali and Prākṛt : P. V. Bapat and S. D. Laddu 80–83
Government and Public Efforts : Dr. R. N. Dandekar 84–87

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[1] Publication of the Centre of Advanced study in Sanskrit, University of Poona, Class E. No. 1.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MAHARASHTRA TO SANSKRIT AND SANSKRIT STUDIES

Dr. Prabhakar Machwe

Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi

The name Mahārāshtra is a Sanskrit word, which literally means a great nation or region. Vararuci, the Prākrit grammarian, mentions Paiśāci, Māgadhī and S'aurasenī as the three local Prākṛts and says that the rest "are like *Mahārāṣṭrī*" language. Dr. Hoernle thought that it was an epithet of Rājasthānī. Kātyāyana uses Prākṛt and Mahāraṣṭrī as synonyms. Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* refers to this language. Lakṣmīdhara in *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā* mentions Mahārāshtrī as the language of Mahārāshtra.

Historical Perspective :

In various Purāṇas like *Vāyu* (45. 110), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (57. 46), *Brahma* (27. 55) and *Mātsya* (112–47) Mahārāṣṭra is referred to. The *Mahābhārata* refers to Mahārāṣṭra in Sabhāparva (30. 110) as Nararāshtra; *Matsya Purāṇa* refers to it as 'Nava-rāshtra'. In the Sinhalese *Mahāvamsa* there is a reference to 'Maharattha'. In *Vinayapiṭaka* (3. 314) there is a reference to this region; so does Varāhamihira in *Bṛhatsamhitā* (10. 8) and Vātsyāyana in *Kāma Sūtra*.

In Saugar (Madhya Pradesh) at Airaṇa a stone inscription of 365 A.D. was discovered by Mm. V. V. Mirashi wherein Śrīdhara Varma refers to himself as a Mahārāshtra. In the *praśasti* by Ravikīrti at Aihole, Mahārāṣṭra is specifically mentioned (633–34 A.D.) of Satyashraya Pulikeshin. Here three Mahārashtras are mentioned which were united by this king: Vidarbha, Desh and Aparānta.

The evidence of the origin and the development of Marāthī language in the twelfth century further corroborates the fact that Marāthi broke away from Sanskrit, but it had a deep influence of Sanskrit. In the same century Mukundaraja's *Vivekasindhu* is a Marāthi commentary on Vedānta; so is Jñāneśwar's *Jñāneśvarī*, a verse-commentary on *Gītā*. In the seventeenth century Shivaji, with the help of scholars, compiled *Rājyavyavahārakośa* in which the administrative terms were based on Sanskrit. Even the Christian Missionary, Father Stefan composed his *Khrista-purāṇa* in 1622 in highly Sanskritized Marāthi.

The earliest religious sects like Nātha Panth or Mahānubhāva, protested against orthodoxy, but the language they used was full of Sanskrit philosophical terms. The first Marathi poetess Mahadambā (1233–1302) composed her lyrics on Krishna-Rukmiṇī marriage. All the devotional poets around the Viṭṭhala-worship in Pandharpur, Nāmdev, Mukkābāi, Eknāth and Tukāram were influenced by Sanskrit works on Bhakti, by the epics like *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhāgavata*. Eknāth's *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa* has 40,000 verses (composed in 1599). Mahālingadāsa, a poet from Khāndesh wrote verse-versions in Marāthi of *Vetālapañcavimiśatī* and *Simhāsana-dvātrimśatī* in 1565. Ramāvallabhadāsa (1588–1648) wrote the *Camatkār* commentary on *Gītā* in 1628. Shāmārādhya, Krishnadāsa Mudgala, Krishna Yājñavalki, Lolimbarāja and others wrote in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries commentaries on Das'amaskandha in *Bhāgavata*, *Upaniṣads*, *Rāmāyaṇa* (Yuddhakāṇḍa), Upa-purāṇas and *Gītā*. Mukteshwar (b. 1574 ?) wrote *Mahābhārata* in Marathi verse. Dāsopanta's *Gītārṇava* has 125000 ślokas. Samartha Rāmdasa wrote Sundarakāṇḍa and Yuddhakāṇḍa of *Rāmāyaṇa*. Vāmana Pandita translated *Bhāgavata*-stories in sonorous Marāthi verse (d. 1695). Sāmaraja (1613–1700) wrote *Rukmiṇīharaṇa* and other narrative Ākhyāna kāvyas. Raghunātha Paṇḍita wrote *Nala-Damayantī-svayamvarākhyāna*. Śrīdhara (1653–1729) wrote *Harivijaya* and *Rāma-vijaya*.

The Peshwas were great patrons of Harikathās and Sanskrit Pandits. Mahīpati (1715–1790) wrote the biographies of bhaktas and saints in Marathi-verse full of Sanskrit *tatsamas*. He also wrote *Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmya*. Moropant Parādkar (1729–1794) was the most erudite Sanskrit pandit amongst Marathi poets of 18th century. His *Āryā Bharata* (17000 lines) is a feat in rhymes.

Poetry became more people-oriented in ballads and erotic lyrics (*powādās* and *lāvaṇis*), where thc use of Sanskrit declined but more Persian and Urdu words were freely woven into Marathi. Older Marathi historical prose (*Bakhar*) is also highly Persianized.

In 1821 the Poona Pāṭhaśālā was established where teachers were appointed to teach Vedic and Classical Sanskrit literature. In Satara, a school was opened where students learnt Sanskrit. Many literary institutions took up the work of translation, after the spread of English education. Early Marathi plays were based on Sanskrit plays. In the latter half of the nineteenth century one finds on the one hand, lexicographers busy in compiling Marathi and Sanskrit dictionaries and on the other hand, one finds such original contributions as *Vedokta-Dharmaprakāśa* by Vishnubuā Brahmachāri.

Old Marathi literature has been based on Sanskrit epics and classics, plays and prosody, poetics and rhetoric. This tendency of either adopting or re-writing the Sanskrit works is seen even in the modern period. The tradition of the nineteenth century is continued in twentieth century poetry and prose. Vināyaka Dāmodara Sāvarakār deliberetely used a puristic Sanskritized prose. There are many modern poetic works based on Sanskrit subjects like Yashvant's *Jayamaṅgalā* or G. D. Mādgulkar's *Gītā-Rāmāyaṇa* (70000 copies were sold and Vinoba Bhāve was moved to tears after listening to it). Lokamānya Tilak wrote *Śiva-rahasya* and during the last ten years, at least a dozen works were published on *Mahābhārata* in essay or in novel form : the prominent amongst these are *Vyāsa-parva* by Durga Bhagavat and *Yugānta* by the late Dr. Iravati Karve.

Modern Period

The late J. V. Gak compiled *Gīrvāṇa Kośa* (a Sanskrit Marāthi dictionary) in 1915. This is the most important dictionary after Mādhava Chandrobā's *Śabda-ratnākara*.

Almost all important political leaders in Mahārashtra of different schools of thought have been great scholars of Sanskrit : they may be liberals like Ranade and Gokhale, or radicals like Tilak or Savarakar, even socialists like Sānē Guruji, Senāpati Bāpat Javadekar or N. G. Gore and communists like S. A. Dange or Marxist like Dr. D. D. Kosambi, or Radical Humanist like Tarka-tīrtha Lakshmana Shastri Joshi, or Congress men like N. V. Gadgīl or Gandhians like Vinoba Bhave, Kakasaheb Kalelkar or Prema Kantak.

In the modern period the contribution of Maharashtra to Sanskrit studies can be assessed either in the form of the work done at the Universities of Bombay, Poona, Nagpur and Baroda; or by institutions devoted to Sanskrit research like the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Deccan College, Poona; Prajna Pathasala at Wai, the Vedic Research Institute, the Ramdasa Samsodhan Mandal at Dhulia or Philosophical Research Institute at Amalner. There are numerous institutions throughout Mahārāshtra where Sanskrit manuscripts are preserved and studied and critical editions made, or individual research is carried on (like Āhitāgni Rajwade's institute in Poona). The Brahman Sabha of Bombay stages Sanskrit plays. *Bhavitavyam* was a weekly and once even a daily published from Nagpur. Several such individuals and institutions have worked actively all throughout last hundred years in popularising Sanskrit at various levels in Mahārāshtra.

We shall now briefly outline a few individual scholars' work in this field, who are no more. A few living scholars are also included. The following listing of individual names and their contribution to Sanskrit, or propagation of Sanskrit studies through teaching or helping and founding institutions meant for such studies, or translating Sanskrit works into Marathi or writing critical commentaries or assisting research in Sanskrit, is not exhaustive, but only a general survey giving certain important names in the field. I would request the readers of this paper to send me suggestions to complete the gaps. The names are arranged in the Sanskrit alphabetical order.

Aney, Madhav Shrihari (1880 to 1969)

Originally from Telengana but settled in Vidarbha; son of a well-known Vaidik Krishnayajurvedī Brahman. Pleader in Yeotmal, follower of Tilak. Participated in the nationalist movement. Member of the Viceroy's Council, 1941. Agent in Ceylon. Author of many Sanskrit compositions, including *Tilaka-yaśo'rṇava* (3 volumes).

Abhyankar, Vasudeva Shastri, Mahadev (1862–1943)

Distinguished grammarian. Mahamahopadhyaya (1921), Vidvadratna. Sanskrit scholarship was traditionally in the family. Appointed Shastri in the Sanskrit Pathashala in Poona by the late

M. G. Ranade. Author of several commentaries on Sarvadarśana, Mimamsa, *Gītā* and other works; author of 5 original Sanskrit works: (1) *Advaitāmoda* (2) *Kāyaśuddhi* (3) *Dharmatattvanirṇaya* (4) *Dharmatattvanirṇaya-pariśiṣṭa* (5) *Sūtrāntara-parigraha-vicāra*. He translated *Brahmasūtra Saṅkarabhāṣya* and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* in Marathi. Edited *Nyāyakośa* with Pandit Vamanacharya Jhalakikar. He had many eminent disciples like the late Rangacharya Raddi, Ganesh Shastri Godbole, Siddheshvar Shastri Chitrav and others.

Agashe, Ganesh Janārdana (1852–1919)

Curator of Government Central Book Depot and later, Professor of Sanskrit in Deccan College. His Marathi poetry is influenced by Sanskrit. *Birudāvali* (1901), elegy on M. G. Ranade's death is well known.

Āthalye, Krishnāji Nārāyaṇa (1852–1927)

Born in Satara, a famous Marathi poet, critic and essayist. Father was a Daśagranthi Vaidik, so he was educated traditionally. He went to Cochin and edited *Kerala Kokil*, a Marathi magazine. The Śankarācārya of Śringeri gave him the title of 'Mahārāshtra Bhāshā-citra-mayūr.' He wrote *Gītā-padya-muktāhāra* in various metres, for which the owner of the Nirnayasagar Press presented him with a bracelet of 12 tolas of gold.

Āpte Govind Sadāshiv (1870–1937)

Astronomer from Satara. Professor in Gwalior and Ujjain. He wrote *Jyotirgaṇita-vārttika* and *Sarvānandakaraṇa* in Sanskrit. He also prepared two Pañcāṅga Sāraṇis.

Āpte, Dattātreya Vishnu (1889–1943)

Well-known historian, research scholar and astronomer. He translated Bhāskarācārya's *Līlāvatī* into Marathi. Wrote introduction to *Śiva-Bhārata*.

Āpte, Mahadev Chimṇāji (1845–1894)

Founder of Ānandāshram, an institution in Poona devoted to the preservation of old Sanskrit works. He translated *Śākuntala* for children.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Āpte, Vāman Shivrām (1858–1892)

Distinguished author of the Sanskrit-English and English-Sanskrit Dictionary, and "The Students' Guide to Sanskrit Composition."

Āpte, Vasudev Govind (1871–1930)

Author of several books for children and founder-editor of the children's magazine 'Ānand'. He wrote *Nāṭya-Bhārata*, *Bāla-Bhāgavata*, *Nāṭya Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālābhārāta*, stories from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* for children in Marathi.

Āltekar, Anant Sadāshiv (1898–1962)

Historian and epigraphist. Author of *Education in Ancient India*, *A New Gupta King*, *Rashtrakutas and their times*. Presided over the Oriental Conference in Delhi. Curator of Patna Museum.

Āltekar, Madhav Dāmodar (born in 1890)

Marathi critic who wrote a work on *Kālidāsāchi Srishti* (Kālidāsa's Creative World) in Marāthi.

Ambedkar, Bhimrao Ramji (1893–1956)

Internationally reputed political leader of the Depressed classes. Author of *Who are Shudras* and *Castes in India*. A scholar of Sanskrit and Buddhism, besides a great economist and lawyer.

Islāmpurkar, Vāman Shastri (Died, 1913)

Translator in Marathi of *Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara*, *Karpūrmañjarī*, *Ādirājacaritra*, *Kavitāśāstra*. Author of *Meghadūta-kāvya-pradīpikā* and *Śūdradharmatattvaprakāś* in Marāthi.

Ūtagikar, Nārāyaṇ Bāpuji (Died, 1931)

Research scholar in Sanskrit. Librarian in Deccan College, Honorary Secretary of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona (1916-18); chief editor of the critical edition of *Mahābhārata* (1919-1924). Edited Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's essays in four volumes. Translated German scholar Richard Garbe's Introduction to *Bhagavadgītā* in English, and prepared the standard text of *Gauḍavaho*.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Oak, Mahādev Pānduranga (1874-1930)

Sanskrit teacher in New English School, Poona. Author of *Sūktisudhātaraṅgiṇī*, *Sulabh Sanskrit Pravesh;* translated first nine chapters of *Jñāneśvarī* in Sanskrit.

Oak, Vāman Dāji (1845–1897).

Author of *Kādambarī-kathāsāra*, *Mudrārākṣasakathāsāra*, and *Vāsavadattākathāsāra* (all in 1889) in Marāthi.

Oundh State Chief—Raja Pantapratinidhi Bhavān Rao Srinivasa Rao (1868–1909).

Great lover of Sanskrit. Donated a lakh of rupees to the project of the critical edition of *Mahābhārata* in Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in early stage. He himself painted and illustrated *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* with 300 paintings. He was also a famous *Kīrtan* - singer and patron of Indian indigenous yoga exercises. Father of Appasaheb Pant, former Indian High Commissioner in U. K.

Karandikar, Janārdan Sakharam (Born, 1875).

Editor *Kesarī*. Translated Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* in Marathi in 1926–28. Authority on battle-timings in *Mahābhārata*.

Karve, Dr. (Mrs.) Irāvati (1905–1970).

Anthropologist and sociologist, Her work *Yugant* in Marāthi and English on *Mahābhārata*, won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1969.

Karhādkar, Gopālāchārya Annā Dhalasashi (1817–1897).

Mahāmahopādhyaya. Author of *Śekharabhūṣaṇa*, *Bhāgavata-bhūṣaṇa*, *Kuladevatā-bhūṣaṇa*, *Viṭṭhala-bhūṣaṇa*, *Śrī-Venkaṭeṣa-sahasranāma-bhūṣaṇa*, *Sadācāra-candrikā*; Sanskrit teacher in Gwalior.

Kāṇe, Panduranga Vāman (1880–1972).

Jhālā Vedānta Prize winner, Māndalik gold medalist, Wilson Philological Lecturer in Bombay University in 1913, Spinger Research Scholar (1915–16), Professor of Sanskrit in Wilson and Elphinstone Colleges, Vice-President and Fellow of Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, Vice-chancellor of Bombay University and

National Professor. Sahitya Akademi award for his *History of Dharmasastra* in four volumes. President, All India Oriental Conference in 1945. Author of several standard works and commentaries on Sanskrit Poetics and Sanskrit Theology.

Kānhere, Sadāshiva Shāstri (Born, 1878).

Was professor of Sanskrit and Marāthi in University of London. He went to Great Britain in 1915 and returned in 1945. A famous lecturer on *Gitā*. Married an English lady. Later took *Śuddh*i and became a Shāstri.

Kālelkar, (Acharya) Dattatreya Balkrishna alias Kakasaheb (Born, 1885)

Follower of Gandhi, author in Gujarati, Konkani, Marathi; Sahitya Akademi Award winner and Fellow. Sanskrit scholar.

Kibe (Sardar) Mādhav Rāo Vināyak Rāo (1887–1957).

Author in Hindi and Marathi. Author of *Vādakāla-nirṇaya* and *Rāmāyaṇa*-Geography.

Kirloskar, Balvant Panduranga alias Annāsaheb (1843–1885).

First dramatist of Marathi. Author of *Shakuntal* (staged on 31 October 1880), *Saubhadra* (1882), *Rāmarājyaviyoga* (1884).

Kīrtikar, Kānhobā Ranchhoddāsa (1899–1919).

Poet, Vaidya (physician) and scholar of scriptures. Wilson Philological lecturer in 1891. Lectured on Sanskrit and Prakrit languages. Author of *Brāhmadharma-pratipādakavākyasangraha.*

Kuvalayānand Swami (born, 1883).

Yoga-expert and physical instructor. Original name Jagannath Ganesh Guṇe. Founder of Kaivalya-Dhām (1924) in Lonavala. Author of *Yoga-Mīmāmsā* (4 volumes) in English,

Kunte, Mahādev Moreshwar (1835–1881).

Poet, historian, authority on six systems of Indian philosophy. Professor of Sanskrit in Elphinston College. Edited a magazine *Ṣaḍ-darśana-cintanikā* (1887). Won a prize for writing *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization in India.* Founder of Prārthanā Samaj in Bombay.

Kelkar, Dr. Shridhar Vyankatesh (1884-1937).

Sociologist, Encyclopedist. Did Ph. D. from Cornale University in U. S. in 1911. Published in 1911 from U. K. *Hinduism: Its Formation and Future*'. He started Rāshtra Dharma Prachāraka Sangh and delivered lecturers in Sanskrit in Andhra and Orissa. He favoured linguistic division of states. He edited the first Marathi encyclopedia in 16 volumes from 1916 to 1927. The first five volumes were written by him alone.

Kevalānanda Sarasvathi Swami (born, 1887).

Original name Nārāyana Shastri Marāthe. Founder of Prajna Pāthashāla, Wai (Satara). Taught Sanskrit for 30 years till 1928. President of the Dharma Nirnaya Mandal.

Kosambi, Dharmānand (1876–1949).

Internationally known scholar of Buddhism. Editor of *Viśuddhimagga* published from Harvard University in 1911. Founder of Bahujan-Vihār in Bombay. Author of *Bhagwan Buddha*, a work translated by Sahitya Akademi in several languages in 1956, on the occasion of 2,500th Anniversary of Buddha. Father of the scientist Dr. D. D. Kosambi and an editor of *Subhāṣitaratnamālā*.

Khādilkar, Krishnāji Prabhākar (Nāṭyāchārya) (1872–1949)

Famous Marathi dramatist whose play *Kīcakavadha* (1906) was proscribed by the British Government. Editor of *Navākal*, nationalist daily. Also author of religious tracts–*Sandhyā*, *Trisuparṇa*, *Saur*, *Rudra*, and Upaniṣads in Marathi translation.

Khānāpurkar, Vinayak, Pānduranga (1858–1919).

Traditional scholar of Sanskrit grammar and astronomy. Author of *Vainākiya Dvādaśādhyāyī*, a work on Tājaka astrological mathematics. He translated *Euclid* in Sanskrit. Author of *Siddhāntasāra*, *Kundasāra* in Sanskrit.

Gajendragadakar, Raghavendrāchārya Venkatachārya (1792–1852)

Eminent Sanskrit Pandit. Author of commentaries *Viṣami* and *Candrikā* on *Śabdenduśekhara*, *Tripathagā* on *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*, *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad-vyākhyā*; was chief Nyāyādhīśa in Gwalior, Gajendragadakar, Nārāyanāchārya Raghavendrāchārya (1818–1873).

Sanskrit Pandit. Debated for nine days with Sri Śankaracharya in Poona on widow-remarriage. Author of *Mahāvākyārtha-khaṇḍana*, *Brahmānanda-khaṇḍana*. *Brahmavidyābharaṇa-khaṇḍana*, *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad - vyākhyā*, *Punarvivāha-khaṇḍana* etc.

Gajendragadakar, Bālāchārya Anantāchārya (1862–1922)

Taught Dvaita and Advaita Vedanta. Father of the famous jurist and educationist P. B. Gajendragadakar.

Gāikvāḍ (Maharajā) Sayajirao Khenderao (1863–1938), great patron of Sanskrit and Indian languages. Edited an eight-language lexicon *Sri Sayāji Shāsan Kalpataru* (Administrative terms including terms in Sanskrit). Under his patronage 300 books were published in Sanskrit, Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi.

Guṇe, Dr. Pānduranga Dāmodara (1882–1922).

Philologist, Founder of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Poona. Wilson Philological Lectures were delivered by him. Author of *An Introduction to Comparative Philology*. Studied in Leipzig and did his Ph.D. in 1914. Was Professor of Sanskrit in Fergusson College in 1908–10.

Gulāb Rao (1881–1915).

A Sadhu from Vidarbha. Author of several books in verse in Marathi, Hindi and Sanskrit. His Sanskrit works are *Ekādaśī-nirṇaya*, *Sampradāya-kusuma-madhu*, *Pramodakallolāh*, *Vālmīki-sāroddhāra*, *Śrīdharochhiṣṭa-prishthi* (*Bhāgavata*, Daśama-skandha-ṭīkā), *Nārada Sūtra Bhāṣya*.

Gunjikar, Ramchandra Bhikājī (1843-1901).

First historical novelist of Marāthi. Translated *Śākuntala* (1870), *Siddhānta-kaumudī* (1875), and commentary on *Gītā* (1888).

Goḍbole, Parashurām Ballāl alias Parashurām Tātyā (1799-1874).

Helped Major Candy in the compilation and editing of first Marathi text books. Translated *Veṇīsamhāra* (1857), *Uttararāmacarita* (1859), *Śākuntala* (1861), *Mṛcchakaṭika*, *Nāgānanda*, *Pārvatī-pariṇaya* etc.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Gode, Parashuram Krishna (born; 1891).

Professor of Sanskrit and English in Karve University, 1918-1919. Assistant Curator of Bhandarkar Research Institute in 1919 and later Curator in 1921. Dr. A. B. Keith (Edinburgh) wrote about him: "Your excellent contributions to our exact knowledge of literary chronology is most useful to future historians of Sanskrit literature." He edited with Dr. S. M. Katre *Oriental Literary Digest* and *New Indian Antiquary*. Author of many volumes of essays on historical research.

Ghate, Bhataji Krishna Shastri (1874-1910).

He studied *Nyāya*, *Vedānta*, *Jyotiṣa* etc. from Mm. Ambādāsa Shastri and Rangacharya. A grammarian and orthodox *Karmakāṇḍin*. A renowned Sanskrit teacher.

Ghate, Vinayak, Sakharam (1880-1919).

M.A. (Cambridge), D. Litt. (Paris). Professor at Deccan College, Poona and Elphinstone College, Bombay. Scholar of Sanskrit; also in German and French. His research thesis on *Vedānta* was in French. His *Lectures on Ṛg-veda* are well known.

Ghārpure, Jagannāth Raghunāth (born, 1872)

Founder of 'Dharma-Śāstra Granthamālā' in 1909. Founder of Indian Law Society in 1923. He translated in English his own Sanskrit commentaries on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, *Dvādaśa-mayūkha* etc.

Ghule, Mm. Krishna Shastri (born, 1873).

A linguist, 'Vedāntakesarī'; translator of the first 91 sūktas of *Ṛg Veda* in Marathi in 1904. Author of *Rahasya-siddhānta-maṇḍana*, historical survey of *Gotra*, *Pravara*, etc.

Ghule, Bhau Shastri alias Sītārāma Śāstri Hari Rāma (1828-1925).

Scholar in grammar and Mantra-śāstra, from Nagpur. Author of *Śekhara-vivṛti-saṅgraha*.

Chitrava Shastri, Siddhesvara, Vishnu (born, 1894).

Author of *Prācīnacaritrakośa*, *Madhyayugīnacaritrakośa* and *Arvācīncaritrakośa* (all biographical dictionaries) in Marathi; also *Bhaugolik Nāmkośa*.

Chiplunkar, Vishnu Shastri Krishna (1850-1882).

Father of modern Marathi essay and literary criticism. Edited 'Nibandhamālā'. Wrote in Sanskrit *Kavipañcaka*.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Chhatre, Sadāshiva Kāshināth (1788-1830).

First prose author in Marathi. Translated *Vetāla-pañcavimśi*, and *Simhāsana-battīsī* (1854).

Joshi, Tarkateerth Lakshmaṇa Shāstri Joshi (born, 1902).

Editor of *Dharmakosh*, Wai. President of Prājna Pāṭhaśālā. Chief of the Maharashtra State Literature and Culture Department, Bombay. Radical Humanist leader. Author of Sanskrit *Śuddhi-sarvasva ;* Marathi—*Vaidic Samskruti cha Vikāsa* (Evolution of Vedic Culture), *Hindu Dharma Samīkṣā* etc.

Tilak, Lokamānya Bal Gangādhar (1856-1920).

Founder-editor of *Kesarī* and *Maratha* journals. Professor of mathematics and Sanskrit in Fergusson College, Poona from 1885. Author of the famous *Gītā-rahasya*, *Veda-kāla-nirṇaya* (1915) , *The Arctic Home in the Vedas* (1903), and *Missing Kārikā in Sāṅkhya.*

Dongare, Panditā Ramābai (1858-1922).

Learnt by heart thousands of Sanskrit ślokas at the age of twelve. Went to Calcutta in 1878, and there married Vipin Bihari who died after 19 months. Devoted herself to widow-remarriage and education of women. She became a Christian in England in 1883. Translated Bible in Sanskrit. Founded *Shāradā Sadan* in 1889.

Telang, Kashināth Tryambak (1850-1893).

Jurist, Indologist, founder of the Indian National Congress. Wrote cogent replies to Dr. Weber's article on *Rāmāyaṇa* and Leringer's statements about the *Gītā*. Edited Bhartṛhari's *Nīti* and *Vairāgya Śatakas*, and *Mudrārākṣasa*. Translated in English *Gītā* in prose and poetry. Wrote many articles in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* and *Indian Antiquary.*

Dr. Dāndekar, R. N. (born, 1910).

Director, Advance Centre of Sanskrit, Poona University; Secretary, BORI., Poona and AIOC. ; specialist in Veda ; associated with several national and international activities connected with Sanskrit.

Daptardar, Viṭhobā Aṇṇā (1813-1873).

Poet, *Pravacana-kāra*. Author of 12 books in Sanskrit like *Śivastuti*, *Gajendra Campū*, *Suśloka-lāghava*, *Hetu-Rāmāyaṇa* etc.

Daptari, Dr. Keshav Lakshmaṇ (born, 1880).

Homeopath from Nagpur. A renowned scholar in Sanskrit, ancient history and astronomy. His works are in Marathi and English like 'The Rationalistic and Realistic Interpretation of the Upanishads' and 'History of Indian Astronomy' (in Marathi).

Dātār, Gangādhara Shāstri (1822-1888).

Author of *Muhūrta-sindhu* (Marathi, 1863).

Devala, Govind Ballāl (1854-1916).

An early dramatist in Marathi. Translated *Vikramorvaśīya* and adapted Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī* in his play *Śāpa-sambhrama.*

Deshpaṇde, Gajānan Tryambak.

Professor of Sanskrit in Nagpur University, was awarded Sahitya Akademi Award for his *Bhāratīya Sāhityaśāstra* (Indian Poetics and Rhetoric) in Marathi.

Deshmukh, Chintamani Dwarakanāth (born, 1896).

Well-known scholar, economist, educationist, ex-Finance-minister of the Union Government. Author of *Gāndhīsūktimuktāvalī* in Sanskrit and translator of *Meghadūta* in Marathi.

Dhārurkar, Vitthala Shastri Dājī Shastri (died, 1910).

Sanskrit scholar from Pandharpur. Founded the Veda S'āstra Pāṭhaśālā there. Author of seven works in Sanskrit and Marathi, including *Paṇḍarī-māhātmya* in Sanskrit.

Pātankar, Parashurām Nārāyaṇ (1860-1929).

Translated *Gīta Govinda* in the same metre in Marāthi. Edited *Dharma-saṅgati*, a Sanskrit magazine and wrote a drama in Sanskrit entitled *Vīradharmadarpaṇa* on Jayadrathavadha.

Pāthak, Mm. Shridhara Shāstri Tryambaka (born, 1877)

Teacher in high school and college at Indore and Kashi. He became a sannyāsin later and was called Śaṅkarānand; wrote *Bālabodhinī Ṭīkā* on *Kena*, *Īśa*, *Kaṭha* and *Muṇḍaka* Upaniṣads. Wrote *Mahābhāṣyaśabdakośa*; also many books in Marathi on *Nityavidhi* and translated *Śukla Yajurveda.*

Bāpat (Śrautācārya) Ḍhunḍhiraj Ganesh (born, 1882).

Translated *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and *Śuklayajurveda* in Marathi; Founded the institution 'Śvādhyāyamandir' which published a magazine *Svādhyāya.*

Bāpat (Dr.) Purushottam Viśvanāth (born, 1894).

Scholar of Sanskrit, Pāli, Chinese, Tibetan. Edited *Visuddhimagga* in Harvard in 1929. Presided over the Pāli section of the Oriental Conference in Benares (1943). Worked in Santiniketan, Delhi University (Buddhist Studies Department). Edited for Sahitya Akademi an Anthology of selections from Pāli texts.

Bāpat Shāstri, Vishṇu Vāman (1871-1932).

Translator of ten Upaniṣads, *Gītābhāṣya*; editor of *Vedāntaśabdakośa*, *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*. Refuted Tilak's *Gītārahasya* on the basis of *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* on *Gītā*.

Belvalkar, (Rao Bahadur, Dr.) Shripad Krishna (1880-1965)

Ph.D. from Harvard (1912-14), for which he worked under Dr. Lanman. Author of *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*. Editor of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* published from Poona. Taught at Poona, Ahmedabad, Varanasi. Founder of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Presided over the Oriental Conference at Benares in 1943. Edited *Śākuntala* for Sahitya Akademi.

Bhāve (Acharya), Vinobā Narhar (born, 1894).

Eminent Gandhian Sarvodaya worker. Scholar of Sanskrit. His works *Gītā-pravacana* and *Sthitaprajña-darśana* have been translated in several Indian languages. The English versions of these two are *Talks on Gītā* and *The Steadfast Vision*.

Bhāndārkar (Dr., Sir) Rāmakrishna Gopal (1837-1925).

Born in Sārasvat Brahman family from Mālavan (Konkan). As a Headmaster at Hyderad (Sindh) in 1864, published his two Sanskrit works. Professor of Sanskrit in Elphinstone College and later at Deccan College. Debated the problem of the date of Patañjali with Prof. Weber in *Indian Antiquary*. Author of *Early History of the Deccan* (1884), *Outlines of Vaishnavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Sects* (1913). Collected works of Bhandarkar edited by Bapuji Utagikar are available in four volumes.

Bhāndārkar, Devadutta Rāmakriṣṇa (born, 1875)

Son of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar; Superintendent, Archeological Survey (West Circle) in 1911. Chief of the Oriental section of the Indian Museum in Calcutta and later Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in Calcutta University (1917 - 1935). His works include *Ashok*, *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Culture*, *Origin of Saka Era*, *Gurjaras*, *Lakulisa* etc.

Bhide Shastri, (Gītāvācaspati) Sadāshiv Gopal (1875-1939)

Born at Sangali ; scholar of Nyāya and Vedānta. Founder of Gītā Dharma Mandal. Wrote in Marathi commentaries on ten Upaniṣads.

Mahārāshtriya, Nārāyaṇ Rāmchandra Pātankar (born, 1888)

Wrote in Marathi and Sanskrit: *Rāmāyaṇa Samālocan*, *Tulantu Darśanam*, *Āgrahāyaṇī*, *Chitrāvasu*, *Vyākaraṇakārikā*, *Uṣāsūktāvali* etc.

Modak, Achyutrāi Rāvji Viśvanāth (1778-1833)

Sanskrit poet and critic. Author of *Sāhitya-sāra*, *Vedānta Ṭīkā*.

Modak, Vāman Ābāji (1836-1897)

Social reformer, Prārthanā-Samājist teacher. Author of *Uttaranaiṣadhacarita*, Nāṭaka (1908).

Yedurakar, (Vedācārya) Sakhārambhatta Bālkrishnabhatta (born, 1887).

Daśagranthi Vaidic scholar of remarkable memory. Śaṅkarācārya of Śaṅkeśvar Math gave him the title of *Vedācārya*. He had done Jaṭā and Ghanapāṭhas. Poona Vaidik Samsodhan Mandal used his services for the S'uddha *Ṛg Veda* publication.

Rājwāde, (Itihāsācārya) Vishvanāth Kāshināth (1863-1926)

Historian, rationalist; edited *Rādhā-mādhava-vilāsa* campū ; wrote *Subantavicāra* and *Tiṅanta-vicāra* in grammar. His selected essays have been published by the Sahitya Akademi in Marāthi.

Rānade (Prof.) Rāmachandra, Dattātreya (1885-1964)

Professor of Philosophy in Poona and Ahmedabad. Author of *Mysticism in Mahārāshtra* and *A Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy* (1926).

Rāshivadekar, (Vidyāvācaspati) Appa Shāstri (1862-1913)

Editor of *Samskritcandrikā* (Calcutta) magazine and *Sūnṛtavādinī*, weekly. He wrote novels and short stories in Sanskrit.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Lād (Dr.) Bhau Dāji (1821-1874)

Sāraswat Brahmin from Goa, Sanskrit scholar, epigraphist. The first Indian member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay. Read many stone inscriptions of the Gupta Age. Wrote on the date of Kālidāsa, *Kālakācārya Kathā*, Jain Hemādri etc.

Vishṇubuā Brahmacāri (1825-1871)

The first Sanskrit scholar who debated against Christian missionaries. Wrote many books in Marathi. He was banned from speaking in 1857. Published *Vedokta-dharma-prakāśa*. Travelled all over India; was called a Hindu Missionary. Has written *Setubandhanī Ṭīkā* on *Gītā*.

Sāvarkar, Vināyaka Dāmodara (1883-1969)

Fondly called by Marathi-speaking people as 'Svātantrya-vīra'; revolutionary nationalist leader, Marathi poet, historian and novelist. Wrote *Hindutva* in English in 1921. Advocate of purifying Marathi. Complete works of Sāvarkar have been published in 5 volumes.

Velankar, Hari Dāmodar (1893-1969)

Professor of Sanskrit in Bombay University. Joint Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Author of many works in Marathi. Edited *Vikramorvaśīya* for Sahitya Akademi. Author of the four volumes of *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. of the BBRAS.* (1925-1930); edited *Budhabhūṣaṇa* (1926); works on Prosody *Jayadāman* (1949), *Ratnamañūjṣā* (1949), etc.

Warnekar, Shridhara Bhaskar (born, 1919)

Professor of Sanskrit in Nagpur; has written a thesis on 'Contribution to Sanskrit in contemporary times'; author of Sanskrit poems and plays.

DAKSHINA INSTITUTION: ITS IMPACT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SAṆSKRIT EDUCATION DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD

(*With a survey of Sanskrit Education down the ages*)

MR. NARINDER KUMAR,
Kurukshetra University

Here is an attempt that evaluates the claims of the Anglicist that they could revive Sanskrit education on better lines by introducing scientific method to its teaching as well as study, and to examine the criticism of the Indian orientalists that the Britishers destroyed the finest points of Sanskrit Education, replacing individual and direct method of instructions by mass method of instruction, the sacred ties of the teacher and taught by materialistic relationship, and the Sanskrit medium of instruction by the English for their own convenience.

At the outset, it is imperative on our part to clarify the terms included in the subject and after delimiting the study, we may enter into the implications.

Kernel Terms

"Education". Education in Indian tradition has been "the instrument through which the individual could rise above the experiences which constitute Appearance and attain the Absolute, which is the true, the beautiful and the good. Education was thus the key to man's "self-fulfilment"; the word has also been taken to mean the literature produced in Sanskrit.

Sanskrit Education

Sanskrit Education as a concept may be considered under the following heads :—

(a) Study of classical language and literature ; the place of the Sanskrit system of education in this is beyond dispute, because it is the only means to get a glimpse of the past civilization on which the present civilization has been based.

(b) Use of Sanskrit as a medium of instruction in Education.

(c) The development of Sanskrit system of education, including the Buddhist at all levels and in all forms such us 'Pāṭhaśālās', 'Ṭols', 'Vihāras', 'Gurukulas' and 'Viśvavidyālayās' along with methods of instructions and systems of examinations, i.e. 'Pariṣads', Goṣṭhīs' and 'Śāstrārthas'. The award of degrees in Dīkṣānta-Samārohas can also form part of study.

Sanskrit Education—an historical account

Imparting education concerning priesthood, religion, philosophy, Sanskrit language and literature entails a long history. During the earliest period i.e. Ṛgvedic, each experienced priest probably taught his sons or nephews the ritual lore and hymns which were traditional in the family, guarding the secrecy of its own tradition.

At some time and in some way unknown, these family-collections came to be amalgamated and taught together. Books second to seventh of the *Ṛgveda* are considered the earliest compilations. The first and the eighth books of *Ṛgveda* were then added after some time, as also the ninth which consists of hymns used for the Soma sacrifice. The tenth book was added last of all; although it contains some old material, some of it was written later. In this last book there is a reference to the meeting of the learned Brāhmans.

Vedic Education

From the three functions of the priest 'hotṛ', 'udgātṛ' and 'adhvaryu' during later developments, the specialised priestly education started along with this, the literature with growing complexities also came into fashion. Thus, there came to be the three orders of priesthood, each possessing its own particular Veda and having its own training school. Macdonell has dealt with this while treating the development of Vedic literature. The duty of the student was to learn by heart the particular Veda of his school. This he did by repeating after his teacher, till he became perfect and achieved accuracy.

Later Vedic Period

The later developments find, besides the instructions and explanation relating to the sacrificial ritual, the inclusion of mythological stories and legends, speculation and argument and we can find in them the first germs of grammar, astronomy, etymology, philosophy and law. The language of the hymns began to be considered archaic and unintelligible to the multitude.

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Epic Period

Thus we enter into the period of the great epics which form the basis of the early history of India i.e. *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. The classes by this time became hardened into caste-divisions i.e. Brāhmaṇas (priests), Kṣatriyas (nobles and the warriors), Vais'yas (agriculturists and traders) and Śūdras (the rest of the classes of people). In course of time further sub-divisions started according to occupation or race or language. This led to a considerable development of educational activities by acute specialisation.

Curriculum

In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* we have, what seems to be an exhaustive list of all that was studied in those days and which includes a good deal more than a knowledge of the Veda.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad gives a somewhat similar list of subjects. These show how the curriculum of Sanskrit education developed. The Brahmanic education started with the idea of the teacher passing on the pupil the traditions he himself received, but from the earliest times the contents of Sanskrit education, as we observed, began to widen out. The sacrificial ritual itself gave birth to some of the sciences.

Grammar

The study of grammar is very old in India. Pāṇini, the great grammarian, who wrote his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* about the fourth century B.C., refers to no less than sixty-four predecessors. In Astronomy Āryabhaṭa and Bhāskarācārya had rich tradition to base their works.

Hindu Medicine

Hindu physicians were called Vaidyas and the science Āyurveda has had a long history. Mostly it has been practised as a family-profession. Great authoritative works include *Caraka Saṁhitā* and *Suśruta Saṁhitā*. The profession had neither any Association nor regular course of study in any institution. It was entirely apprenticeship for quite a long period.

Individual Education System

The relationship of teacher and pupil are defined right from *Atharvaveda* down to *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the later literature. The pupil guarded the teacher's house and cattle

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and also brought firewood. Education was Brāhmanas' right. In Dharma Sūtras, there are rules laid down for the conduct of both teachers and pupils. Sometimes the teacher might be the pupil's own father but sacraments were fully to be observed. The pupil was subjected mostly to a rigid discipline and remained under certain obligations towards the teacher. He should remain with his teacher and not with anybody else as as long his course lasted.

Student-life

The teachers in old times were against harsh punishment. Gautama says : "As a rule the pupil shall not be punished corporally. If no other course is possible he may be corrected with a thin rope or cane. If the teacher strikes him with any other instrument he shall be punished by the King." Manu and Āpastamba also prescribe similar punishments. Further rigid moral disciplinary rules existed requiring the students to be hygienic, moral, religious and possess good manners. Daily bath and avoidance of honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, sleep in the day-time, ointments, collyrium, carriage, shoes, parasol, love, anger, covetousness, perplexity, garrulity, playing musical instruments, bathing for mere pleasure, dancing, singing etc. were the other rules to be followed.

Uniform

There were detailed regulations for clothes. Teaching was Brāhmaṇas' duty ; the teacher was forbidden to accept a fee during the time the pupil was under instructions. At the conclusion, the pupil was duty-bound to offer a present to his preceptor. Initiation of the student was the main ceremony at the beginning of his education. *Manusmṛti* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* provide in detail the Upanayana-rules.

Length of Studies

Length of studies suggested for the study of religious treatises is a long period of studentship as is available in the *Taitirīya Brāhmaṇa* in the dialogues of Bharadvāja and Indra. Later, twelve years was recognised as the actual duration of studentship. Megasthenes, the Greek scholar who visited India about 300 B.C., refers, however to the Indian student spending thirty-seven years in studies.

Session-length

Length of the annual session according to Sūtra-literature was four and a half or five and a half months each year and began usually at the full moon of the month S′rāvaṇa (July-August). It was spread over the rainy and cold seasons when the heat is less intense. Then there were a few declared holidays and restrictions to the study of scriptures.

System of Instruction

The system of teaching was individual and each pupil was separately instructed by the teacher, though there may have been occasions when the teacher explained something to all the pupils at the same time ; at times the son assisted his father in teaching.

Brāhmanic Pariṣads

Pariṣads or assemblies of learned Brāhmaṇas and Brāhmanic settlements existed in India from the earliest times. Their coverage and scope was limited to giving divisions on all points connected with the Brahmanic religion and learning. Max Mueller suggests according to modern writers, that a Pariṣad ought to consist of twenty-one Brāhmaṇas. Gautama describes a Pariṣad consisting of :–

(a) Four men who have studied the four Vedas completely.
(b) Three men belonging to the three orders enumerated first.
(c) Three who know different institutes of law.

The institution of Pariṣads can easily be compared with the Academic Council of a modern university.

Royal Education

Starting with the Priest - education in the Brahmanic system the doors of education were opened to princes and soldiers. The royal education included 'Trayī', namely, 'Ānvīkṣikī', 'Vārttā' and 'Daṇḍanīti'. Vārttā included the vocational education of agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade. The society was divided into many sub-divisions on the basis of crafts and trade. The system of education followed in case of vocations was a domestic one. The crafts were not a matter of choice but being handed over from father to son. It was entirely apprenticeship than formally restricted education. However certain Sanskrit works existed in different vocations which required memorising by heart. Therefore the vocational education being informal through the ages does not form part of our study, under the heading of Sanskrit education.

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Hindu Centres of Higher Learning

The Hindu Centres of Higher Learning include, Takshasila with a curriculum fairly wide in scope; Benares, the famous centre of Hindu religion for more than two thousands of years; Nadia (Navadvīpa) that had from the earliest time patronage of Hindu rulers and which included chiefly logic, law and grammar, in its courses of study. Colleges attached to the temples had been available at Salogti, Eṇṇāyiram, Tirumukkūḍal, Tiruvorriyūr, Mallapuram. Many old inscriptions in South India record grants for educational purposes and down to the eighteenth century every religious centre in that area seems to have maintained some kind of school for the teaching of Sanskrit. North India also might have got similar institutions. In South India there are Brāhmaṇa colonies known as Agrahāra villages, which were usually places of education. In Bengal and Bihar there are many Sanskrit schools known as Ṭols. These have subsisted themselves out of grants of lands made to them; otherwise teachers lived on voluntary grants. The Ṭols had each about 23 students and were often held in thatched sheds.

Buddhist Sanskrit Education

Towards the end of the pre-Christian era the holds of a new faith i.e., Buddhism, became stronger in India. Buddhism was a challenge to Brahmanic supremacy and thus transformed Sanskrit education to adjust to all the sections of the society. Also there was a change in the contents of the curriculum and medium of instruction. The method of individual teaching remained. The relationship of the pupil and preceptor remained cordial. The doors of higher education were opened to monks with strict discipline. Gradually the monasteries became centres of educational importance and the curriculum included not only the doctrines of Buddhism but also other subjects. Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusana mentions the following medieval centres of Buddhist learning, namely Kanchipura, Nalanda, Odantipuri, Sri Dhanyakataka, Kasmira and Vikramaśila. Apart from monasteries, Buddhism did not offer any educational opportunities. The Buddhist educational ideals and practice were also derived from, or closely connected with those of Brahmanism. Therefore, we include the growth and the development of popular elementary schools within Sanskrit Education of India.

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Mohammedan Rulers and Sanskrit Education

The Mohammedan rulers of India generally took keen interest in the development of Mohammedan education and tried to extirpate Sanskrit Education. The sacred language of Islam was of course, Arabic but Persian was the court-language of Mohammedans. The knowledge of Persian and sometimes even Arabic was made essential for Hindus who held important offices under government. Mohammad Ghori is reported to have destroyed some temples at Ajmer and to have built in their places mosques and colleges. Kutub Uddin, the slave of Ghori who succeeded him in 1210, like many other Mohammedan rulers, destroyed Hindu temples which were centres not only of religious worship but also of education. An officer of his named Rakhtiyar, destroyed at Vikramaśila in Bihar, a Buddhist monastic institution which was a place of learning. This onslaught and maltreatment continued during the reigns of Khaljis, Tuglaqs and Mughals before and after Akbar, the Great. Akbar, showed his concern to education and has also referred to the study of Sanskrit. " In studying Sanskrit the students ought to learn the Bayakaran, Niyai, Bedanta and Patanjali. None should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires. These regulations shed a new light on schools......... ".

For centuries the Mohammedans were little more than an armed garrison in a foreign land, and though many inhabitants of India joined Mohammedan religion, the learned class of Brahmans held firmly to their old faith ; thus Sanskrit Education continued under all pressures and vicissitudes. Sanskrit Education continued on a two-tier system i.e. of Ṭols and Pāṭhasālās.

To such a rich tradition of Sanskrit education, the like of which from such an early period, was hardly available anywhere in the world, the continued onslaughts of foreign invasions gave rude continued shocks. In the struggling era of political, social and religious emancipation there came up in Maharashtra the valiant Chattrapati Sivaji, who fought for Hindu values and attempted to revive Hindu tradition of education, popularly known as Sanskrit Education.

Dakṣiṇā Institution

It has its origin from Chattratpati Sivāji. He instituted Dakṣiṇā under the advice of his Guru, Samartha Ramadasa. Under this institution a sum of Rs. two lakhs was spent annually in the form of donations to learned Brahmanas on Śrāvaṇa Pūrṇimā, traditionally known as the start of academic session. This encouragement brought in exodus of learned Brahmanas from all parts of India and led to their concentration in Mahārāshtra. On finding this encouragement a right step to revive Hindu education by patronizing the learned Brahmanas, the other native states also instituted similar 'Dakṣiṇās'. Under such an atmosphere of competition the revival of Sanskrit Education started. The British regime occupied the political stage at such a period.

Jonathan Duncan–Sanskrit College, Benares

Jonathan Duncan in a letter on first January, 1792 to the Earl of Cornwallis, Governor-General in Council, showed his desire for the institution of Hindu College or Academy " for the preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature and religion of that nation, at this centre of their faith, and the common resort of all their tribes."

"Two important advantages seemed derivable from such an establishment, the first to the British name and nation in its tendency towards endearing our Government to the native Hindoos by our exceeding in our attention towards them and their systems, the care shown even by their own native princes; for, although learning has ever been cultivated at Benares in numerous private seminaries, yet no public Institution of the kind proposed ever appears to have existed, to which may, in a considerable degree, be attributed the great difficulty of now collecting complete treatises (although such are well known to have existed) on the Hindoo religion, laws, arts or sciences; a defect and loss, which the permanency of a college at Benares must be peculiarly well adapted to correct and recover by a gradual collection of the books still to be met (though in a very dispersed and imperfect state) so as to accumulate with care and attention and by the assistance and exertions of the possessors and students at only a small and comparative expense to Government, a precious library of the most ancient and valuable general learning and tradition now perhaps existing on any part of the globe."

"The second principal advantage that may be derived from this Institution will be felt in its effects more immediately by the natives, though not without being participated by the British subjects, who are to rule over them, by preserving and disseminating the knowledge of the Hindoo Law and proving a nursery of future doctors and expounders thereof to assist the European judges in the due, regular and uniform administration of its geniune letter and spirit to the body of the people."

Obviously, the institution was proposed in a spirit of competition with the native rulers to get themselves endeared and to increase administrative efficiency. On 13th January 1732, the Hindoo College plan was approved by the Governor in Council with immediate *ad hoc* sanction of Rs. 14,000 and further authorisation for Rs. 20,000 per annum.

The courses were theology, ritual, medicine, music, mechanic arts, grammar, prosody, sacred lexicography, mathematics, metaphysics, logic, law, history, ethics, philosophy and poetry.

C. Grant's Observations

At the same time C. Grant's observations were different. C. Grant remained in India, however, in a military capacity. His arguments achieved vital importance because in 1802 he entered the Parliament and in 1805, became the Chairman of the East India Company.

"The Hindus err because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them would prove the best remedy for their disorders; and this remedy is proposed from a full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us."

"Medium of communication, medium of the people or the medium.........we have possessed them long; many Englishmen reside among the natives, our language is not unknown there." "We proceed them to observe, that it is perfectly in the power of this country, to impart by degrees to the Hindus our language, afterwards through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions, upon a variety of subjects; and let not the idea hastily excite derision, progressively with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy and religion. These acquisitions would silently undermine, and at length subvert the fabric

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of error, and all the objections that might be apprehended against such a change, are, it is confidently believed, capable of solid answer."

Grant suggested a gradual change, from Sanskrit system to Western system, from Sanskrit language to English language and hoped that on comparative basis English language and literature would get endeared to the Indians.

In 1804 Minutes the acting President Mr. T. Brooke pointed out the disreputation of the Benares Hindu College as an institution and suggested radical changes in the rules. Duncan's spirit was highly appreciated but the departure and malpractices of the Rector were deplored.

"The Rector assuming all the powers reduced the allowances of the professor, charged the same amount to the Government, mediocre scholars appointed as professor; stipendiary pupils existed only in the Rector's pay-rolls. To settle this a Committee was formed. Rector was dismissed; no replacement, temporary arrangement of not adequate level." Brooke lamented the inactivity and the lapses on the part of the Government. Also Reform Committee powers have been doubted. Therefore he requested His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, the Visitor and Patron of the College soliciting him to invest the Committee with full power to make those arrangements and alterations as in their judgement and expedience may be deemed essential.

Further Mr. Brooke outlined the plan to form the subject of deliberation of the law; offered suggestion for the starting of the work and sets of rules, controlling authority and specific duty of the Committee; the regulations for the college discipline, the powers of the Rector and the duties of the profsessors. Amount asked for was Rs. 20,000 per annum. Branches for instruction were limited; handsome liberal salaries to the professors, recommended. Institutions should not be made to exceed the means deterioration in standards was deplored; pension for the Pandits when infirm was suggested; annual saving out of the grant considered essential for this purpose; Captain Wilfred be invited for selection due to his profound knowledge of Sanskrit; a committee of four learned Brahmins to assist him in this job; suggested none but

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Duncan's appointments should be considered regular; others to be screened by Wilfred Committee. Professor-pupil ratio, allowances to be granted, examination etc., shall be detailed among rules. An application sent to Henry Colebrooke, Professor of Sanskrit and Hindu Law at the Fort William College for his recommendations about learned Brahmins for Benares College.

Further Expansion of Sanskrit Education

Lord Minto suggested in the following Minutes further expansion of Sanskrit Education.

1. "It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every enquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished but the circle of learning even among those who still devote themselves to it appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse and even actual loss of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended that unless Government interpose with a fostering hand the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books and of persons capable of explaining them."

"Crimes of perjury and forgery" were ascribed to want of due instructions in the moral and the religious tenets of their respective faiths.

Rules are suggested to be revised :—1st : A prejudice appeared to exist among the Hindus in that city against the office of professor considered as an office or even as service; and the most learned pandits have consequently invariably refused the situation although the salary attached to it is liberal. 2nd : The feuds which have arisen among the members of the college and which may be ascribed chiefly to the avarice and malversation of the former native rector, entrusted with authority over the rest and with payment of their allowances, have tended materially to defeat the object of the institution. 3rd: The part of the plan which supposes the attendance of

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teachers and pupils in a public hall appears to be inconsistent with the ways of the Hindoos. It has not only never taken effect but has tended to prevent the professors from giving instruction in their own houses."

I would accordingly recommend that in addition to the college at Benares (to be subjected of course to the reform already noticed) colleges be established at Nuddea and at Bhour near Bhower in the district of Tirhoot.

The following are the principal rules which I would propose should be established for the superintendence and management of those institutions including that already existing in the city of Benares:

1. That the general superintendence of the colleges be vested at Benares in the Agent to the Governor-General, the Magistrate of the city and Collector of the province; at Nuddea in the senior member of the Board of Revenue and the Magistrate and Collector of that district; at Tirhoot in the senior judge of the provincial court for the division of Patna and the Magistrate and Collector of that District and that such other persons be associated with those officers as Government may at any time deem it advisable to appoint.

2. That pensions be granted under the appellation of 'nuka birt' to distinguished teachers on condition that they deliver instructions to pupils at their own houses.

3. That the pensions to the teachers be paid by the Collectors under the general regulations respecting pensions.

4. That the teachers be nominated by the different committees subject to the approval or rejection of the Governor-General in Council.

5. That a Public Library be attached to each of the colleges under the charge of a learned native with a small establishment of servants for the care of the manuscripts.

6. That the Librarians be appointed and remunerated in the mode prescribed with respect to the teachers.

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7. That ready access be afforded both to the teachers and students and likewise to strangers, under such restrictions as the public convenience may require, for the purpose of consulting, or transcribing books, or making extracts from them.

8. That the duty of procuring books either by purchase or transcription be entrusted to the Librarian under the control and orders of the committee.

9. That public disputations be held annually before the Committees, and in the presence of all other persons who may be desirous of attending and that prizes, rewards and literary honours be conferred on such of the students as shall have manifested the greatest proficiency.

The attention of the honourable court will be of course drawn to this interesting subject in the next despatch from the Revenue Department."

Renewal of the Charter, 1813

At the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1813 a lakh of rupees was ordered to be set apart every year for the promotion of literature and education. This led to the various local governments of India making inquiries about the indigenous education. As a result of these inquiries we have a valuable record of education in India as it existed before the Western influences had seriously effected it, and before those developments, which had such a far reaching influence upon India, took place. E.g., the Madras Presidency Inquiry 1822-26; Bombay, 1823-28.

In this connection the most interesting is William Adam's Report to carry out inquiry into Bengal Presidency, published in 1835-38.

Adam did not attempt to survey the whole province but rather to choose typical districts in various parts of the Presidency and make a thorough examination into the existing state of affairs. Besides Hindu Ṭols, he enquired into the Pāṭhaśālās available in all the larger villages and also those consisting of a teacher, twelve to twenty students meeting early in the morning under a tree, sometimes also in temples.

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Practice of Sanskrit Method of Instruction

Mr. Bell has reported the merits of Sanskrit system of Education. Amongst others the following may be mentioned in this connection :

"12. The clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration ; first, the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the revival and the improvement of literature ; secondly, the promotion of knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of that country.

13. Neither of these objects is, we apprehend, to be obtained through the medium of public colleges, if established under the rules, and upon a plan similar to those that have been founded at our universities. Subordination and discipline of college.........

14. We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed......of giving instructions at their homes......by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance.

16. Benares Survey concerning what ancient establishments are still existing......what branches of literature and science taught there ; by what means professors and teachers are supported ; and what way their present establishment might be improved.

18. Honorary distinctions as the reward of merit, either by the public presentation of ornaments of dress, in conformity with the usage of the East or by conferring titles......

19. Endowments in favour of village-teacher is the source already existing.

20. Mode of instruction that from time immemorial has been practised under these masters has received the highest tribute of praise by its adoption in this country, under the direction of Reverned Dr. Bell, formerly Chaplain in Madras and it has now become the mode by which education is conducted in our national establishments, from the conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction,

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22. We are informed that there are, in Sanskrit languages many excellent systems of ethics, with codes of laws and compendium, of the duties relating to every class of people, the study of which might be useful to those natives who may be destined for the judicial department of ths government. There are also many tracts of merit, we are told, on the virtues of plants and drugs, and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European practitioners, and there are treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics including Geometry and Algebra, which, though may not add new light to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the Observatory and to the department of Engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences.

23. With a view to these several objects we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of those departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of Sanskrit language, and we desire that the teachers who may be employed under your authority for this purpose, may be selected from those amongst the natives who may have attained some proficiency in the sciences in question, and that their recompense should be liberal.

Sanskrit Education and Western Education made a single issue

Lord Moira in his report on the Presidency College of Fort William confused the Sanskrit Education with the Western Education :—

119. Remedy for evils, the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives—important object of public education.

120. Village schoolmaster claims the first position in their discussion.

121. Suggestion of village school-master's teaching along with moral code propagation without any religious colour.

122. Patient and silent progress towards Christianity suggested.

123. City teachers—more accurate ideas of general science and sounder principles of morality.

124. Offspring of mendicants and vagrants—idleness of vice-'require'—houses of industry for the education, reformation and employment of these infant profligates, appear to be the important object of public education; evinced by the numerous grant of rent-free lands and the pecuniary allowances for the endowment of public seminaries and the education of particular sections of pupils. British efforts lost sight of.

126. The level and mode of interference in these institutions to be decided.

127. Formation of a Committee suggested to review the situation at Dacca, Patna, Moorshedabad, Benares, Bareilly and Furuckabad.

128. Experimental schools, one for Hindoos and one for Mohammadans at each Zillah Station.

129. Decay of religious endowment and public seminaries noticed.

130. Warning for the erroneous idea in the community that vice if not encouraged, is not sufficiently discountenanced by the ruling power.

131. Lessening the obligation of religion, or weakening the influence of priesthood.

132. Comparing the system and relating the impressions as unhappy suggesting "that the sum set apart by the Hon. Court for the advancement of science among the natives would be much more expediently applied in the improvement of schools, than in gifts to seminaries of higher degree.

133. It is satisfactory to find that there are many natives of birth and education who still feel an anxiety for the improvement of the general morals……

134. Primary Principle of Justice.

" Not that nice and delicate justice, the offspring of a refined humanity, but that coarse, though useful virtue, the guardian of contracts and promises, whose guide is the square and the rule and whose support is the gallows."

135. The lapse of half a century and the operation of that principle have produced a new state of society, which calls for a more enlarged and liberal policy. The moral duties require encouragement and experiment. The arts which adorn and embellish life, will follow in ordinary course. It is for the credit of the British name that this beneficial revolution should arise under British sway. To be the source of blessings to the immense population of India is an ambition worthy of our country. In proportion as we have found intellect neglected and sterile here, we are obliged to cultivate it. The field is noble, may we till it worthily!

Amalgamation of Administration

The General Committee of Public Instruction pointed out that :—" the superintendent of all the government seminaries, at the Presidency, an arrangement which will, of course, supersede the necessity of maintaining separately the existing Madirassa and Sanskrit College Committee. The Governor-General in Council leaves it to your discretion. . . . " Lieutenant Price, Secretary for the Hindu College and Hindu Schools with a salary of Rs. 300 p. m.".........
" You are requested to give your early attention to the completion of arrangements for the construction of the proposed Hindu College of Calcutta......"

Stagnancy suggested for Sanskrit Education

In 1823 Holt Mackenzie suggested : "It probably be thought sufficient to have two Sanskrit Colleges for the encouragement of Hindoo Literature, and for the instructions of Pundits for our courts ......Improve those that exist by the introduction of European Science."

Attack on Encouragement of Sanskrit Education

In 1824 the General Committee of Public Instruction to the Governor-General attacked the method of encouragement "...that the plans of the Hindu College at Benares—originally and fundamentally erroneous," and that in establishing Seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindu Literature, " the Government bound themselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remained indeed in which utility was in any way concerned......"

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Indications of Decay

In 1824 the General Committee of Public Instructions felt that "the ends proposed in the institution of the Hindoo College, Calcutta and the same may be affirmed of the Mohamedan, were two: the first, to maka a favourable impression by our encouragement of their literature upon the minds of the natives, to promote useful learning. You acknowledge that if the plan has had any effect of the former kind, it has had none of the latter and you add, "that it must be feared that the discredit attaching to such a failure has gone to destroy the influence which the liberality of the endowment would otherwise have had."

"With respect to the sciences it is worse than a waste of time to employ persons to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in the oriental books. As far as any historical documents may be found in the Oriental languages what is desirable is that they should be translated and this, it is evident will best be accomplished by Europeans who have acquired the requisite knowledge. Beyond these branches what remains in Oriental literature is poetry, but it has never been thought necessary to establish colleges for the cultivation of poetry, nor is it certain that this would be the most factual expedient for the attainment of the end."

Some General Conclusions

"The progress and spread of education on Western lines has curtailed their traditional institution's activity to a very large extent and tends more and more to limit the sphere within which they are operative.

The long tradition shows that they must have possessed elements of value—They produced many great men and earnest scholars after truth...

Brahmanic educational system had become stereotyped and formal and unable to meet the needs of a progressive civilization. There can be no doubt, however, that the development of India's later educational ideas should not have governed solely by Western Educational thought and practice ; in education as in all other phases of social life, a mingling of East and West was not only found inevitable but desirable and must"; but this fact was ignored.

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पश्चिमी भारत का जैन-संस्कृत-साहित्य को योगदान

WESTERN INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO JAIN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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भारतीय वाङ्मय में जैनविद्वानों की साहित्यसेवा अनेकदृष्टियों से महत्त्वपूर्ण है। उन्होंने न केवल प्राकृत, अपभ्रंश एवं अन्यक्षेत्रीय-भाषाओं में ग्रन्थों का निर्माण कर संस्कृत-साहित्य को भी समृद्ध किया है। उसका यह योगदान संस्कृत भाषा के विकास एवं प्रचार के लिए जितना महत्त्वपूर्ण है उतना ही संस्कृतसाहित्य के अमूल्य ग्रन्थों की सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से भी। इस क्षेत्र में पश्चिमी भारत के जैनविद्वानों व आचार्यों का योगदान सर्वोपरि है।

पश्चिमी भारत और जैन-धर्म

पश्चिमी भारत से जैनधर्म का सम्बन्ध परम्परा के अनुसार बहुत पुराना है। २२-वें तीर्थंकर नेमिनाथ ने गिरिनार पर्वत पर तपश्चरण कर निर्वाण प्राप्त किया था[१]। भगवान महावीर के श्रीमाल नगर[२] एवं अर्बुदपर्वत में आगमन की सूचना १३-वीं सदी के शिलालेखों से मिलती है। यदि इन सन्दर्भों पर पूर्ण विश्वास न भी किया जाय तो इतना स्पष्ट अवश्य है कि इस समय तक पश्चिमी भारत से जैनधर्म का सम्बन्ध पुराना माना जाने लगा था[३]। ईसा की प्रथम शताब्दी के बाद से तो यहां जैनसाहित्य के निर्माण की परम्परा भी मिलने लगती है, जो आज तक विद्यमान है। गुजरात, राजस्थान एवं मालवा का जैनसाहित्य पश्चिमी भारत और जैनधर्म के प्राचीन सम्बन्ध को प्रमाणित करता है।

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[१] गुजराती साहित्य, पृ. ३५.

[२] प्राग्रेस रिपोर्ट आफ् आर्कियोलाजिकल सर्वे, वेस्टर्न सर्किल, १९०७, पृ. ३५

[३] जैनिजम इन राजस्थान, डा. के. सी. जैन, पृ. ८

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जैन-संस्कृत-साहित्य के निर्माण की पृष्ठ-भूमि

यद्यपि जैन-आगमों की भाषा अर्धमागधी एवं शौरसेनी है तथा आगमोत्तर-साहित्य की अधिकांश रचनाएं भी प्राकृत में लिखी गयी हैं। किन्तु जन समुदाय की रुचि के प्रति जैन-आचार्यों की जागरूकता के कारण संस्कृत भाषा को भी वही प्रतिष्ठा दी गयी है जो प्राकृत व अपभ्रंश को। जिस समय से समाज में वैदिक एवं बौद्ध-संस्कृतसाहित्य का प्रभाव अधिक बड़ा उसी समय से जैनसाहित्य में भी संस्कृत को स्थान मिलने लगा। धर्म एवं दर्शन के क्षेत्र में तर्क-पद्धति के विकास के कारण तथा वैदिक व बौद्ध-आचार्यों से वाद-विवाद करने की दृष्टि से जैन-आचार्यों ने संस्कृत को अधिक महत्त्व देना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। यह प्रवृत्ति ईसा की दूसरी सदी से ८-वीं सदी तक अधिक पायी जाती है। पश्चिमी भारत के जैनविद्वानों में आचार्य-सिद्धसेनदिवाकर एवं हरिभद्र के संस्कृतग्रन्थ इस प्रवृत्ति के परिणाम कहे जा सकते हैं।

८-वीं शताब्दी के बाद पश्चिम भारत में लिखित जैन-संस्कृतग्रन्थों की रचना की पृष्ठभूमि में यहां की राजनैतिक, सामाजिक एवं धार्मिकस्थिति अधिक प्रभावशाली रही है। सामान्यतया जैनाचार्यों ने जिस प्रेरक शक्तियों के कारण जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य का निर्माण किया है, उनमें प्रमुख हैं - (१) जैनधर्म के सिद्धान्तों के प्रसार की भावना, (२) प्रभावशाली राजा, राजमन्त्री, गुरु अथवा श्रावकों की प्रार्थना, (३) धार्मिकमहापुरुषों का यशोगान तथा (४) संस्कृत के उत्कृष्टकवियों में स्थान प्राप्त करने की अभिलाषा[१]। इनके अतिरिक्त एक कारण यह भी दृष्टिगत होता है कि बहुत से जैन-आचार्य मूलतः ब्राह्मण थे। संस्कृत का अध्ययन वे बचपन से ही कर चुके थे। अतः अपने ज्ञान एवं प्रतिभा के विकास के लिये भी उन्होंने जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य के निर्माण को माध्यम चुना होगा।

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[१] दीक्षित, १३-१४ वी. सदी के जैन संस्कृत महाकाव्यों का अध्ययन, पृ. ४८

प्रचार एवं प्रसार के साधन

पश्चिमी भारत में संस्कृतसाहित्य के प्रचार व प्रसार में जैनविद्वानों का महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है। उन्होंने केवल संस्कृत में जैनग्रन्थ ही नहीं लिखे अपि तु उनके प्रचार एवं प्रसार व सुरक्षा की पृष्ठभूमि भी तैयार की है। जिस प्रकार राजस्थान के राजाओं द्वारा राज्य के ग्रन्थभण्डारों (पोथी खाना) को साहित्यिक गतिविधियों का केन्द्र बना दिया गया था, उसी प्रकार जैन आचार्यों ने भी मन्दिरों व उपसरों में जैन-ग्रन्थभण्डारों की स्थापना कर उन्हें संस्कृत शिक्षा व लेखन का केन्द्र बना दिया था। इन ग्रन्थभण्डारों में नये ग्रन्थ लिखे जाते थे, पुराने ग्रन्थों की प्रतिलिपियां तैयार की जाती थीं तथा दूर दूर से महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थों को लाकर पुस्तकालय को विकसित किया जाता था ताकि लेखकों को एक ही स्थान पर सन्दर्भ-ग्रन्थ उपलब्ध हो जाय। इस प्रकार पश्चिमी भारत का जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य इन ग्रन्थ-भण्डारों की समुचित सुविधाओं का ही परिणाम है।

जन-समुदाय में संस्कृतभाषा को प्रसार के लिये जैनाचार्यों ने इन ग्रन्थभण्डारों में शिक्षाकेन्द्र खोल दिये थे, जिनमें बच्चों को प्रारम्भ से ही संस्कृत और प्राकृत पढ़ायी जाती थी। संस्कृत के अध्ययन में जैन-अ-जैन की रचनाओं का भेद नहीं किया जाता था। इस क्षेत्र में आचार्य हेमचन्द्र, भट्टारक शुभचन्द्र, प्रभाचन्द्र, ज्ञानभूषण आदि का योगदान महत्त्वपूर्ण है, जिनके अन्तर्गत सौ-सौ छात्र रहकर संस्कृत सीखते थे। संस्कृतशिक्षा के प्रचार में उन श्रावकों का दान भी सराहनीय है जो आचार्यों व शिष्यों को सैंकड़ों ग्रन्थ प्रतिलिपि कराकर भेंट करते थे ताकि उनका अध्ययन निर्विघ्न पूर्ण हो सके[१]।

जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य के निर्माण एवं प्रसार में पश्चिमी भारत के राजाओं व राज्यमन्त्रियों का संरक्षण भी एक प्रमुख कारण रहा है। गुजरात के तो अनेक राजाओं व मन्त्रियों ने जैनाचार्यों को ग्रन्थ-निर्माण के लिये

१, प्रभावकचरित-हेमचन्द्रप्रबन्ध-आदि

सुविधाएं ही नहीं बल्कि प्रेरणा भी दी है। सिद्धराज, कुमारपाल, वस्तुपाल आदि का नाम इस क्षेत्र में स्मरणीय रहेगा। जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य का विकास समय समय पर आयोजित शास्त्रार्थ के कार्यक्रमों के कारण भी हुआ है जिसमें अजैन, दिगम्बर, श्वेताम्बर सभी संस्कृत के आचार्य सम्मिलित होते थे। पश्चिमी भारत के कई जैनाचार्यों ने ऐसे वाद-विवादों में विजयी होंने के लिये अनेक चमत्कारिक संस्कृतग्रन्थों की रचना की है। महाकवि समयसुन्दर का 'अष्टलक्षार्थी'-नामक ग्रन्थ इस बात का प्रमाण है।

क्रमिक-विकास

जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य के लेखन का प्रारम्भ आचार्य उमास्वामी के 'तत्त्वार्थसूत्र' से होता है, जिसपर आगे चलकर संस्कृत में बृहत्काय टीकाएं लिखी गयी हैं १। किन्तु पश्चिमी भारत में जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य का लेखन कब से प्रारम्भ हुआ, सर्वप्रथम संस्कृतरचना कौन सी है, यह कहना कठिन है। क्योंकि बहुत कम प्राचीन रचनाओं में उनके रचना स्थल आदि का उल्लेख मिलता है। दूसरे पश्चिमी भारत के जैन सन्त गुजरात, राजस्थान, मालवा आदि स्थानों में भ्रमण करते रहते थे। अत: उन्होंने कहां पर रहकर ग्रन्थरचना की इसका पता अन्य स्रोतों से लगाना पड़ता है। चित्तौड़ की ऐतिहासिक सामग्री से ज्ञात होता है कि यहां पर अनेक जैन-आचार्यों का कार्यक्षेत्र रहा है[२]। उनमें से ५-वीं सदी के आचार्यसिद्धसेन-दिवाकर संस्कृत के प्राचीन लेखक कहे जा सकते हैं। इन्होंने जैनन्याय पर 'न्यायावतार' नामक महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ लिखा है। सिद्धसेनदिवाकर के बाद आठवीं सदी के आचार्य हरिभद्र के पूर्व तक पश्चिमी भारत में जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य का कोई ग्रन्थ लिखा गया हो ऐसा उल्लेख नहीं मिलता। आठवीं सदी के बाद प्रचुर मात्रा में जैनाचार्यों के द्वारा संस्कृत के ग्रन्थ लिखे गये हैं[३]।

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१. भारतीय संस्कृति को जैन धर्म का योगदान, डा. हीरालाल जैन.

२. वीरभूमि-चित्तौड, डा. रामावल्लभ सोमाना, चतुर्थ अध्याय

३. जैन सिद्धान्त भास्कर ६२,१६१

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आचार्य हरिभद्र चित्तौड के राजा जितारि के राजपुरोहित थे। आपने लगभग सौ ग्रन्थों की रचना की है [१]। संस्कृतग्रन्थों में 'षट्दर्शन-समुच्चय', 'अनेकान्तजयपताका', 'अष्टक-प्रकरण' आदि प्रमुख हैं। जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य के इतिहास में आचार्य हरिभद्र प्रथमलेखक हैं जिन्होंने जैनागमों एवं पूर्वाचार्यों की प्रसिद्धकृतियों पर संस्कृत में टीकाएं लिखने का सूत्रपात किया है। आचार्य हरिभद्र की परम्परा की दसवीं सदी के उत्तरार्द्ध (सं.६६२) में श्रीमाल नगर (भीनमाल) के निवासी आचार्य सिद्धर्षि ने आगे बढ़ाया है। आपकी 'उपमितिभवप्रपञ्चकथा' भारतीयसंस्कृत-साहित्य की अनुपम कृति है। सिद्धर्षि रचित 'श्रीचन्द्रकेवलीचरित' 'उपदेशमालाटीका' और 'न्यायावतारविवृति' आदि अन्य रचनाएं भी प्राप्त हैं।

ग्यारहवीं सदी में राजस्थान में खरतरगच्छ के आचार्यों का प्राधान्य शुरू हो जाता है। जिनेश्वर सूरि सं.१०८० और बुद्धिसागरसूरि ने मौलिक संस्कृतग्रन्थों के निर्माण को आगे बढ़ाया। बुद्धिसागर ने 'पञ्चग्रन्थवृत्ति' नामक संस्कृतव्याकरण लिखा तथा जिनेश्वरसूरि ने 'प्रमालक्ष्यस्वोपज्ञवृत्ति' नामक जैनन्याय का ग्रन्थ लिखा। इस गच्छ के अन्य-आचार्यों में जिनवल्लभसूरि का 'श्रृङ्गारशतक'[२], 'प्रश्नोत्तरैकशतक' तथा जिनदत्तसूरि की संस्कृत रचनाएं अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। इन सभी आचार्यों ने प्राकृत में भी अनेक ग्रन्थों की रचना की थी। बारहवीं सदी के विद्वानों में वादिदेवसूरी का नाम विशेष उल्लेखनीय है। इनका "स्याद्वादरत्नाकर" जैनन्याय का महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ है। ये वाद-विवाद करने में भी कुशल थे।

१३-वीं सदी के विद्वानीं में जिनपालसूरि (सं.१२१४-७७) विशेष उल्लेखनीय हैं। कहा जाता है, इन्होंने शास्त्रार्थों में विजय प्राप्त की थी। इन्होंने संस्कृत टीकाएं तथा स्तोत्र लिखे हैं, इनके शिष्यों में जिनपाल, सुमतिगणि, पूर्णभद्र एवं जिनेश्वरसूरि संस्कृत के प्रकाण्ड विद्वान थे। जिनपाल

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[१] हरिभद्र के प्राकृत कथासाहित्य का आलोचनात्मक परिशीलन।

[२] 'संस्कृत के ६० शतक', वरैयास्मृतिग्रन्थ, पृ. ५३४ पर अगरचन्द नाहटा का लेख द्रष्टव्य।

Funding by IKS-MoE

उपाध्याय का 'सनत्कुमारमहाकाव्य' तथा पूर्णभद्र का 'धन्यशालिभद्रचरित' उत्कृष्ट काव्यात्मक कृतियां हैं। इसी समय दिगम्बर आचार्य आशाधर ने अनागार एवं सागार 'धर्मामृत' तथा वाग्भट ने 'नेमिनिर्वाण' 'काव्यानुशासन' आदि रचनाओं द्वारा संस्कृतसाहित्य को समृद्ध किया है। १४ - वीं सदी में जैनविद्वानों के द्वारा संस्कृत के महाकाव्य अधिक लिखे गये तथा प्राचीन ग्रन्थों पर टीकाएं भी की गयी। लक्ष्मीतिलक (सं.१३११) का 'प्रत्येकबुद्धचरित', चन्द्रतिलक का (सं.१३१२) 'अभयकुमारचरित', विवेकसमुद्रगणि (१३३४) का 'नरवैभवचरित', 'पुण्यसागरकथा' तथा जिनप्रभसूरि का 'श्रेणिकचरित' आदि इस युग की प्रसिद्ध संस्कृत रचनाएं कही जा सकती है। इसी समय के लगभग नयचन्द्रसूरि ने 'हम्मीरमहाकाव्य' का निर्माण भी सम्भवत: राजस्थान में किया था[1] जो कथात्मक एवं ऐतिहासिक दृष्ट से महत्त्वपूर्ण है।

१५-वीं से १६ वीं सदी तक के राजस्थान में रचित जैन संस्कृत का परिचय श्रीअगरचन्द्र नाहटा ने अपनी एक पुस्तक में दिया है। १५-वीं एवं १६-वीं सदी के संस्कृत ग्रन्थों में रचना-स्थल का उल्लेख नहीं है। किन्तु उनमें से अधिकांश पश्चिमी भारत में लिखे गये होंगे। १७-वीं सदी में जैनविद्वानों द्वारा अधिक मात्रा में संस्कृतसाहित्य लिखा गया है। आचार्य समयसुन्दर (१६५०) अकेले ने लगभग पांच सौ छोटी बड़ी रचनाएं लिखी है[2] जिनमें से १४ संस्कृत के ग्रन्थ राजस्थान में लिखे गये हैं। इस शतक में जयागच्छीय जैनविद्वानों की संस्कृतसेवा महत्त्वपूर्ण है। हर्षकीर्ति व पद्मसुन्दर के संस्कृत ग्रन्थ उल्लेखनीय है। १८-वीं सदी के जैन-संस्कृतविद्वानों में उपाध्याय मेघविजय का योगदान महत्त्वपूर्ण है आपका 'सप्तसन्धानमहाकाव्य' विस्मयकारी है जिसमें रामकृष्ण, एवं पांच तीर्थंकरों के चरित का एक साथ वर्णन है। यशोविजय इस युग के दूसरे उल्लेखनीय आचार्य है

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[1] राजस्थानी साहित्य की गौरवपूर्ण परम्परा पृ. ३५

[2] समयसुन्दर कृति कुसुमाञ्जलि

जिन्होंने संस्कृत ग्रन्थों के द्वारा जैन न्याय को पुनः व्यवस्थित रूप प्रदान किया है।

१६-वीं, सदी में जैन विद्वानों द्वारा संस्कृतसाहित्य बहुत कम लिखा गया है। सम्भवतः क्षेत्रीयभाषाओं एवं हिन्दीभाषा की लोकप्रियता इसका कारण रही हो। फिर भी जैन-आचार्यों की संस्कृत के प्रति रुचि बनी रही है। तेरापन्थ सम्प्रदाय के इतिहास से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि उसके प्रारम्भिक आचार्यों ने बड़े परिश्रम के साथ संस्कृत का ज्ञान अर्जित किया एवं संस्कृत लेखन की अपने मुनि समुदाय में जागृत किया। उसी का परिणाम है कि लगभग २०० संस्कृत ग्रन्थों का प्रणयन इस सम्प्रदाय के मुनियों द्वारा हो चुका है[1]। आज भी आचार्य तुलसी के शिष्य अन्य भाषाओं के अतिरिक्त संस्कृत साहित्य की रचना में संलग्न है। अन्य संप्रदायों के विद्वानों द्वारा भी वर्तमान युग में कुछ संस्कृत ग्रन्थ लिखे गये हैं[2]।

गुजरात का जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य

जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य के उपर्युक्त क्रमिक विकास में अनेक आचार्य ऐसे हैं जो राजस्थान एवं गुजरात दोनों के कहे जा सकते हैं। फिर भी कुछ ऐसे आचार्य हुए हैं जिन्होंने अपना कार्यक्षेत्र केवल गुजरात को बनाया है[3]। उनके द्वारा लिखित संस्कृतग्रन्थ गुजरात का जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य कहा जा सकता है। गुजरात में जैन-संस्कृतग्रन्थों का लेखन आठवीं सदी से प्रारम्भ होता है। जिनदास महत्ता (आठवीं सदी सं. ७३३) ने 'नन्दी-सूत्र' एवं 'निशीथ' पर संस्कृत में चूर्णी लिखी। ११-वीं सदी में महाराज भीमदेव के समय में जैन विद्वान द्रोणाचार्य ने (सं. १०००) 'नेमिचरित' महाकाव्य लिखा। सं. ११३९ में पद्मसुन्दर ने 'पार्श्वचरित' लिखा।

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१. भिक्षुस्मृतिग्रन्थ.

२. 'वीरवाणी', राजस्थानी साहित्य सेवी विशेषांक, १९६६.

३. 'जैनिज़म इन गुजरात', सी. बी. सेठ, द्रष्टव्य.

इसी शतक में मुनिरत्नसूरि (सं. ११९०) ने पाटण में 'तीर्थंकरमुनिसुव्रतचरित' लिखा तथा वर्धमानाचार्य (सं. ११९९) में 'वसुपूज्यचरित्र' लिखा[1]।

कुमारपाल राजा के समय में गुजरात में जैनसाहित्य की पर्याप्त उन्नति हुई। सं. १२१८ में भावदेव ने 'पार्श्वनाथचरित' लिखा। आचार्य हेमचन्द्र इस युग के प्रमुख साहित्यकार थे। उनकी 'त्रिषष्टिशलाकापुरुषचरित', 'सिद्धहेमशब्दानुशासन' आदि संस्कृत रचनाएं प्रसिद्ध हैं। आचार्य हेम के बाद रामचन्द्र एवं गुणचन्द्र के संस्कृत नाटक, यशपाल नामक जैनमन्त्री का 'मोहराजपराजयनाटक', सोमप्रभाचार्य का 'सोमशतक' तथा माणिक्यचन्द्रसूरि (सं. १२४६) का 'कुबेरपुराण' आदि संस्कृतरचनाएं अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। वस्तुपाल तथा तेजपाल का समय भी गुजरात में संस्कृतसाहित्य की रचना के लिये अनुकूल रहा है। वस्तुपाल का 'नरनारायणानन्द' महाकाव्य तथा विनयचन्द्र (सं. १२८५) का 'कविशिक्षा' नामक ग्रन्थ उल्लेखनीय है। गुजरात में १४-वीं सदी के बाद संस्कृतसाहित्य की धारा मन्द पड गयी थी[२]। इस समय प्रसिद्ध प्राकृतग्रन्थों को संक्षेप संस्कृत में लिखा जा रहा था। रत्नप्रभसूरी ने 'कुवलयमालाकहा' का तथा प्रद्युम्नसूरी (सं. १३२४) ने 'समराहच्चकहा' का संक्षेपसार संस्कृत में प्रस्तुत किया है। इसके बाद संस्कृत के ग्रन्थ भी लोकभाषाओं में अनुवाद कर प्रस्तुत किये जाने लगे थे। गुजरात में भी १८-वीं सदी तक संस्कृत की छुटपुट रचनाएं लिखी जाती रही हैं[३]। अन्यभाषाओं में रचित जैनसाहित्य पर्याप्त समृद्ध है[४]।

जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य की प्रमुख विधाएँ

पश्चिमी भारत के जैनविद्वानों ने साहित्य की प्रायः सभी विधाओं में संस्कृत के ग्रन्थ लिखे हैं। यद्यपि दार्शनिक एवं धार्मिक साहित्य का

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[1] 'जैन-गुर्जर कवियों' भाग-१

[२] गुजराती साहित्य

[३] गुजरातनु संस्कृत साहित्य, आनन्दशंकर

[४] जैन साहित्यनु संक्षिप्त इतिहास-दलीचन्द देसाई

प्राधान्य अधिक है। फिर भी उन्होंने चरित, पुराण, काव्य, नाटक, स्तोत्र आदि विधाओं के माध्यम धर्म, दर्शन, इतिहास, भूगोल, गणित, ज्योतिष, व्याकरण, कोष, छन्द-अलंकार आदि अनेक विषय के साहित्य का सृजन किया है, जो भारतीय साहित्य के इतिहास में उल्लेखनीय है। इस सभी विधाओं से सम्बन्धित जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य का यहां परिचय देना सम्भव नहीं है। इन विधाओं को जैनविद्वानों ने क्या स्वरूप प्रदान किया है इसे समझाया जा सकता है।

महाकाव्य—जैनविद्वानों द्वारा पौराणिक, ऐतिहासिक एवं शास्त्रीय तीनों प्रकार के महाकाव्य लिखे गये हैं, जिनपर प्राचीनसंस्कृत एवं प्राकृत महाकाव्यों का प्रभाव है। जैन-संस्कृतमहाकाव्यों की निजी विशेषताएं भी है। यथा-इनमें भाषा को अधिक सरल बनाया गया है तथा देशज शब्दों का उपयोग किया गया है। अवान्तरकथाओं का संयोजन किया गया है। नायक का साधारणीकरण दृष्टिगत होता है तथा काव्यरस की अपेक्षा धर्मभावना का अधिक प्राधान्य है। जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य महाकाव्यों की इन प्रवृत्तियों का क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं एवं हिन्दी के महाकाव्यों पर भी पर्याप्त प्रभाव पडा है।

पुराण—जैनविद्वानों ने संस्कृत में पुराण-साहित्य के लेखन में भी पर्याप्त उत्साह दिखाया है। आचार्य रविषेण (६७८ ई) ने सर्वप्रथम 'पद्मपुराण' लिखा तदनन्तर राजस्थान के अनेक जैनविद्वानों ने इसको योगदान दिया है। आचार्य हेमचन्द्र, असग, सकलकीर्ति, जिनदास, ब्रह्मकामराज, शुभचन्द्र आदि के पुराणसंस्कृतसाहित्य के अनुपम ग्रन्थ है। किन्तु जैन-संस्कृतपुराण-साहित्य वैदिक-पुराणसाहित्य से भिन्न है। जैन-संस्कृत-पुराणों में तीर्थंकर के जीवनचरित के साथ अन्य प्रसिद्ध व्यक्तियों के जीवन का भी वर्णन होता है। तथा इनकी वर्णन शैली एवं भाषा इतनी काव्यात्मक है कि इन्हें पुराण कहने के बजाय काव्य कहना अधिक उपयुक्त है। 'हरिवंशपुराण' (जिनसेन) को तो जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य का महाभारत कहा जा सकता है।

चरित—जैनसंस्कृतसाहित्य को काव्य एवं कथासाहित्य के मध्य में रखा जा सकता है। संस्कृतचरितसाहित्य के द्वारा प्रायः भाषा को सरल बनाने का प्रयत्न किया है। जिससे जो व्यक्ति काव्य की क्लिष्ट भाषा नहीं समझ सकते वे चरित ग्रन्थों के अध्ययन द्वारा अपना मनोरंजन कर सकें। लगभग ६ - वीं सदी से १७ - वीं सदी तक यह साहित्य संस्कृत में पश्चिमी भारत में लिखा जाता रहा है जिस की अनेक प्रतियां ग्रन्थभण्डारों में प्राप्त होती है। संस्कृत के चरितग्रन्थों में प्राय: तीर्थंकरों की जीवनी पर प्रकाश डाला गया है।

कथा—संस्कृत में कथाग्रन्थ प्राकृत की अपेक्षा कम लिखे गये हैं। लेकिन धार्मिकसिद्धान्तों को समझाने के लिये कथाओं का सबसे अधिक उपयोग किया गया है। पश्चिमी भारत के जैन-विद्वानों ने भी इस माध्यम को अपनाया है। महेन्द्रसूरी(११३०ई.) की 'नर्मदासुन्दरीकथा', नारचन्द्रसूरी का 'कथारत्नसागर', राजशेखर का 'कथासङ्ग्रह', सोमचन्द्रगणि (१४४७ ई.) का 'कथामहोदधि', सोमकीर्ति की 'सप्तव्यसनकथा', तथा गुणाकरसूरी की 'सम्यक्त्वकौमुदी' आदि रचनाएं संस्कृत के अन्यकथा-साहित्य से कम नहीं है। पञ्चतन्त्र की कथात्मकशैली का जैनसंस्कृत-साहित्य के इन कथाग्रन्थों द्वारा पर्याप्त विकास हुआ है।

नाटक—जैनसंस्कृतनाटकों का लेखन अन्य विधाओं की अपेक्षा बाद में प्रारम्भ हुआ है। संभवत: जैनाचार्य नाटक आदि विनोदों को धर्म की दृष्टि से हेय समझते थे। अतः उसके लेखन की ओर उनका प्रयत्न कम रहा। फ़िर भी १२. वीं सदी से जैनविद्वानों द्वारा संस्कृत के अनेक नाटक लिखे गये हैं। रामचन्द्र-गुणचन्द्र के 'रघुविलास', 'नलविलास' आदि, जयसिंहसूरी का' हम्मीरमदमर्दन' तथा मेघप्रभाचार्य का 'धर्माभ्युदय' आदि पश्चिमी-भारत में जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य के प्रमुख नाटक है। 'अनर्घराघव' नाटक पर तीन जैनविद्वानो ने संस्कृतटीकाएं भी लिखी है[१]। जैन संस्कृत

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१. जैन ग्रन्थ भण्डार्ज़ इन राजस्थान, पृ. १७१

नाटकों द्वारा केवल मनोरंजन ही नहीं होता अपि तु धर्मदर्शन के अनेक सिद्धान्तों का स्पष्टीकरण भी हो जाता है। अतः विषयवस्तु की दृष्टि से जैनसंस्कृतनाटक साहित्य विशिष्ट है।

पश्चिमी भारत में लिखित जैनसंस्कृतसाहित्य में इन उपर्युक्त विधाओं के अतिरिक्त स्तोत्र, सुभाषित, नीति, सन्देशकाव्य आदि विधाओं का पर्याप्त साहित्य मिलता है जो यद्यपि काव्यात्मक दृष्टि से अधिक रसात्मक नहीं है, फ़िर भी जीवन में उसकी उपयोगिता अधिक है। जैन समाज में भक्तिवाद के प्रचार में इस प्रकार के साहित्य ने अधिक प्रभाव डाला है।

ज्योतिष एवं गणित—ज्योतिष एवं गणित से सम्बन्धित अनेक ग्रन्थ जैनविद्वानों ने संस्कृत में लिखे हैं। 'सूर्यप्रज्ञप्ति', 'चन्द्रप्रज्ञप्ति' एवं ज्योतिषकाण्ड' प्राकृत के इन ग्रन्थों पर मलयगिरि ने संस्कृत में टीकाएं लिखी हैं। हरिभद्रसूरि ने 'लग्नसिद्धि', नरचन्द्र ने 'नारचन्द्रज्योतिषशास्त्र' तथा हर्षकीर्ति ने 'ज्योतिषशास्त्र', 'जन्मपत्री-पद्धति', 'लग्नविचार'-नामक स्वतन्त्रग्रन्थ ज्योतिष के लिखे हैं। गणित के क्षेत्र में महावीराचार्य (८-सदी) का 'गणितसारसङ्ग्रह', श्रीधराचार्य का 'गणितसार' तथा राजादित्य का 'व्यवहारगणित' आदि रचनाएं उल्लेखनीय हैं। ये ग्रन्थ भारतीय ज्योतिष तथा गणित के अध्ययन के लिये अत्यन्त उपयोगी है।

राजस्थान के जैन सन्तों की संस्कृतसेवा

१५-वीं सदी से १७-वीं सदी तक पश्चिमी भारत में सैंकडों जैन सन्तों ने जन्म लिया है। इन्होंने संस्कृतसाहित्य की पर्याप्त सेवा की है। सकलकीर्ति, ब्रह्मजिनदास, सोमकीर्ति, ज्ञानभूषण, शुभचन्द्र, सुमतिकीर्ति आदि ने लगभग सौ संस्कृत के ग्रन्थों की रचना की है। साथ ही अपने पूर्ववर्ती आचार्यों, कवियों की अनेक संस्कृतरचनाओं का संग्रह कर उनकी सुरक्षा भी की है। ग्रन्थ-संग्रह में इन्होंने कभी जातिवाद व सम्प्रदायवाद का भेदभाव नहीं रखा। इस कारण अनेक अजैन विद्वानों की संस्कृतरचनाओं

की सुरक्षा भी इनके द्वारा हुई है। पांच सौ अ-जैन पाण्डुलिपियाँ केवल जयपुर के पाटोदी के ग्रन्थ भण्डार में हैं [1]।

राजस्थान के इन जैन सन्तों का संस्कृतसाहित्य के प्रसार में एक महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान यह भी है कि इन्होंने संस्कृतग्रन्थों की अनेक प्रतियां लिखवाकर समाज में उनके पठन-पाठन को प्रोत्साहित किया है। संस्कृत के ग्रन्थ समाज में अधिक लोकप्रिय हों इसलिये अनेक ग्रन्थों की जनभाषा में व्याख्याएं भी प्रस्तुत की है। इस प्रकार भारतीयसंस्कृति के प्रसार में जो योगदान भक्तिकालीन सन्तों का रहा है वहा राजस्थान के इन जैन सन्तों का संस्कृत भाषा के प्रचार व प्रसार में कहा जा सकता है।

जैनेतर-संस्कृतग्रन्थों पर टीकाएं

पश्चिमी भारत के जैनविद्वानों ने अनेकग्रन्थों पर संस्कृतटीकाएं लिखकर संस्कृतसाहित्य को अमूल्य सेवा की है। इससे एक ओर जहां प्रसिद्ध कवियों की संस्कृतरचनाएं समाज में अधिक लोकप्रिय हुई है, दूसरी ओर उन वृत्तियों का मूल-स्वरूप भी सुरक्षित रह गया है, कालिदास, हर्ष, माघ, भारवि, भट्टि, सोमेश्वर-आदि प्रसिद्ध ग्रन्थों की अनेक पाण्डुलिपियां जैन ग्रन्थ भण्डारों में प्राप्त हैं। इन पर जिन जैन विद्वानों ने संस्कृत में टीकाएं लिखी हैं उनमें प्रकाशवर्ष (किरातार्जुनीयम्), धर्ममेरु, सुमतिविजय, चरित्रवर्द्धन (रघुवंश), गुणरत्न (काव्यादर्श), विनयचन्द्र (मेघदूत आदि), जिनराजसूरि (नैषधचरित) आदि टीकाकारों के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं [2]। यह जैन-विद्वानों का एक तरका प्रयत्न था। यदि इस प्रकार ब्राह्मणपरम्परा के विद्वान् जैनप्राकृत-साहित्य के ग्रन्थों पर टीकाएं लिखते तो आज जैनसाहित्य इतना उपेक्षित नहीं रहता।

राजपुरुषों एवं श्रावकों द्वारा संस्कृतसेवा

समय समय पर पश्चिमी भारत में अनेक राजपुरुष ऐसे हुए हैं, जिन्होंने जैन विद्वानों को राज्याश्रम एवं अन्य सुविधाएं प्रदान कर उन्हें

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[1] जैन ग्रन्थ भण्डारज़ इन राजस्थान, पृ. २१७

[2] मधुमती, 'जैनेतर संस्कृत साहित्य', अगरचन्द नाहटा का लेख।

संस्कृतसाहित्य के लेखन में सहयोग प्रदान किया है। स्वयं भी अनेक ग्रन्थों की रचना की है। इस क्षेत्र में गुजरात के राजाओं एवं राज्यमन्त्रियों का प्रमुख योगदान रहा है। सिद्धराज, जयसिंह, कुमारपाल, वस्तुपाल, तेजपाल आदि के नाम उल्लेखनीय है। वस्तुपाल को निजी पुस्तकालय संस्कृत-प्राकृत के ग्रन्थों से समृद्ध था। उसने विद्वानों की सुविधा के लिये तीन नगरों में पुस्तकालय भी स्थापित किये थे[१]। समय-समय पर इन राजाओं द्वारा वाद-विवाद प्रतियोगिताएं आयोजित होती रहती थीं, जिसमें जैन-विद्वान भी भाग लेते थे और संस्कृत की रचनाओं द्वारा चमत्कार दिखाते थे। जैन गृहस्थों का मुक्तहस्त से दिया गया दान संस्कृतसाहित्य की सुरक्षा के लिये महत्त्वपूर्ण था। कुछ श्रावकों ने संस्कृत की रचनाएं भी लिखी है। यथा सेठपुत्र पद्मानन्द का 'वैराग्यशतक' तथा नेमिचन्द्रभण्डारी के 'षड्ग्रन्थ' आदि।

जैनविद्वानों द्वारा लिखित संस्कृत-अभिलेख

पश्चिमी भारत के कुछ जैनविद्वानों का राज्यों से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध था। राजाओं की सभा में रहने के कारण वे उनके अभिलेख आदि लिखने का कार्य भी करते थे। कुमारपाल का चित्तौड अभिलेख (११५० ई.), बिजोलिया अभिलेख (११६९ ई.) तथा सून्धा अभिलेख (१३१९ ई.) दिगम्बर विद्वानों द्वारा संस्कृत में लिखे गये हैं[२]। इस प्रकार के अन्य अभिलेख भी खोजे जा सकते हैं जो न केवल ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व के हैं, अपि तु उनका काव्य पक्ष भी अध्ययन के योग्य है।

जैनग्रन्थभण्डार और संस्कृतसाहित्य

जैनग्रन्थभण्डारों की स्थापना में जैनविद्वानों एवं राजपुरुषों सभी का योग रहा है। इसके पीछे साहित्य के प्रति जितना प्रेम था उतना ही धार्मिक भावना भी रही है। जैनविद्वानों ने ग्रन्थभण्डारों की स्थापना

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[१] प्रबन्धकोश, पृ. १२९; वस्तुपालचरित, पृ. ८०

[२] राजस्थान थ्रू दि एजेज़, डां. दशरथ शर्मा, पृ. ५२४

करने तथा ग्रन्थों की प्रतियां लिखने लिखवाने के कार्य को पुण्य-प्राप्ति का साधन बना दिया था। इसलिये पश्चिमी भारत में सैंकडों ग्रन्थभण्डार स्थापित हो सके हैं तथा उनमें लाखों ग्रन्थ सुरक्षित रह सके। इस क्षेत्र में आचार्य धर्मघोषसूरि (११३० सं.), सोमसुन्दरसूरि (१४७१), जिनभद्रसूरि (१४७५ सं) आदि के प्रयत्न उल्लेखनीय है[१]। राजस्थान के जैन ग्रन्थ-भण्ड़ारों का अध्ययन डा. कस्तूरचन्द कासलीवाल, मुनि पुण्यविजय, अगरचन्द नाहटा प्रभृति विद्वानों ने किया है। अभी तक प्रत्येक भाषा का कितनी पाण्डुलिपियां इन भण्डारों में है, इस प्रकार कार्य नहीं हुआ हैं। न केवल राजस्थान में अपि तु भारत के अन्य प्रान्तों के ग्रन्थभण्डारों में भी पश्चिमी के जैन-विद्वान की संस्कृतरचनाएं प्राप्त होती है[२]। अतः जब तक समस्त ग्रन्थ भण्डारों की पाण्डुलिपियों का भाषा की दृष्टि से विभाजन न हो तब तक जैनसंस्कृतग्रन्थों की संख्या का पता लगाना कठिन है। इस प्रकार का कार्य विभिन्न भाषाओं के जानकार कर्मठ शोधकर्त्ता ही कर सकते हैं।

जैनसंस्कृतसाहित्य की विशिष्टभाषा

पश्चिमी भारत के अनैक जैन आचार्य मूलतः ब्राह्मण थे। अतः वैदिक-ग्रन्थों के अध्ययन एवं संस्कार के कारण उनका संस्कृतभाषा का ज्ञान अधिक प्रौढ़ होता था। जैन-मुनि बनने के बाद उन्होंने अपने इस ज्ञान का उपयोग जैन-संस्कृतग्रन्थ लिखकर किया। किन्तु विषयवस्तु की भिन्नता एवं प्रादेशिक आदि प्रभाव के कारण उनके जैनसंस्कृतग्रन्थों की भाषा क्रमशः एक विशिष्टप्रकार का रूपधारण करती गयी, जो बाद में क्लासिकल संस्कृत तथा बौद्धसंस्कृत से कई अर्थों में भिन्न प्रतीत होती है[३]।

जैनसंस्कृत की ध्वनिसमूह (Phonology), पद-विज्ञान (Morphology), व्युत्पत्ति (Derivation), रचना (Composition), वाक्यरचना (Syntax),

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१. गुजराती साहित्य, पृ० ११६-१२६

२. राजस्थानी साहित्य की गौरवपूर्ण परम्परा, पृ. ८२

३. ब्रह्मविद्या, अडैयार लैब्रेरी बुल्लेटिन, दिसम्बर, १९६२

मुहावरे (Idiom), शब्दसम्पत्ति (Vocabulary) आदि की दृष्टि से अपनी निजी विशेषताएं हैं। कुछ ऐसे शब्दों का इसमें प्रयोग हुआ है जो क्लासिकल-संस्कृत साहित्य में अज्ञात हैं। अथवा जिनका बहुत कम प्रयोग हुआ है। इसमें कुछ ऐसे शब्द भी हैं, जिनका क्लासिकल संस्कृत में भिन्न अर्थ है। तथा कुछ विदेशी, प्राकृत, एवं प्रान्तीय भाषाओं के शब्दों को भी जैनसंस्कृत में प्रयुक्त किया गया है। खेद है, अभी तक जैनसंस्कृत का विद्वानों ने इस दृष्टि से अध्ययन नहीं किया है। कुछ छुटपुट प्रयत्न ही हुए हैं[१-४]। भारतीय भाषाओं के तुलनात्मक अध्ययन की दृष्टि से इसका स्वतन्त्र अध्ययन होना चाहिये। यद्यपि भारतीयविश्वविद्यालयों में जैनसंस्कृतसाहित्य से सम्बन्धित कुछ शोधकार्य प्रारम्भ हुआ है, किन्तु विषय की व्यापकता की दृष्टि से इस नगण्य ही कहा जायेगा। जैन-संस्कृतसाहित्य को सुरक्षित रखने तथा उसके अध्ययन को गति देने का जितना दायित्व जैनसंस्कृति के अनुयायियों का है, उतना ही भारतीय विधाओं के अध्ययन में रुचि रखने वाले विद्वानों का भी। जैन-साहित्य के अध्ययन को गति मिलने से ही भारतीय वाङ्मय पूर्णरूप से प्रकाश में आ सकेगा।

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१. एम. ब्लूमफ़ील्ड, दलैफ़ अंड द स्टोरीज़ आफ़ द जैन सेवियर पार्श्वनाथ, पृ. २२०-३९

२. वाकरनगल-सम आसपेक्टस् आफ़ जैन संस्कृत

३. बि. जे. सांडेसरा, 'लेक्सिकोग्राफ़ीकल स्टडीज इन जैन संस्कृत', बरोडा जर्नल आफ़ द ओर्यन्टल इन्स्टीट्यूट, दिसम्बर, १९५८

४. ए. एन. उपाध्ये, बृहत्कथाकोश की भूमिका, पृ. ९४-११०

CONTRIBUTION OF ORISSA TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

(General Survey)

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The State of Orissa has an area of sixty thousand and one hundred and thirty-six square miles. Geographically it may be divided into two parts, the western and the eastern. The western part consists of highland with hills and dales and is considerably forested. The eastern coastal part consists of plain area. The chief rivers of the State viz., the Mahanadi, the Brahmani, the Vaitarani, the Suvarnarekha and the Rishikulya, after passing through these western highlands flow into the Bay of Bengal. Of these rivers, the Mahanadi is the longest with its source in Madhya Pradesh and the valleys of these rivers have been the cradles of culture and civilization from ancient times. It appears that Aryanisation of the land extended from Central India along the valleys of these rivers and also from North India through West Bengal.

We have a fair picture of the history of Orissa from the middle of the 3rd century B.C. upto now, but what is now called Orissa was previously included in Kalinga and Utkal. The northern part of Orissa was included in Utkal and the southern part in Kalinga. However, the boundaries of Kalinga and Utkal appear to have varied from age to age and Asoka's conquest of Kalinga in the 3rd century B.C. exercised great influence on the life of the conqueror and also on the land he conquered. Of the fourteen rock edicts of Asoka, eleven are inscribed in the Dhauli hill near Bhubaneswar and in the Jaugada hill near the bank of the river Rishikulya. The language of these edicts is a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect and is simple in style.

Some time before the first century B.C. the Mauryan sovereignty over Kalinga declined and Kalinga became independent and under its powerful king Kharavela, it became a great power in eastern India and successfully invaded Magadha. The history of [Kharavela is known to us from his inscription at Hatigumpha in Udayagiri near

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Bhubaneswar. It is also written in a Middle Indo-Aryan language in elaborate style and is very near to Sanskrit.

From the first century A.D. upto the beginning of the 4th century A.D. the history of Orissa appears to be dark, though it has been stated that the fort of Sisupalagarh near Bhubaneswar was in occupation by the native kings of Kalinga during this period and to this period is ascribed a small inscription discovered at Bhadrakh, also written in Middle Indo-Aryan, ascribed to King Gana (See *E. I.* Vol. XXIX. No. 23).

From about the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. upto now, we have a fairly connected history of Orissa and have a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions of the local rulers or emperors of Orissa. It is also admitted that the Gupta emperors (4th, 5th and 6th centuries A.D.) and Harshavardhana (1st half of the 7th century A.D.) exercised paramountcy over Kalinga. The dynasties which ruled over Orissa and which are known from Sanskrit inscriptions are noted below :

(1) The Māṭharas and the Śrīrāma Kāśyapas (South Orissa) (c. 320–570).

(2) The Stambheśvarpādabhaktas and the Nalas (West Orissa) (c. 570–620).

(3) The Vigrahas, the Maudgalas and other miscellaneous families (North Orissa) (c. 570–620).

(4) The S'ailodbhavas (Central Orissa) (c. 575–730).

(5) The Bhaumakaras (8th–10th centuries) (All Orissa).

(6) The Somavamśis (middle of the 10th to the beginning of the 12th century) (All Orissa).

(7) The Imperial Gangas (All Orissa) (c. 1037–1434).

(8) The Sūryavamśis (All Orissa) (c. 1435–1545).

(9) The Ministerial Dynasties (All Orissa) (c. 1545–1568).

Orissa lost her independence in 1568 A.D. and her subsequent history is divisible as follows :

(10) The Mohammadan Period (Moghul Period) (1570–1751).

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(11) The Mahratta Period (1751–1803).

(12) The British Period (1803–1947).

South Orissa, however, was annexed to the British territories in 1765 A.D.

Orissa became a separate province in British India in 1936. Before this date, the principal Oriya-speaking region and the princely small State of Orissa were tagged on to different administrative units of India. So the search of Sanskrit inscriptions and Sanskrit palm leaf manuscripts has not been satisfactorily undertaken in Orissa, as a result of which some of the manuscript materials have perished for ever.

We shall now, give a brief survey of the Sanskrit epigraphic materials and of Sanskrit literature of Orissa.

Fifteen Sanskrit inscriptions of Māṭharas have been published. Their style is simple and sometimes rhetorical. I give a specimen of Sanskrit style from the Parlakhemedi Plate of Sri Pṛthivī Mahārāja.

वेदवेदाङ्गपारगाय षट्कर्मनिरताय यमनियमपरायणाय पुराणरामायणधर्मशास्त्राद्यनेकविद्यापारदर्शिने भृगुसगोत्राय तैत्तिरीयस[ब्रह्मचारिणे] पद्मशर्मणे ग्रामोऽयम् .... अग्रहारीकृत्य दत्तः ।

(P. 35, Vol. I. Part II. *Inscriptions of Orissa*)

Five Sanskrit inscriptions have been discovered of Stambeśvarīpādabhaktas, three of which are written in Sanskrit prose and two in Sanskrit verse. The style of these Sanskrit inscriptions are simple and straightforward.

Eleven Sanskrit inscriptions have been discovered of the Vigrahas, the Maudgalas and other miscellaneous dynasties. Of these epigraphs, two are written in śloka metre and the rest in ornate prose. Of these, I quote from Paṭiākella Plate of Śivarāja in the district of Pūri (p. 125, *ibid.*) and Sumaṇḍala Plate of Dharmarāja of the time of Pṛthivīvigraha (p. 114, *ibid.*).

ओं स्वस्ति । सलिलनिधिवेलावलयितचलत्तरङ्गाभरणरुचिरभङ्गुर .... पत्तनवत्यां वसुमत्यां प्रवर्त्तमानमाणवंशराज्यकाले ऽत्यधिकाशीत्युत्तरे मौद्गलामलकुले

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गगनतलशीतदीधितिनिवाते सितचरिते परममाहेश्वरे श्रीशग्गुयप्यने(?) शासति दक्षिणतोसल्याम्.........

ओं स्वस्ति। चतुरुदधिमेखलायां सप्तद्वीपपर्वतसरित्पत्तनभूषणायां वसुन्धरायां प्रवर्त्तमानगुप्तराज्ये etc.

Sixteen sets of Plates of the monarchs of S'ailodbhava dynasty have been discovered. Some of these documents are written in beautiful ślokas. We know from the Khurda Plates of Mādhavarāja that he was himself a poet and also a patron of poets. The King is described as follows (*ibid.* p. 163):

स्वमतविरचितात्यद्भुतकाव्यार्थबोधनैककार्यसंगृहीतविदग्धजनसमूहः etc.

There are about 44 panegyric verses in the epigraphs of the Śailodbhavas. The records usually begin with a verse invoking Lord Śiva. The first verse from the Bugudā Plate of Mādhava Varma is given below (*ibid.* p. 167) :

ॐ स्वस्ति[।]
इन्दोर्धौतमृणालतन्तुभिरिव श्लिष्टाःकरैः कोमलै-
र्वद्धाहेर[रु]णैः स्फुरत्फणमणै(?)र्दिग्धप्रभासोंऽशुभिः ।
पार्वत्याः सकचग्रहव्यतिकरव्यावृत्तबन्धश्लथाः
गङ्गाम्भःप्लुतिभिन्नभस्मकणिकाः शम्भोर्जटाः पान्तु वः ॥

One of the charters of Śailodbhavas has been written by Upendra Singh (*ibid.* p. 185).

Fourteen Sanskrit inscriptions of the Bhaumakaras have been discovered from all over Orissa. They are written in literary style. Here is a verse on the reign of a Queen.

उद्यानेषु शिलीमुखावलिरहो हारेषु मुक्तास्थितिः
दोषासङ्गरुचिस्तुषारकिरणे विज्ञेष्वसद्द्वेषता ।
राहौ तीक्ष्णकरग्रहो द्युमणिषु त्रासोदयः केवलं
कान्ताकुन्तलसन्ततौ कुटिलता यस्याः प्रभुत्वे भुवि ॥

Prof. Sylvain Levi draws our notice to the fact that Śubhakara Kesarī of this dynasty presented an autograph copy of *Gaṇḍavyūha* of Buddhāvataṁsaka Sūtra to the then Chinese Emperor (p. 150, *ibid.*).

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Next we have seventeen inscriptions of the Śomavamśi kings and of other minor dynasties. The writer has edited a charter of a monarch of this dynasty named Mahārājdhirāja Indra Ratha discovered from Bāṇapur. Indraratha, son of Bhīmaratha (and grandson of Mahāśivagupta alias Yayāti II) is described as follows:

श्रीमानिन्द्ररथोऽजनि प्रथमतः सौन्दर्य-शौर्य-क्षमा-
धर्म-त्याग-दया-विवेक-विनय-प्रागल्भ्य-सत्याश्रयः ।
प्राभूताम् अथ विक्रमादिकगुणग्रामैकलीलास्पदे
पूर्वं वङ्करयोऽथ शङ्कररथस्तस्यानुरूपानुजौ ॥

We have a number of Sanskrit inscriptions of the eastern Gangas whose capital Kalinganagarī was on the bank of the river Vaṁsadhārā near the modern village Mukhalingam, now in Chicacole district in Andhra Pradesh. The inscriptions of the eastern Gangas are generally in rhythmical prose as evidenced from the following:

श्रीमतामखिलभुवनविनुतनयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यसत्यशौचशौर्य्यादिगुणरत्नपवित्राणाम् आत्रेयगोत्राणां विमलविचाराचारपुण्यसलिलप्रक्षालितकलिकालकल्मषमषीणां महेन्द्राचलशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननिर्माणैकसूत्रधारस्य....भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनः प्रसादात् ।

(p. 402, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III. Part II. 1961).

A ruler of this dynasty named Coḍagaṅga Deva conquered northern Orissa and shifted his capital to Cuttack on the Mahānadī river and founded the Imperial dynasty of Gangas in Orissa. They have left us about a dozen copper Plates which are written in the ornate kāvya style in 159 verses. The following verse ascribes the construction of the Jagannātha temple at Puri to Coḍagaṅga (1077–1147 A.D.).

पादौ तस्य धरान्तरिक्षमखिलं नाभिश्च सर्वा दिशः
श्रोत्रे नेत्रयुगं रवीन्दुयुगलं मूर्द्धापि च द्यौरसौ ।
प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृपतिः को नाम कर्तुं क्षमः
तस्येत्यादि नृपैरुपेक्षितमयं चक्रेऽथ गङ्गेश्वरः ॥

(P. 596, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III. Part II).

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Of the 159 verses, verse no. 71 describes the victory of Narasimhadeva I over the Yavanas of West Bengal in 1245 A.D.

राढावरेन्द्रीयवनीनयनाञ्जनाश्रुपूरेण दूरविनिवेशित-कालिमश्रीः ।
तद्विप्रलम्भकरणाद्भुतनिस्तरङ्गा गङ्गापि नूनममुना यमुनाधुनाभूत् ॥

Of the next dynasty of Solar kings, we have got many Sanskrit inscriptions either written in old Oriya or Telugu script. Many inscriptions in Telugu script have been published in *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. X. Three verses from the Gopinathpur Inscription of the time of Kapileśvaradeva (1434–1467 A.D.) are quoted below. The King is thus extolled :

कर्णाटाज्ञासर्सिहः कलवरगजयी भालवध्वंसलीला (?)
जंघालो गौडमर्दी भ्रमरवरनृपो स्वस्तदिल्लीन्द्रगर्वः ।

His priest Lakṣmaṇa is then praised :

तस्याप्तहंसः स हि हंसवंशकेतो पुरोधा भवकृद्वतंसः (?) ।
विद्वान् महापात्रकुलावतंसः श्रीलक्ष्मणोऽयं प्रथितप्रशंसः ॥

Then follows the eulogy of the priest's son Nārāyaṇa :

मन्त्रिश्रेणिशिरोमणिः सुमनसां सन्तानचिन्तामणिः
पापव्रातविषौघगारुडमणिः सद्वृत्तरक्षामणिः ।

पद्मोल्लासविलासवासरमणिः पुत्रोऽस्य नारायणः
सत्यारम्भपरायणोऽजनि जनत्राणाय नारायणः ॥

Orissa lost her independence in 1568 A.D., and subsequent Sanskrit inscriptions have become rare.

I will now present a brief survey of the Sanskrit literature of Orissa.

Dramatic Literature

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who is the author of the drama *Veṇīsamhāra* and who refers to the deity Puruṣottama at the end of his play, may be identified with the donee of Puruṣoṭṭampur grant of Mādhava of S'ailodbhava dynasty.

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Murāri Miśra is the author of the drama *Anargharāghava.* In the prologue the Stage-manager refers to the festival of the deity Puruṣottama on the sea-coast.

"भो भो लवणोदवेलावनाली-तमालतरुकन्दलस्य त्रिभुवनमौलिमण्डनमहानीलमणेः कमलाकुचकलशकेलिकस्तूरिकापत्राङ्कुरस्य भगवतः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य यात्रायाम् उपस्थानीयाः सर्वे सभासदः ।"

So Prof. Wilson in the second volume of the *Hindu Theatre* thought that the drama was first staged on the occasion of the car-festival of the deity Jagannātha at Puri. The play shows that the author is a master of elaborate Sanskrit style. Prof. Keith in his *Sanskrit Drama* says that we cannot say definitely about the place of activity of the author. Pandit Madhusudana Tarkavachaspati speaks of Murāri's nativity in Utkal, referring to some social customs referred to in the drama. Murāri belongs approximately to 8th century A. D., because he is referred to by Rājas'ekhara of the 9th century.

Kṛṣṇa Miśra, the author of the *Prabodhacandrodaya* refers to Puruṣottamkṣetra as a holy place; but without positive evidence he cannot be said to belong to Utkal.

Viśvanātha Kavirāja, the famous author of *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, wrote Nāṭikās too, viz. *Candrakalā* (ptd.) and *Prabhāvatī*. His father Candrāsékhara (c. 1264–1279) also wrote a Nāṭikā named *Puṣpamālā*. We have also the following one-act pieces: *Paraśurāmavijaya* by King Kapileśvara (1334—1467 A. D.); *Abhinava-veṇīsaṃhāra* by King Puruṣottamadeva, son of Kapilendradeva; *Rāmacandrānanda* by Nārāyaṇa Nanda of the latter half of the 15th century. The following one-act-pieces of indefinite dates also exist in palm leaf manuscripts:

Pracaṇḍavṛkodara, Syamantakāharaṇa, Śiśupālavadha,
Ambarīṣacarita, Kīcakavadha, Śrīrāmavijaya,
Candrāvatīharaṇa, Pratijñārjuna, Rāmābhiṣeka,
Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya, Śrīkṛṣṇa-bhaktavātsalya.

We have two plays written by Bhujība Devācārya or simply Jīvadevācārya, a court-poet of Pratāparudradeva (1497-1541). Hi

Bhaktivaibhava is an allegorical drama like the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra. He has also written a play entitled *Utsāvatī* named after the heroine who obstructed Arjuna in the protection of the sacrificial horse of Yudhiṣṭhira and who ultimately married Arjuna in the presence of Nārada and Śrīkṛṣṇa.

Jayadeva, the son of Jīvadeva mentioned above, is the author of two plays, *Pīyūṣalaharī* (one-act play) and *Vaiṣṇavāmṛta*, both on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-theme. Jayadeva's style is melodic.

Mārkaṇḍeya Miśra, the famousauthor of *Prākṛtasarveśvara* in also the author of a Saṭṭaka named *Vilāsavatī*, from which he quotes in his Prakrit grammar. Sundara Miśra is the author of a drama in seven acts entitled *Abhirāmamaṇi* written in 1597 A.D. on the story of *Rāmāyaṇa*. Vīrarāghavācāriar of Pūri, a contemporary of King Mukundadeva, is the author of *Nīlādricandrodaya*. Candraśekhara Rāyaguru (1736-1750 A.D.) has written *Madhurāniruddha* on Uṣā and Aniruddha in eight acts. He describes Pūri as follows:

दिष्ट्येदं लवणोदरोधसि मिथः संघट्टितोर्मिच्छटा-
वेगोत्कलितशङ्खवद् भगवतः क्षेत्रं पुरो दृश्यते ।
यत्रायं सहवासिसिद्धशबरीविश्रम्भसम्भावितो
देवो नीलवसुन्धराधरदरीकण्ठीरवः क्रीडति ॥

Rāmānanda Roy, a high dignitary of King Pratāparudradeva, has written an interesting drama *Jagannāthavallabha* in five acts. His style compares with that of Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda*. Here for example is the description of Rādhā.

यदा नासौ दोषं गणयति गुरूणां कुवचने
न वा तोषं धत्ते सरसवचने नर्मसुहृदाम् ।
विषाभं श्रीखण्डं कलयति विधुं पावकसमं
तदस्यास्तद्वृत्तं त्वयि गदितुमत्राहमगमम् ॥

This play as well as another, *Govindavallabha*, deals with the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

Mādhavidāsī, a poetess of Vaishnavite faith of Śrī Caitanya's school, has written a drama called *Puruṣottamadeva* (See author's note in *Women Pioneers in Oriya Literature* by Dr. (Mrs.) S. Rout).

Anādi of the first quarter of the 18th century, who enjoyed the patronage of Padmanābhadeva of Khemuṇḍi, has left us a drama named *Maṇimālā* on the marriage of Maṇimālā of the Puṣkara island with a prince of Ujjain. Nīlakaṇṭha Kavi (second half of 18th cent.) has given to us in his quasi-drama *Bhañja-mahodaya*, the achievements of the rulers of Keonjhar from the Jyotirāditya Bhañja upto Janārdana Bhañja.

Prof. Keith refers to a philosophic play, *Śivanārāyaṇa-bhañja-mahodaya* in honour of a prince of Keonjhar by Narasimha. The following may also be noted :

(1) *Syamantakāharaṇa* (Vyāyoga) by Jagannātha Kavicandra Mañjūṣā.
(2) *Adbhutarāghava* by Vanamāli Miśra.
(3) *Aghaṭaghaṭa* and *Vrajarājanandana*, both by Jogi Patṇaik.

As regards Campū literature the following may be noted :

(1) *Mṛgayā Campū* by Kavirāja Bhagavan Brahma, a rival of Cakrapāṇi Patnaik.
(2) *Guṇḍīca Campū* (1778 A.D.) by Cakradhara Patnaik.
(3) *Kāliyanigraha Campū* by Raja Viśvanāthdeva.
(4) *Ānandadāmodara Campū*
(5) *Bamanda Rājavaṁśa Campū*
(6) *Mahānadi Campū*

} All the three by Bhubaneswar Baḍapaṇḍā.

Kāvya and Khaṇḍa Kāvya

It is not easy to ascertain the earliest poetical works of Orissa. Attempts have been made to associate Kālidāsa with Orissa. Fresh evidences are forthcoming to associate Śrīharṣa, Govardhana Ācārya and Udayanācārya with Utkal. As regards Jayadeva, the author of *Gīta Govinda*, we are comparatively on more definite grounds. The Sanskrit *Bhaktamālā* of Candra Datta definitely ascribes the nativity of Jayadeva to a village Kenduvilva, identifiable with modern Kenduri in Puri district in Utkal.

जगन्नाथपुरीप्रान्ते देशे चैवोत्कलाभिधे
किन्दविल्व इति ख्यातो ग्रामो ब्राह्मणसंकुलः ।
तत्रोत्कले द्विजो जातो जयदेव इति श्रुतः
विद्याभ्यासरतः शान्तः पुरुषोत्तमपूजकः ॥

(p. 39, *Utkal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature*, K. B. Tripathi). As many as twelve imitations of *Gīta Govinda* are found in Orissa.

Kṛṣṇānanda, a court-poet of Narasimhadeva IV (14th century), is the author of *Sahṛdayānanda* in 15 cantos on the story of Nala. He is skilful in depicting human characters and natural scenery in an elegant style. The 11th śloka of the 2nd canto of the work occurs in the S'aṅkarānanda Math Copper Plate Inscription and is as follows :

निरर्गलं शैलल्ताधगामिनीमपीडयन्नेव करेण गामसौ ।
वृषं पुरस्कृत्य समीहितं दुहन्नदृष्टपूर्वं स्फुटमेति गोपताम् ॥

Viśvanātha Kavirāja quotes from the Kāvya *Vijayanarasimha* of his father Candraśekhara. I shall quote one verse from this work as occurring in Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (Pariccheda I).

दुर्गालङ्घितविग्रहो मनसिज संमीलयंस्तेजसा
प्रोद्यद्राजकलो गृहीतगरिमा विष्वग्वृतो भोगिभिः ।
नक्षत्रेशकृतेक्षणो गिरिगुरौ गाढां रुचिं धारय-
न्गामाक्रम्य विभूतिभूषिततनू राजत्युमावल्लभः ॥

Viśvanātha himself has written kāvyas like *Rāghavavilāsa*, *Narasimhavijaya* and *Kuvalayāśvacarita*, the first two in Sanskrit and the third in Prakrit. All these are known through quotations in *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.

Kaviḍiṇḍima Jīvadeva has given in his introduction to the Kāvya *Bhaktibhāgavata* a brief account of Orissa from Coḍa Gangadeva upto Pratāparudradeva.

Divākara Miśra of the 15th century has described a part of the story of *Mahābhārata* in his *Bhāratāmṛta Mahākāvya*. From the last s'loka of the 6th canto, it appears that he was also honoured as a court-poet of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya (1409-1530) of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Divākara Miśra belonged to a family of poets.

Tukkā, the daughter of Pratāparudradeva, married to Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, is known from quotations in Jagannātha's *Rasakalpadruma* as a writer of merit.

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Mārkaṇḍeya Miśra referred to above has presented to us in 20 cantos the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* in his epic *Daśagrīvavadha*. The poet is skilful in characterisation, in the description of natural beauty and in the use of rhetorical figures. The Smṛti-digest *Sarasvatīvilāsa* ascribed to Pratāprudradeva has its prologue written in prose and poetry in ornate style, depicting briefly the genealogy and exploits of Pratāparudradeva and his capital city Cuttack on the Mahānadī. The following Kāvyas also deserve our notice:

(1) *Gaṅgavaṁśānucarita* by Vāsudeva Rath, on the Ganga Kings of Kalinga upto Puruṣottamadeva (*c.* 1423 A. D.).

(2) *Sulocanā-mādhava* by Brajasundara Patnaik.

(3) *Kosolānanda* in 21 cantos, 1200 verses, by Gaṅgādhara Miśra (c. 1616 A. D.) giving a brief history of the Chauhan rulers of Balangirpatna, Sonpur and Sambalpur. The poet is a descendant of Sambhukar, a famous poet of the district of Puri.

(4) *Nagasa-gotra-vaṁśacarita* of Bairāgi Paṭṭojoshi on the history of the King of Khurda along with their sub-families up to the conquest of Orissa by the British.

Coming to modern period, the following deserve our notice :

(5) Mahāmohapādhyāya Sāmanta Chandrasekhar (1835-1904), well-known author of the astronomical work *Siddhānta-darpaṇa* in Sanskrit, has given us beautiful invocatory verses, about 60 to Lord Jagannātha. One of these is as follows :

भ्राम्यद्भाति यदीयभास्वरवपुर्बिभ्रद्धचक्रप्रभां
भिन्दद्भीमतमः सुदर्शनमिति ख्यातं क्षयान्तं क्षितौ।
भक्तानां भवभीतिसंभवभिदे भूभारभूतच्छिदे
धाम्ने श्यामधराधराधिपतये कस्मैचिदस्मै नमः ॥

(6) We have two epics entitled *Rukmiṇī-pariṇaya* ascribed to the ruling chief Viśvanāthadeva Varma of Āṭhagarh (Cuttack district) and *Lakṣmaṇā-pariṇaya* written by Bhubaneswar Rath Śarma (1905), both depicting episodes from *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*.

(7) Madhusūdana Tarkavācaspati, the commentator of *Dhvanyāloka* and of *Sāhityaratnākara*, describes also the genealogy of the ruling chiefs of Bamra who trace their genealogy from Coḍa Gangadeva.

(8) Pandit Ramanath Nanda in his *Jayapurarājyavaṃśāvali* Jeypore, 1938, describes the genealogy of the rulers of Jeypore of Orissa, basing his theme on materials which are no longer easily available.

(9) Biswanath Mahāpātra, an ex-Principal of Sanskrit College, Puri, is the author of *Kāñcīvijaya Mahākāvya* in 20 cantos (published at Puri, 1920). It describes the marriage of King Puruṣottamadeva of Orissa (1467-1497) with a princess of Kanchi.

(10) Pandit Candraśekhara Miśra of Khandapara has given us the genealogy of the Kings of England in his Kāvya *British-vaṁśacarita*.

In medieval Orissa flourished several commentators on Sanskrit Kāvyas such as Candras'ekhara, Mitradeva, Puruṣottama etc. But of these commentators the most famous is Narahari (belonging to Chiniṭi in Ganjam) whose *Ṭikā* on *Meghadūta* called *Brahmaprakāśikā*, interprets the text so as to describe the car-festival of the deity Jagannātha of Pūri (pub. by the Orissa Sahitya Academy).

Sāhitya

Medieval Orissa has given to India some noteworthy works of literary criticism. Vidyādhara in his *Ekāvalī* examines the nature and divisions of literature in 8 chapters following the method of Mammaṭa; the most outstanding feature of the work is that the verses cited as illustrations eulogise the achievements of Narasiṁhadeva II of the imperial Ganga dynasty of Orissa. This King might be the second Narasiṁhadeva. The poet says in the first chapter :

अन्तरेण नरसिंहनृपतिं नेतरोऽस्ति मम वाङ्मयोचितः ।
चन्द्रचूडमपहाय जाह्नवीवारि वोढुमपरः क ईश्वरः ॥

Viśvanātha Kavirāja of the last part of the 14th century is the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* which, in its 10 chapters, deals with the various features of literature including drama. His son Anantadāsa has written a commentary on the work. This work is perhaps the most popular of all Sanskrit works on poetics and has been translated into English, Hindi and Bengali. Narahari Miśra in his *Rasāvali* consisting of four chapters, deals with poetic sentiment from several standpoints. Gopinātha Kavibhūṣaṇa, born of a Karaṇa family of Khimundi, is the author of *Kavicintāmaṇi* (middle of the 18th century). The *Rasakalpadruma* of the first quarter of the 18th century by Jagannātha Miśra is encyclopaedic in nature (published by the Orissa Sahitya Academy).

The following works also deserve our notice: (1) *Abhinavadarpaṇaprakāśa* by Jadunath Raisingi, the ruling chief of Tigiria, (2) *Rasaparicchada* by Sāmanta Jagannātha Mahāpātra, (3) *Kāvyacandrikā* by Rāmacandra Nyāyavāgīśa, (4) *Śṛṅgārarasadīpikā* by Govinda Miśra, (5) the unpublished work *Vāṅmayaviveka* by Cintāmaṇi Miśra of the 16th century dealing with poetics and metrics and encyclopaedic in nature, (6) *Rasamuktāvalī* ascribed to Gadādhara Nārāyaṇa Bhañja, the ruling Chief of Keonjhar (1831—1861).

As far as the science of music is concerned, the following works deserve our notice: (1) *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* of Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva (or Puruṣottama Miśra according to others) (1726 A. D), (2) *Saṅgītamuktāvalī* of Haricandana, (3) *Gita-prakāśa* of Kṛṣṇadāsa and (4) *Nāṭyamanoramā* of Raghunātha Rath (written in 1697 A.D.).

Smṛti

In medieval Orissa flourished many famous writers of Smṛti beginning from S'ātananda Ācārya of about 11th century A. D. (who is also the author of astronomical work entitled *Bhāsvatī*) up to Gadādhara Rājaguru of the first quarter of the 18th century. The most famous of these are the following :—

Nīlāmbara Ācārya, father of the poet Udayana Ācārya and Govardhana Ācarya (author of the famous *Āryā-saptaśatī*), S'aṅkhadhara, S'ambhukara Vājapeyin, Vidyākara Vājapeyin, Rāmacandra Vājapeyin, Nṛsiṁha Vājapeyin, Kālidāsa Cayanin, Jogiswar Patro, Godāvara Mis'ra, Viśwanātha Miśra, Vipra

Miśra, Divyasiṁha Mahāpātra, Lakshmidhara Miśra. Mahāmahopādhyāya Kṛṣṇa Miśra, Jogi Praharaj and Govinda Sāmantarāya.

Medieval Oriya poets such as Jagannātha Das, Dīnakṛṣṇadāsa, Cakrapāṇi Paṭṭanāyak and Brajanath Badajena have Sanskrit compositions to their credit. Dīnakṛṣṇa's prayer addressed to Lord Jagannātha at Pūri in 34 stanzas in chaste Oriya have also come down to us in a Sanskrit version, ascribed to Dīnakṛṣṇa himself. Even outstanding Oriya poets of the British period such as Baladeva Rath and Radhanath Ray, the latter being called the Father of modern Oriya poetry, have Sanskrit compositions to their credit.

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CONTRIBUTION OF ORISSA TO GĪTA-KĀVYA LITERATURE

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Jayadeva, the famous *Gita Kāvya* writer of Orissa[1] has given such a charming immortal picture of the amorous dalliances of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in his *Gītagovinda* (G.G.), that has become the perennial source of inspiration and joy to the critics and literatteurs. The sweetness of diction, the musical beauty of lyrics, the softness of word-pictures, above all the artistic expression of the universal human feelings of the G. G. have a captivating effect on its readers irrespective of caste, creed and colour. Many writers in India, being highly inspired by its external artistic beauty and the internal universal appeal, have attempted at different times to compose poems in imitation[1a] of this masterpiece. Especially the scholars of Orissa, the pious land of Jayadeva, being born and brought up in the glorious tradition[2] of Sanskritic culture, have

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[1] Jayadeva was, until some time back, considered a native of Bengal. But subsequently it has been shown on strong reasons that he belonged to Orissa. Vide in this connection,

(i) *The Souvenir on Śrī Jayadeva* edited by Dr. N. K. Sahu. The Jayadeva Sāmskṛtika Pariṣad, Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 1966.

(ii) *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa*, Vol. II. Preface, pp. xxxv–lvi. ed. by K. N. Mahapatra, Orissa Sahitya Akademi, Bhubaneswar.

(iii) *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Bhubaneswar, Vol. VII. Oct. 1958 and January, 1959 parts 3 & 4, pp. 191–208, 'New light on poet Jayadeva, the author of the Gītagovinda' by Sri K. N. Mahapatra.

(iv) *Orissa, the home-land of Jayadeva* by the present writer. The paper was contributed to the Proceedings of the International Sanskrit Conference, New Delhi, 1972.

[1a] *Cf.* Dr. V. Raghavan, *The Hindu*, 1937.

[2] Vide the paper of the present writer, 'A family of poet-cum-rhetoricians in Orissa', *Jhaṅkār*, Feb. 1958, Vol. IX, No. 12. pp. 1084–90.

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composed in Sanskrit more than twenty imitations of G. G. Besids these, there are references to a number of *Gītakāvyas* of this type in the treatises, recently discovered. A brief account of the *Gīta Kāvyas* written by Orissa authors in imitation of the G.G. are dealt with in this paper.

1. *The first imitation of G.G.*

It is learnt from records[3] that a King of Orissa[4] being jealous of Jayadeva, as his G. G. earned the nation-wide reputation as a poem *par-excellence* and as it was introduced into the liturgy of the Jagannātha temple, composed a poem like G. G. and tried to usher it into the liturgy of Jagannātha in place of the G.G. But, according to a legend, Lord Jagannātha did not like this attempt and banned the work of the King from its recitation in the temple. As a result, the King was much pained at heart and offered himself at the feet of Lord Jagannātha for His propitiation and for acceptance of his work in the daily rituals of the temple. Now the Lord was satisfied with the sincerity of the devoted King and ordained in the dream that a few verses of the work of the King may be incorporated in the G. G. Thus the G. G. along with a few verses of the King was recited daily in the temple.[5]

The *Bhaktavijaya* of Mahīpati, a work written in Marathi language, mentions that 24 verses from the work of a King of Orissa have been included in the famous G. G. An Oriya poet of the 18th century A.D., Śrī Rāmadāsa describes in his *Dārḍhyatābhakti*[6] that only 12 stanzas of the King were included in the G. G. Again,

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3. 'Megheśvar inscription of Svapneśvaradeva,' ed. N. N. Basu, *J. of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, Vol. LXVI. 1897, pp.18-24.
4. 'Śobhaneśvara inscription of S'rī Vaidyanātha', ed. by Sudhakar Pattanayak, *J. of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVII. 1931. pp. 119–135.
5. Vide 'Govardhanācārya and Udayanācārya' by K.N. Mahapatra, *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. VII. No. i. pp. 40–46.
6. Vide *Dārḍhyatābhakti* of Rāmadāsa: "Dvādaśa sarga parimāṇa, Jayadeṿara grantha jāṇa bārasargara ādye tāra, rahiba bāra śloka tora, rājā hoina ethe toṣa, gamilā āpaṇā uāsa".

we find in the Sanskrit commentary entitled *Sarvāṅgasundarī*[7] on the G. G. by Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, a contemporary of Narasinghdeva II (1278–1308 A.D.) of the Ganga dynasty, left 18 verses[8] of the G. G. uncommented. Further, S'rī Śaṅkara Miśra (16th century) in his *Rasamañjarī*[9] commentary on the G. G., comments on only two out of the 18 verses cited above. Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa (1460–1468 A.D.) in his commentary *Rasikapriyā* comments on the spurious 18 verses. Dharaṇīdhara Miśra,[10] the first translater of the G. G. into Oriya, translates 15 verses out of the 18 and also two more new verses which are not found in Rāṇā Kumbha's commentary. Thus it is proved that only 20 verses (18+2=20) have been interpolated into the G. G. of Jayadeva after the *Sarvāṅgasundarī* commentary was written by Nārāyaṇadāsa, the great great grand-father of the famous rhetorician Śrī Vis'vanātha Kavirāja.[11] Though the exact verses and their number cannot be authentically ascertained at present, yet these twenty verses have been accepted as spurious ones. Only the discovery of the unknown imitative work will solve the problem in this respect.

According to the work *Prācīna Utkala* (the ancient Orissa) of the historian Jagabandhu Sing, Puruṣottamadeva of Gaṅgā dynasty has attempted to introduce his own G. G. into the daily rituals of the Jagannātha temple. We do not come across the name Puruṣottamadeva in the panel of the kings of Gaṅgā dynasty. It is possible that this Puruṣottamadeva may be Bhānudeva II (1309–1323 A.D.), who was popularly known as Puruṣottamadeva[12].

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7. A ms. of this commentary is preserved in the Ms. Library of O. S. M. BBSR.
8. G. G. verse Nos. 12, 13, 18, 26, 33, 40, 44, 54, 56, 57, 60, 68, 78, 79, 80, 85, 87, 93.
9. Vide G. G. with *Rasikapriyā* and *Rasamañjarī* commentaries, published by N. S. Press, Bombay.
10. Dharaṇīdhara Miśra's Oriya translation of the G.G. is preserved in the O.S.M., BBSR.
11. Vide "A family of poet-cum-rhetoricians in Orissa" by the present writer, *Jhaṅkāra*. Vol. IX, No. 12. March, 1958.
12. Vide *South Indian Inscriptions*. Vol. VI. Nos. 714 and 938.

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Viśvanātha Kavirāja, who was the minister for Foreign and Home-affairs in the court of Bhānudeva IV, records an eulogy of Puruṣottamadeva in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*[13] :

> Ananyasādhāraṇadhīḥ dhṛtākhilavasundharaḥ |
> rājate ko'pi jagati sa *rājā puruṣottamaḥ* ||

This verse is well applicable to Bhānudeva II or Puruṣottama of the Gaṅga dynasty because of his devout devotion to Puruṣottama or Lord Jagannātha and due to his extraordinary scholarship and erudition[14], which are epigraphically recorded.[15] The last verse[16] of the *Rasikapriyā* commentary written by Kumbhakarṇa of Mewar, who died in 1468 A.D., speaks of a King Puruṣottama, who, at any rate, cannot be identified with the author of the *Abhinavagītagovinda*, who wrote his work after 1468 A.D. Therefore the King Puruṣottama may be identified with the Gaṅga Bhānudeva II (1309–1328 A.D.) who ruled his kingdom in the name of God Puruṣottama with whom he was perhaps confused.[17]

Thus we can safely conclude that there was a work in imitation of the G. G. to the credit of Puruṣottamadeva alias Bhānudeva II, who was probably tempted to replace the famous G.G. by his own composition in order to show his poetic abilities and erudition on a par with the poet Jayadeva. Further conclusion is corroborated not only by the non-availability of the listed spurious verses in the *Abhinavagītagovinda* but also by the suggestive reference to the name of Puruṣottama, an alias of Bhānudeva II in the last verse of the unknown imitative work, which has been interpolated into the G. G. as its colophon.[17a] But no definite conclusion can be drawn in this matter, until and unless the ms. of this work by Puruṣottama, the Gaṅga king of Orissa, is available to set all these assumptions at rest.

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[13] 4th Chapter, p. 305 (ed. Dr. S. Sing).

[14] "Viśvarūpa śrīpatibhaktiyuta", "Vāgdevatābhūsaṇa" "Pāṇḍityamaṇḍita", "Mahākavimaṇḍalasevita".

[15] Vide 'The Punjābi Matha Copper Plate–Inscription of Bhānudeva II', No. 3 of śakābda 1234. ed. by S. N. Rajaguru U. B. P. (*Inscriptions of Orissa*).

[16] Nirnayasāgar Press edn., p. 172.
The commentary on – "Vyāpāraḥ Puruṣottamasya dadatu sphītāṁ mudāṁ saṁpadaṁ" of the text of the G. G., contains a veiled reference to a King Puruṣottama ruling prior to him. Kumbhakarṇa also refers to a work written by a king–"Prabandhaḥ pṛthvībhartrā prabandhaḥ prītaye hareḥ (p. 75).

[17] Vide *O.H.R.J.* Vol. IX. 1960, Nos. 3 & 4. *Abhinavagītagovinda* by K. N. Mahapatra.

2. *Abhinavagītagovinda of Puruṣottamadeva (1480 A.D.)*

The famous Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva of the solar dynasty of Orissa is the author of the *Abhinavagītagovinda.* A palm-leaf ms. of this work was first noticed by Mm. H. P. Sastri in 1934.[18] Subsequently another palm-leaf ms. of this work has been discovered by the authorities of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. This ms. is important because it gives the exact date of its copying, i.e. 6th April, 1494 A.D.[19] The date of the composition of this work is not known at present, yet it must have been composed before the date of its copying (1494 A. D.) and after Gajapati's accession to the throne (1466 A.D.).

[17a] G. G. Canto XII, last line of the last verse : "vyāpāraḥ puruṣottamasya dadatu sphītāṁ mudām sampadam". Here Puruṣottama means both Lord Jagannātha and the King Puruṣottama, the author of the work.

[18] *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. VII. No. 5180. pp. 144-45.

[19] The colophon of this ms. reads as—

"Mahārājādhirāja - Śrīpuruṣottamadevagajapaterasyaiva vardhamānavijayarājye catustriṁśadaṅke vaiśākha-śukla-pratipadi bhānuvāsare samāptaṁ idaṁ pustakaṁ", which corresponds to the Christian era 6th April 1494, A.D. This ms. is preserved in the O. S. M., BBSR.

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The real author of the *Abhinavagītagovinda* was Kavicandra Rāya Divākara Miśra,[20] a famous poet of the court of Gajapati Puruṣottama Deva and his son Pratāparudra Deva. He attributed the authorship of this work to the name of his patron, King Puruṣottama Deva as a token of the author's gratitude to him.

According to tradition[21] Puruṣottama Deva of solar dynasty also, like the above-mentioned Puruṣottama of the Gaṅga line, tried to introduce his *Abhinavagītagovinda* into the daily liturgy of the Jagannātha temple. The attempt was however, made futile by the then learned society. It is shown by the historic ordinance[22] of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva that attempts were made at different times by the kings of Orissa to replace the G. G. by their own work since its (G.G.'s) introduction to the temple by Kavi Narasingha Deva,[23] who is identified with Narasimha Deva II (1278–1307 A.D.) of the Gaṅga family. It is noteworthy here that Rāṇā Kumbha who is reputed as the author of the *Rasikapriyā* commentary on the G.G., wherein the interpolated 18 verses[24] are found commented upon, died in 1468 A.D.[25] This commentary was perhaps written

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[20] Vide *A Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. Mss. of Orissa* Vol. II. pp. ci.-cvii. ed. by K. N. Mahapatra. Rāya Divāskara Miśra refers to this work as his composition in his *Bhāratāmṛta Mahākāvya* as—
"Kāvye tasya sahodarād abhinavaśrīgītagovindataḥ" etc.–(canto 27th).
See also *New Catalogus Catalagorum*, University of Madras, Vol. I (1969, Revised ed.). pp. 299-300.

[21] *O. H. R. J.* Vol. IX. 1960, Nos. 324. pp. 51–67.

[22] Vide *J. A. S. Bengal*, 1893, No. 2, p. 96. "*Oriya inscriptions*"—by Manomohana Chakravarti, Inscription No. 5. It is mentioned in this inscription that "the singing of songs will be of Gītagovinda only and of nothing else."

[23] "The temple chronicle (Mādalāpañji) records : "E Attāru Kavi Narasimhadevarājā hoile/Gītagovinda silou Kale" (śubhadele).

[24] See above note 6.

[25] *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan). Vol. VI. p. 814.

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during the last ten years of his reign, which were peaceful.[26] Gajapati Puruṣottama ascended the throne in 1466–67 A.D. and the first three years of his reign were not peaceful due to strong opposition of Kumāra Hammīra Mahāpātra who was a claimant to the throne of Orissa. Thus the *Abhinavagītagovinda* must have been written after the death of Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa and so the authorship of these 18 verses found in *Rasikapriyā* commentary cannot be attributed to Gajapati Puruṣottama Deva. This conclusion is corroborated by the examination of two mss.[27] of the *Abhinava G. G.* where none of these 18 verses is found. So these spurious 18 verses were most probably composed by the Puruṣottama Deva of Gaṅga family of Orissa who, flourished and wrote his hitherto unknown work in imitation of the G. G. in between the composition of *Sarvāṅgasundarī* and *Rasikapriyā* commentaries.

Though this work was written in order to replace the G. G., yet it cannot vie with it in the delineation of the immortal theme. It imitates closely the theme, narration, diction and the arrangement of the plot of the G. G. But the only difference is that the G. G. is divided into 12 cantos whereas this is divided into 10. The similarities are patent throughout, especially the concluding lines[28] of all the cantos of both the works.

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[26] *Ibid.* pp. 336-37.

[27] Preserved in OSSM., Bhubaneswar and Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

[28] (i) Virahiṇīvarṇane vidhurarādho°
(ii) Nāyikābhilāṣavarnaṇe sotkaṇṭhavaikuṇṭha°
(iii) Abhisārikāvarṇane muditarādhā°
(iv) Kalahāntaritāvarṇane mugdharādhā°
(v) Vipralabdhāvarṇane vidagdhamādhava°
(vi) Vāsakasajjāvarṇane sāṁkṣubdharādhā°
(vii) Khaṇḍitāvarṇane vilakṣapuṇḍarīkākṣa°
(viii) Māninīvarṇane sotkaṇṭhavaikuṇṭha °
(ix) Proṣitabhartṛkāvarṇane 'nukūlarādhā°
(x) Svādhīnabhartṛkāvarṇane nandamukundonāma
daśamaḥ sargaḥ

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The G.G. uses ten Rāgas[29] in all whereas the *Abhinava G. G.* uses 58.[30] Like the G. G. it gives the invocatory songs of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu; but the remarkable difference herein is the inclusion of Kṛṣṇa instead of Buddha as the 9th incarnation[31] of Lord Jagannātha. In the G. G. Jayadeva reconciles the concept of Jagannātha through the veiled reference to Jagadīśa[32] and declares Kṛṣṇa to be the mainspring of all the incarnations.[33] But here the author, a great devotee of Lord Jagannātha, attaches much importance to Him[34] and though Kṛṣṇa is described as one of the

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[29] Karnāṭaka, Gurjarī, Goṇḍakarī, Deśivarāḍī, Varāḍī, Vasanta, Vibhāṣā, Bhairava, Mālava, Rāmakarī.

[30] Vide A. G. G. Āmrapañcama, Ābhīri, Kakubha, Karṇāta, Karṇātabangāla, Kalahamsa, Kalyāṇanāṭa, Kāmboji, Kurunji, Kedāragauḍa, Kolāhala, Gāndhāra, Gurjarī, Goṇḍakiri, Gauḍi, Ghaṇṭārava. Cintādeśī, Chāyānāṭa, Toḍi, Dīpaka, Desākhya, Deśī, Dhanāsi, Naṭanārāyaṇa, Nādarāmakiri, Nārāyaṇagauḍa, Nārāyaṇadeśākhya,Puravi, Bangālagauḍa, Bangālavarāḍi, Vasanta, Vahuli, Velāvati, Bhinnaṣaḍja, Bhūpāla, Bhairava, Bhairavi, Mangalagurjarī, Madhyamādi, Mallāhari, Mallāra, Mālavagauḍa, Mālasri, Mukhāri, Rāmakari, Revagupti, Lalitā, Śankarābharaṇa, Śrī, S'uddhanāṭa, Śuddhavaṅgāla, Śuddhavarāḍi, Śuddhavasanta, Sālakarṇāṭa, Sāmavarāḍi, Soma, Saurāṣṭragurjari, Hindola.

[31] Vide the A. G. G. first song
Gopagokularakṣaṇa-kṣaṇa-dhāritākhila-bhūbhṛtaṁ |
nīlamaṇimayadaṇḍasaṅgatamātapatramivoddhṛtam ||

[32] Vide the G. G. 1st song—Jaya jagadīśa hare.

[33] Vide the G. G. verse no. 5

Vedānuddharate...... ....
dasākṛtikṛte devāya tubhyaṁ namaḥ ||

[34] Vide the A. G. G. first song—
Jananapālananāśakāraṇa-
nīlagiripatimacyutam |

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incarnations,[35] yet He has been accepted to be so only in a general manner; in reality Kṛṣṇa is Lord Jagannātha, Himself the source of all the incarnations. This 'Das'āvatārastuti' is repeated also at the end of the *Abhinava G.G.* in an abridged form, unlike in the G. G.

Throughout the work,[36] Puruṣottama has used musical rhythm and diction, which at places, can be well compared with the original G. G. The theme[37] of the G. G. has been repeated but in different

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35. Vide the A. G. G. last verse-

Māyākalpitamūrtaye bhagavate devāya tubhyaṁ
namaḥ ||
and
namata daśavidharūpamadbhutam
akhilamunijanavanditaṁ |
janana-pālana-nāśakāraṇa-
nīlagiripatimacyutaṁ ||

36. A. G. G. first song—

Tridaśamuniganaṇanāśahetuṁ
tripuraharavaradarpitaṁ
rāvaṇaṁ hatvā s'irobhiḥ
kandukairiva khelitaṁ ||
namata daśarathatanayamadbhutaṁ |
akhilamunijanavanditaṁ |
janana-pālana-nāśakāraṇa-
nīlagiripatimacyutaṁ ||

37. A. G. G.—

Rādhāmurāriramaṇīyarahasyalīlā-
sandohasundaram-amandaguṇābhirāmam |
sāhityasārasamudāyavudhah prabandha-
metaṁ tanoti puruṣottamabhūmibhartā || 5

Cf. with the verses 2 & 3 of the G. G.

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words. Even the beginning[38] and concluding[39] lines are imitations of the original. Sometimes Puruṣottama is original in handling the theme.

3. *Jagannātha-vallabha Nāṭaka of Rāya Rāmānanda (1500 A.D.).*

Rāya Rāmānanda Paṭṭanāyaka was appointed as the governor of Rājamahendri, now in Andhra Pradesh, under the reign of Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva of the solar dynasty of Orissa. He came of a respectable Karaṇa family of the village Bentapur near the famous Ālwarnāth temple. He was the eldest son of Bhavānandarāya who was also an erudite scholar and has been referred to in the prologue of this drama in glowing terms. Rāya Rāmānanda was a poet of repute and was an adept in the philosophy of Kṛṣṇaite Vaiṣṇavism that advocated the Rādhā - Kṛṣṇa worship. He wrote a Sanskrit drama entitled *Jagannāthavallabha* to glorify his own faith and to gain favour of his patron king.[40] Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva is referred to many a time in this work. The drama deals with the amours of Rādha and Kṛṣṇa and is divided into five acts, Pūrvarāgabhāvaparikṣā, Bhāvaprakāśa, S'rīrādhābhisāra and Śrīrādhāsaṁgama. From the prologue it is known that the play was also called *Rāmānandasaṅgītanāṭaka*[41] which is self-explanatory. The drama was written some time between 1497–1509 A.D. and definitely before the advent of Śrīcaitanya at Puri.[42] *Ṭikāpañcaka* is another work of the same author in ms.[43]

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[38] A. G. G.—

Kālindījalakelilolataruṇī
    rājīta nīlāmbarā
nirgatyāṅgajalā nisāritavatī-
    rālokyasarvā diśaḥ ।
tīropānte milanti kuñjabhavane
    gūḍhaṁ cirāt paśyataḥ
śaureḥ sambhramayannimā vijayate
    sākūtaveṇudhvaniḥ ॥

[39] Nityānandacidātmakāya sahaja-pradyota-mānatviṣe
hṛtpadmāntaravāsine 'khilajagat-sṛṣṭikṛiyāhetave ।
viśvatrāṇaparāyaṇāya samaye tasyaiva saṁhāriṇe
māyākalpitamūrtaye bhagavate devāya tubhyaṁ namaḥ ॥
Iti śrīpuruṣottamadeva-Gajapatimahārājakṛte
abhinavagītagovindamahākāvye svādhīna-
bhartṛkāvarṇane nandamukundo nāma daśamaḥ sargaḥ ॥

[40] Laghutaralitakandaraṁ
hasitanavasundaraṁ
gajapatipratāparudrahṛdayānugatam anudinaṁ
sarasaṁ racayati rāmānandarāyaḥ ॥

It will not be out of place to point out here that the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worship which was started in Orissa since pre-G.G. time, assumed a concrete shape in the G.G. and has been repeatedly expressed in the *Abhinavagītagovinda* of Rāya Divākara Miśra, *Jagannātha-vallabha Nāṭaka* of Rāya Rāmānanda and in the *Abhinava Veṇīsamharaṇa* of Gajapati Puruṣottama Deva. This was not the effect of the preaching of S'rī Caitanya and his disciples, as some scholars believe, because all these works were written some time before the advent of Śrī Caitanya at Puri. Of course it cannot be gainsaid that the faith and movement which was restricted to a smaller circle of devotees attracted the people gradually after the historic meeting of Śrī Caitanya with Rāya Rāmānanda on the banks of the Godāvarī, when the master was on a pilgrimage-tour of India in 1509 A. D. This association and the movement tremendously influenced the subsequent literatures in Sanskrit and Oriya alike.

The *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka* contains twenty-one Sanskrit songs in imitation of the songs of the G.G. These songs have been copiously quoted in the works of later musicology like *Gītaprakāśa*, *Saṅgītakalpalatā* and *Nāṭyamanoramā* of Kavi Kṛṣṇadāsa (1550–1570 A.D.), Haladhara Miśra (1600–1630 A. D.) and Raghunātha Rath (1680–1700 A.D.) respectively. The songs do reveal the poet's literary gifts and Kṛṣṇa-bhakti ; one misses

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41. x x x x gajapatipratāparudrapriyaṁ rāmānanda-saṅgītanāṭakaṁ nirmāya samarpitam abhineṣyāmi ।

42. The *Jagannāthavallabha* begins with the salutation to Kṛṣṇa, but contains no reference to Caitanya.

43. Vide the *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss. of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. cxv-cxvii.

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however, the mellifluous beauty of the songs of the master-piece of Jayadeva. For example, the following in the second act—

vidalitasarasijadalacaya-śayane
vāritasakalasakhījananayane ||
valati manomanasatvararacane
pūraya kāmamimaṁ śaśivadane ||
abhinavabisakisalayacayavalaye
malayajarasapariṣevitanilaye ||
sukhayatu rudragajādhipacittam
rāmānandarāyakavibhaṇitaṁ ||

4. *Unknown work of Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa from Chandomakhānta* (1550 A.D.)

Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa was the preceptor of Gaṅgādāsa, the author of the well-known *Chandomañjarī*. Gaṅgādāsa flourished during the first quarter of the 16th century A.D and he is believed to be a native of Orissa.[44] Puruṣottama wrote two works *Chandogovinda* and *Chandomakhānta*. In connection with the illustration of *Gītavṛtta* of *Chandomakhānta* he cites a few songs in praise of S'iva and Pārvatī from his unknown work. These songs appear to be highly influenced by the G. G. For example,

aviratamukulita-locana-mālaṁ
dīpaśikhālasadikṣata-bhālaṁ || 1
sphaṭika-manohara-gaura-śarīraṁ
prakaṭajaṭājūṭa-vigalita-nīraṁ || 2
bhālavibhūṣitahimakara-khaṇḍaṁ
kuṇḍali-kuṇḍala-maṇḍita-gaṇḍam || 3
śṛṅgaḍamarukaramatula-virājaṁ
vidhiharisevitacaraṇa-sarojaṁ || 4
śṛṇu puruṣottama-bhaṇitamudāraṁ
prabhurapi kalayati vividha-vikāraṁ || 5

From these citations it may be conjectured that Puruṣottama composed a work in imitation of the G.G., on the līlās of Hara and Pārvatī.[45]

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[44] Vide *A Des. Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. of Orissa*, Vol. II, Preface, cxiv–cxv.

[45] "The Chandomakhānta by Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa" by Dr. D. C. Sircar. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 3rd session, p. 818.

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5. *An unknown work of Kṛṣṇadāsa (1570 A.D.)*

Kṛṣṇadāsa[46] was a court-poet of Gajapati Mukundadeva (1559-1568 A.D.), the last independent King of Orissa. He wrote a treatise on *Gītaprakāśa* where, as illustrations of different Rāgas, he has cited many fragmentary portions of a Gīta Kāvya, composed by the poet himself. The unknown Gīta Kāvya deals with the episode of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇalīlā in the manner of the G.G. and it was perhaps divided into more than nine cantos.[47] The name of the author's father is perhaps Cārusimha[48] and the poet is known to be the disciple of Gaṅgādhara, about whom nothing is known at present.[49] As an example of fine composition we may cite two songs from his unknown work here as specimens—

Nāṭarāgeṇa gīyate

kiñcid utthāya cañcalanayane
sañcitabahulāvaṇyaṁ
vadanam idaṁ vidhu-maṇḍalamadhunā
suviśatu mānamagamyaṁ
kimiti karoṣi kṛśodari roṣaṁ
madana-mahānada-vikala-śarīraṁ
.........paritoṣaṁ ||
vacanamudīraya madhura yāminī
mṛdumandasmitakāntaṁ
kiñcana siñca sudhārasa-bindubhi-
rangamidaṁ mama tāntaṁ ||
Rādhāmādhava-kelikathārasa-
khacitaṁ navamavidhigītaṁ
sukhayatu sajjana-cittaṁ santatam
kṛṣṇadāsakavigītaṁ ||

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[46] Vide *O. H. R. J. Vol.* VII, Part II. p. 73-82, "Two unknown Sanskrit Poets of Orissa" by K. N. Mahapatra.

[47] Rādhāmādhava-kelikathārasa-khacitaṁ
navamavidhigītam

[48] Śṛṇuta karṇakutukakāri Kṛṣṇadāsaviracanaṁ
gajapatinṛpahṛdayahāri cārusimhanandanaṁ ||
—(*Gītaprakāśa, dvitīyollāsa*)

[49] Gaṅgādharagurubhaktivaśīkṛtagovindaḥ tvayi ratirāstāṁ ||
—(*Gītaprakāśa, prathamollāsa*)

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Malaśri rāgeṇa gīyate

Nīlanalinadalanayane
hariharāṅkatala-kṛtaśayane ||
ghanajaghana-stana-tānte
hāṭakalatikā-nindaka-kānte ||

** ** **

kṛṣṇakathārasakhacite
kṛṣṇadāsakṛtakeligīte ||
karṇānandanidāne
kalayati cittaṁ navanavagāne ||[50]
—(*Tṛtīyollāsa*)

6. *An unknown work of Rājā Raghunātha Haricandana* (1620 A. D.)

King Raghunātha Haricandana of Vananagara (modern Vānapura) in the district of Pūri, who flourished after the poet Kṛṣṇa Dāsa, wrote an unknown *Gītakāvya* dealing with the dalliances of Rādhākṛṣṇa in the manner of the *Gītagovinda*.[51] The work is not available at present, and is known through quotation from it in the *Saṅgītakalpalatā*[52] of poet Haladhara Miśra.[53]

7. *Gopagovinda of an unknown author* (1625 A.D.)

It is assumed that the *Gopagovinda*, a *Gītakāvya* of some importance was composed in imitation of the *Gītagovinda*, most probably by an Orissan writer at about 1600 A.D. The name of the book has been referred to and at times, some lines therefrom have been quoted in the works of musicology written by Orissan authors only. The versatile genius Kaviratna Puruṣottama Miśra, who is the author of a number of Sanskrit works, quotes from the *Gopagovinda* and also refers to a commentary of it in his *Sangītanārāyaṇa*. The date of composition of *Sangītanārāyaṇa* has been

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[50] *Gītaprakāśa*, ms. preserved in the Mss. Library of the O. S. M. B.B.S. R.

[51] Iha hari-rādhā-saṅgama-racanaṁ |
vānanagara-haricandana-bhaṇanaṁ ||
—quoted in *Saṅgītākalpalatā*.

[52] An unpublished palm-leaf Sanskrit ms. of *Śaṅgītakalpalatā* of Haladhara Miśra is preserved in the O. S. M. BBSR.

[53] Vide *O. H. R. J.* Vol. VII. Part II, pp. 73-82.

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decided to be about 1650 A.D. [54] As by that time *Gopagovinda* was eommented upon and the commentary was widely circulated and was used by the poets, the date of its composition may be tentatively accepted to be 1600 A. D. Further it has been quoted in the *Nāṭyamanoramā*[55] of Paṇḍita Raghunātha (1697 A.D.):

> Udāharaṇaṁ yathā *gopagovinde*-" s'iśiraśītalamañju-
> vañjula-mṛdukisalayasaṅkulaṁ "

8. *Muditamādhava of Śataṁjīva Miśra* (1650 A.D.)

Anādi Miśra,[56] author of *Maṇimālā Nāṭikā* and *Kelikallolinī*, refers to a *Gītakāvya* entitled *Muditamādhava* of his own father Śatañjīva Miśra, in the prologue [57] of his *Maṇimālā*.

The *Maṇīmālā* has been critically edited as a Doctoral thesis by Dr. (Mrs.) Savitri Raut, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

9. *Saṁṛddhamādhava Nāṭaka of Govinda Sāmantarāya*

The ms. of this work was at first noticed by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, in Preface of his *Notices* that *Samṛddhamādhava Nāṭaka* by Govinda Kavibhūṣaṇa Sāmantarāya of Bhāradvāja gotra is an imitation of the *Gitagovinda*[58]. The author Kavibhūṣaṇa Govinda Sāmatarāya belonged to the family of Kavicandra Viśvanātha Sāmantarāya, who was honoured in the court of Akbar in 1594 A.D. Govinda has written also *Sūrisarvasva*. Though the *Samṛddhamādhava* contains a few padāvalīs set to different tunes after the manner of *Gītagovinda*, yet none of the songs is available at present. This work has been divided into seven acts. From the concluding lines of each

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[54] Vide *O.H.R.J.* Vol. X. Nos. I & 2, pp. 17–24. " Sangitanārāyaṇa by Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva " by K. N. Mahapatra.

[55] A palm-leaf ms. of *Nāṭyamanoramā* is preserved in the O. S. M. BBSR.

[56] *O. H. R. J.* Vol. IV. Nos. 3 & 4. pp. 60–66.

[57] "Pāripārśvikaḥ (smaraṇamabhinīya), āḥ-jñātaṁ-yajjanakasya Śrīśataṁjvīakaver *muditamādhavābhīdha-gītakāvye* gānāmṛtormiṇā sāmājika - janahṛdayam vayaṁ purānyamajjayāmaḥ "

[58] *Notices of Sanskrit of Mss.* (2nd series) 1911. Vol. IV. Preface, p. XXX.

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act[59] it appears that the famous love-episode of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa constitutes the theme of the work. Perhaps the *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka*, otherwise called the *Saṅgīta-nāṭaka* of Rāya Rāmānanda served as a model for the author to write this *gīti-nāṭya* which is intercepted with songs and was enacted before the Lord Jagannātha inside the campus of the temple for the propitiation of the Lord.[60]

In the prologue the author claims that the play is entirely novel (navyam kāvyaṁ) and original wherein the reader will undoubtedly enjoy the poetic beauty, sonorous words and rich sentiment.[61] As regards the date of the work, we can say with certainty that it was composed at about 1775 A. D. as the poet records in his *Sūrisarvasva* that in 1778 A. D.[62] during the reign of Gajapati Virakesari Deva he completed his *Sūrisarvasva* and was awarded the title "Kavibhuṣaṇa" in appreciation of his scholarship.[63] Thus he flourished in the state of Bānki in the middle of 18th century A.D.[64]

I0. *Vrajayuvavilāsa of Kamalalocana* (1790 A.D.)

The mss. of *Vrajayuvavilāsa* of Kamalalocana was at first noticed by Pandit Kulamani Miśra, the Smṛti Professor of Sadasiva

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[59] The seven acts are named respectively as Gokulamaṅgala, Nirādhika-rādhika, Vipralabdharādha, Sānandagovinda, Tathyamanoratha, Sarvanirvāṇa, Tathyamanoratha.

[60] *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. VII. No. 5368. pp. 291–92.

[61] Sūtradhāraḥ—

tasya kṛtiḥ kṛtiruciraṁ
cіraṁ rasādidhvanipracuraṁ ।
navyaṁ kāvyamudite
madhuraṁ hi *samṛddhamādhavaṁ nāma* ॥

[62] "Kha-śūnya-muni-candrama-pratima-śaka-saṁvatsare" (1700 śakābda)

[63] Vide 'Two little-known Sanskrit poets of Orissa', K. N. Mahapatra, *OHRJ*. Vol. I. No. I. pp. 52-59.

[64] *New Catalogus Catalogorum,* Madras University, Vol. VI. 1971. p. 193. *Catalogus Catalogorum.* Part III. p. 144.

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Sanskrit College, Puri.[65] The work contains 17 cantos and describes the divine sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in a simple, charming and melodious style. A paper transcript of this work is preserved in the Manuscript Library of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. It is written in imitation of the *Gīta-govinda* and a number of *padāvalīs* set to different musical tunes are found herein. As this ms. was not available to us we are at present unable to give any detail of the work.

11. *Kṛṣṇavilāsa of Kaviratna Nārāyaṇa Miśra*[66]

Kṛṣṇavilāsa is a musical work of the class called *Śuddhaprabandha*, which is generally sung in a single Rāga. The work is quoted in the *Saṅgītasaraṇī* of Nārāyaṇa. Dr. Raghavan has dealt with this work in the *Journal of the Music Academy, Madras.*[67]

Puruṣottama Miśra and his son Nārāyaṇa Miśra (1644 A. D.) of Parlakhimedi in Orissa, composed many Prabandhas like Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. According to *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* this type of *Gītakāya* was called as "Śuddhaprabandha". Further, Nārāyaṇa Miśra says that most of his father's compositions were *Śuddhaprabandhas*. However, out of a number of *Śuddhaprabandhas* composed by Puruṣottama Miśra, only the following three written on the theme of *Rāmāyaṇa* are known at present by name only-[68] *Rāmacandrodaya*, *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, and *Rāmābhyudaya*.

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[65] *The Caturanga*, Oriya Magazine, monthly, now defunct. Vol. II. No. 6 Oct., 1947 pp. 264.

[66] The *New Cat. Cat.* Vol. IV. ed. Dr.V. Raghavan, Madras, p. 559. *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* quoted in *Saṅgītaṣaraṇi* of Nārāyaṇa MT. 3298 (pp. 30-34).
See also a printed edition of *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* (S. N. 5032) in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

[67] Vide 'Later Sangita literature' by Dr. V. Raghavan, *Journal of Music Academy, Madras*, Vol. IV. p. 76.
Also see the *Bulletin No. 18 of the Sangita Nataka Akademi*, New Delhi, 1961, p. 9.

[68] Vide *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* ed. by Dr. V. Raghavan, p. 551.

Besides the *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* Nārāyaṇa himself composed the following *Śuddhaprabandhas* :[69] *Balabhadravijaya*, *Śaṅkaravihāra*, *Uṣāvilāsa*.

From a perusal of the *Gītakāvyas* referred to above, it may be remarked that though most of them have their stylistic elegance and emotional subtleties, yet they cannot be estimated on a par with the superb *Gitagovinda*. But in the treatment of their highly lucious and erotic-devotional theme, the poets have invested their mystic poems with the whole gamut of erotic motif, imagery and expression along with the exquisite verbal melody and pictorial fancy which have substantially contributed towards the enrichment of their poems. Though the production of *Gītakāvyas* and its mighty sex-impulse have been viewed from different stand-points of human value, yet it is accepted on all hands that undoubtedly it was a positive literaiy gain of immense importance which could successfully inspire the people for their religious and literary pursuits during the last few centuries.

Apart from the works referred to above, the following *Gītakāvyas*[70] written by Orissan scholars, have already been discussed elsewhere :

1. *Mukundavilāsa Mahākāvya* of Yatīndra Raghūttama Tīrtha (1667 A.D.).
2. *Śrī-Śivalīlāmṛta Mahākāvya* of poet Nityānanda (*C.* 1700 A.D.).
3. *Śrī-Kṛṣṇalīlāmṛta Mahākāvya* of poet Nityānanda (*C.* 1730 A.D.).
4. *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi* of Kamalalocana Khaḍgarāya (*C.* 1790 A.D.).
5. *Gītamukunda* of Kamalalocana Khaḍgarāya (*C.* 1790 A.D.).
6. *Gītasītāvallabha* of Śitikaṇṭha Kavi-uttama (*C.* 1300 A.D.).
7. *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya* of Nārāyaṇa Bhañja (*C.* 1700 A,D.).
8. *Śrī-Kṛṣṇastava* of Dīnabandhu Miśra (1675 A.D.).
9. *Gītabhāgavata* of Rāyadurganṛpati.

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[69] *Ibid.*

[70] All these unpublished mss. are preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubanesvar.

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CONTRIBUTION OF PUNJAB TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE-20th CENTURY

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The Gāyatrī Mantra, the very soul of our Indian culture from Himālaya to Cape Comarine and Saurāṣṭra to Assam, was first revealed to sage Viśvāmitra by God, as it is believed, in the sacred land of five rivers. This land has the privilege to produce such great Vedic seers as Gṛtsamada, Vāmadeva, Atri, Vasiṣṭha and Bharadvāja–whose descendents are, spread all over India. It is the land which instituted the sacrifices for the first time. To the students of religion, it is a well-known fact that Prajāpati performed the first sacrifice at Kurukṣetra, which subsequently became one of the most sacred *tīrthas* of the Hindus. It was also the land of Art and Music in ancient time. The Gandharvas and Kinnaras who are described is our ancient literature, Vedic and Classical, as well versed in music and dance, were the residents of the place which is called Kinnaur, situated in Himāchal Pradesh. It was here that the *Manusmṛti*, the great law-book of Hindus was composed by that great law-giver. The *Gītā*, the immortal teaching of Lord S'rī Kṛṣṇa, was sung here, in the battle-field of Kurukṣetra. Audumbarāyaṇa, whom Yāska has quoted several times in his *Nirukta*, was the resident of the greater Punjab. On the evidence of the coins of Uḍumbaras found in large numbers at Kangra, the ancient Trigarta, and Pattanakota, it can be conjectured that once there existed the reign of Uḍumbaras in the north of the river Vyāsa and south of the river Rāvī. Here a river named Uḍumbarāvatī, which Patañjali has mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, flowed. Audumbarāyaṇa might have been a resident of this land. He was a great philosopher of language. Pāṇini, was a Paṭhān and on inhabitant of the greater Punjab. The University of Takṣaśilā, which had produced the great politician Cāṇakya, and the great physician Jīvaka, was the main centre of learning in the days of old.

Medieval era is the dark period in the history of Sanskrit literature in the Punjab. During this period Punjab had to suffer on account of a series of attacks by the Muslims who invaded India through the Himalayan passes in the North-West. A large number of Sanskrit scholars, who could not pursue their studies and live in

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peace because of continuous Muslim attacks, left Punjab and settled down in other parts of the country. Much of the literature written in this land was burnt and destroyed. At the present times Punjab has produced many outstanding Sanskrit scholars.

Vedic Studies

Among the scholars, whose contributions to the field of Vedic studies is worth noting, mention may be made of Lakshmana Sarup, Raghuvira, Vishva Bandhu, Rajaram and Bhagavaddatta. Before the partition Lahore happened to be the main centre of learning and research. Lakshmana Sarup (born at Kairana in Muzaffarnagar District of U. P.) was the first Indian Principal of the Oriental College. Under the guidance of Prof. Macdonell at the University of Oxford, he prepared for the first time a critical edition of the *Nirukta* with English translation along with a learned introduction and exegetical notes, in which he made a comparative study of the contributions of the ancient Indians and Greeks to the science of linguistics. He also brought out a critical edition of the voluminous commentary of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara on *Nirukta* in three volumes. Besides, he brought out a pre-Sāyaṇa and hitherto unpublished commentary entitled *Ṛgartha-dīpikā* on the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* by Veṅkaṭamādhava, in four volumes. He also contributed a large number of research papers in various Journals and Commemoration Volumes. Another scholar, who served the cause of Sanskrit in general and Vedic studies in particular by editing a very large number of Vedic texts, was Dr. Raghuvira. The *Kaṭha-kapiṣṭhala Saṁhitā*, *Jaiminīya Saṁhitā* and *Paippalāda Saṁhitā*, are some of the works which he edited. His worthy son Dr. Lokesh Candra is following in the lines of his father. He is one of the few scholars who have studied and worked on the culture and language of Asian countries.

In the field of Vedic Studies in Punjab, the Vishveshvarananda Institute occupies a place of pre-eminence. It is the main centre of Sanskrit learning in Punjab. It has published a large number of Vedic texts with commentaries and also Kośas like the *Vaidika-pādānukramakośa* (a Vedic word-concordance) in 16 Volumes and the *Brāhmaṇoddhārakośa* (citations from the Brāhmaṇas). The Institute has also published a considerable number of books on Indology in general.

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Pt. Rajaram has translated a number of Vedic texts in Hindi. Devi Chandra has translated the four Vedas in English, but only two of them—those of *Yajur Veda* and *Sāma Veda*—have been published. 'Vaidik Vaṅmay kā itihās' and 'Bhāratavarṣ kā bṛhad itihās' are well known works of Pt. Bhagavaddatta. Among the younger generation of scholars Dr. Ram Gopal has written 'India of Vedic :Kalpasūtras' and 'Vaidik Vyākaraṇ' in two volumes. The present writer also has written 'The New Vedic selection', 'Treatment of Nature in the Ṛgveda', 'Vaidik svarbodh',' Vaidik svarit mīmāmsā' and 'Vaidik vāṅmay ek anuśīlan'.

Linguistics

Dr. Siddheswar Varma is one of the foremost linguisticians of our day. His 'Critical Studies in the phonetic observations of ancient Indian Grammarians' is a valuable work in this field. He has prepared a summary of Grierson's 'Linguistic Survey of India' which is now being published by the Vishveshvaranada Institute, Hoshiarpur. He has also completed a 'Comparative Dictionary of N. W. Himalayan dialects'. Now he is engaged in preparing a 'Dictionary of ancient Indian phonetic terminologies' used in the vast phonetic literature of ancient India and a 'Proto-linguistic Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages'.

Grammar

In the field of grammar Punjab has retained its ancient tradition. Pt. Brahmadatta Jijnasu, Pt. Sivadatta Sarma Dadhimath and Pt. Haridatta were profound scholars of Sanskrit grammar. Pt. Haridatta was known as 'Mahāvaiyākaraṇa'. But unfortunately he wrote nothing. Pt. Brahmadatta Jijnasu wrote an exhaustive Hindi commentary on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in four parts. Pt. Sivadatta Sarma Dadhimath was in favour of teaching Sanskrit grammar through Kaumudī-system. He wrote many books on Sanskrit Grammar. Pt. Charudeva Sastri has brought out critical editions of *Vākyapadīya* and *Mahābhāṣya*. In his monumental work called *Śabdāpaśabdaviveka* he has critically studied the correctness and incorrectness of words.

Philosophy

Svami Darsanananda (of Jagrawan in Ludhiana Distt. of Punjab), who was the follower of Svami Dayananda Sarasvati,

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rendered his services to the students of Sanskrit Śāstras by bringing out cheap editions of costly and rare books. He wrote considerably on different branches of Indian philosophy in Urdu language. He wrote commentaries on Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Vedānta, *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* and some of the Upaniṣads in Urdu. It is worth mentioning that Svami Darsanananda made the Urdu-knowers acquainted with Indian Philosophy which would otherwise have been almost impossible for them in the absence of the knowledge of Sanskrit. Pt. Hemaraja was a profound scholar of Navyanyāya system of Indian Philosophy. He was popularly known for his knowledge of Jaiminīya Jyotiṣa. Śrī Sudarśanacharya was an erudite scholar of Indian Philosophy. He wrote a Vṛtti on Gadādhara's *Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya* and commentaries *Ādarśākhyā* on *Vyutpattivāda* and *Śaktivāda*. Pt. Nṛsingh Deva Sastri wrote commentaries called *Saubhāgyavatī* on *Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvali* and *Tarkasaṅgraha*. Pt. Visvanath Sastri of Khanna wrote a commentary on *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras*. Pt. Kasinath Sarma has written a commentary *Vedabhāskara* on *Vaiśeṣika Darśana* (recently published from Hoshiarpur). Vaidika Muni Svami Hariprasad has written Vṛttis on the five Darśanas. Dr. Prabhudatta worked on 'Māyāvāda in Indian Philosophy.'

Kāvya

Pt. Charudeva Sastri has composed a Kāvya entitled *Gāndhicarita*. His son Dr. Satyavrat is the author of many Kāvyas in Sanskrit, some of them being *Bodhisattvacarita*, *Śrīgurugovindasinghacarita*, *Bṛhattarabhārata*, and *Ṣaḍṛtuvarṇana*. Chhajjurām Sāstri of Karnal has written a large number of Kāvyas, dramas and books on rhetoric. *Sultānacarita* and *Chhajjurāmaśatakatraya* are his famous Kāvyas. *Durgābhyudaya* is a drama, and *Rasagaṅgādharakhaṇḍana* and *Sāhityabindu* are his books in poetics

Pt. Jagadram Sastri was a profound scholar of Sanskrit. He was the Principal of the Sanatana Dharma Sanskrit College, Hoshiarpur. He has written many books in Sanskrit. His *Chatraśālavijaya* is a prose kāvya in fourteen sargas based on the life of Chatrasāla. He was also a musician. He used to sing on various occasions his self-composed *Samskṛtarāmāyaṇa* in the style of *Rādheśyāma Rāmāyaṇa*, Besides, he has written Sanskrit commentaries on *Nirukta* and *Naiṣadhīyacarita.* Unfortunately all these works, except the commentary on *Naiṣadhīyacarita* have not yet been published. Pt. Durgadatta Sastri has composed two Sanskrit Kāvyas *Rāṣṭrapathapradarśana* (1967) and *Tarjanī.* Pt. Sukadeva Sastri has composed *Nehruśataka.* Pt. Tejobhanu has written three Śatakas, *Śṛṅgāra, Vairāgya* and *Nīti* on account of which he is known as 'Abhinava-Bhartṛhari.' Besides these S'atakas, he has also written *Viprapañcadaśī, Śrīcandacarita* and *Stutimuktāvali.* Dr. Syamadeva Parasar of Hoshiarpur has composed two Khaṇḍa Kāvyas *Rājasimhacarita* and *Kādambinī,* and the anthology *Anyoktiśataka.* Besides, he has composed many poems on miscellaneous topics. The Akhila Bhāratīya Sanskrit Sāhitya Sammelan has conferred on him the title of 'Kaviratna.' In his Doctorate dissertation *Kāvyadoṣāḥ* he has made a critical study of blemishes in Sanskrit poetry. He has also written a commentary on *Tājikanīlakaṇṭha,* a famous book on astronomy. Now he is working on the 'Influence of Sanskrit on Punjabi language.' Pt. Bhikhshārāma Sastri has composed a number of books in Sanskrit on the lives of great men of India, like *Nehruvamśa, Rājendrakāvya, Patelacaritra, Gāndhicaritra* and *Ravīndracarita.*

Among scholars who dedicated their lives to the advancement of Sanskrit mention may be made of Pt. Dinadayal Sarma and Pt. Bulakiram Sarma. Pt. Dinadayal Sarma established a large number of Sanskrit Colleges under the Sanatanadharma Sabha at Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepur, Peshavar, Multan, Bhilvani etc. At first he started a Sanatana Dharma College, where education was imparted through English medium. He was one of the founders and organisers of the Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan. Pt. Bulakiram Sastri was the first General Secretary of the Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan. He was honoured with the title of 'Vidyāsāgara' by the scholars of Bengal.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF PUNJAB TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE-BUDDHIST

JAGANNATH AGGARWAL,
Chandigarh

Before presenting a survey of the Sanskrit literature of Punjab it would be worthwhile to say a few words about its geographical connotation. The Punjab of to-day roughly covers the area occupied by the ancient tribal republics of Malva, Trigarta, Rajanya, Udumbara and part of Madra. Before 1947 the State of Punjab extended roughly from the Indus to the Yamuna, and before 1903 and in the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, it included a greater part of the erstwhile North Western Frontier Province. So in this context of shifting boundaries, the survey presented here pertains to the land called as 'Sapta Sindhu' in the *Ṛgveda*, that is, it includes the land of the seven rivers Kabul, Sindhu, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Satluj.

Another point to which I would like to invite attention, is the paucity of sources of information for such a survey. Most of the ancient Indian historical literature has perished and what has been preserved is incomplete and imperfect. While some writers considered it worthwhile to construct the political history, there was none to take interest with regard to Sanskrit literature. A considerable portion of the literary output of the ancient times has perished on account of the ravages of nature and man. The writing material used in ancient Punjab was of a fragile character. It was mostly the birch bark and some times, the palm leaf which was brought from Eastern and Southern parts of the country. Manuscript written on these two materials are bound to get worn and torn after some time, and when writing was to be done by hand it was not easy to replace all manuscripts, in a particular collection. To this natural cause was added the one of frequent political upheavels resulting in the destruction of cities along with their big educational centres where the libraries were housed. Taxila, so famous as a seat of higher learning since the days of the Buddha, lost its ancient glory when it was sacked and burnt by the Hunas. That was just the beginning of the end. In the middle of

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the ninth century this land has been subjected to much wanton destruction and this continued up to the last quarter of the 18th century.

As is well known, the Sapta Sindhu is the cradle of ancient Indian civilization. It was on the banks of the Kubhā, the Sindhu, the Vitastā and Asiki, the Vipāśā and Śātudrī that the Vedic seers chanted thc sacred hymns of the *Ṛg Veda*. One can even point out the names of the seers who were associated with particular areas of this region. For example, the mantra of *Ṛgveda* X. 171 is attributed to Śibi Auśīnara. Now the Uśīnara country may be located roughly in the Jhag District of the Western Punjab.

The North-Western Punjab was famous for its great teachers who carried on the tradition of Vedic thought and were the authors of the latest development. That some of the Punjab teachers were the most eminent custodians of the abstruse doctrine of *Ātman* is apparent from the story given in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* where we are told that when some Brahmin scholars approached the sage Āruṇi of the Taxila and wished to be instructed in the doctrine of *Ātman*, they were directed by him to repair to King Aśvapati of Kekaya country (the present-day Pothohar). We learn from the Buddhist *Jātakas* that Āruṇi was a great teacher of Taxila. This information is confirmed in the *Mahābhārata*. The North-Western region remained for a long time a great centre of studies in grammar, philology and phonetics. The earliest Indian philologist Yāska, the author of *Nirukta*, belonged to this region. There were several other notable scholars in these fields. Yāska refers to one Audumbarāyaṇa, who taught that speech was permanent only in the organs of speech. This scholar evidently hailed from the Uḍumbara country, namely, the region round about Pathankot. Again, Pāṇini refers to S'ākalya amongst his predecessors ; S'ākalya obviously hailed from the land of Śakala (Sialkot district).

The most outstanding contribution to Sanskrit grammatical studies of which any country in the world can be legitimately proud is the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, who was born at Sālātura, which has been identified with the modern village of Lahur, 4 miles to the north-west of Ohind (ancient Udbhandapura) on the confluence of the Indus and Kabul.

In Pāṇini's family there were several grammarians of repute. Vyāḍi, whose work known as *Saṁgraha*, was highly applauded by Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, is said to have been related to Pāṇini on the mother's side. According to Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, the author of the *Vedārthadīpikā*, Piṅgala, the important writer on Prosody, was a younger brother of Pāṇini. After Pāṇini and his close associate, there is a long blank. We do not come across any literary work till we reach the age of the great Kushana kings in the first and second centuries. The period intervening between Pāṇinı and the Kushanas witnessed a good number of political upheavels. There were invasions of Bactrian Greeks, the Śakas, and ṭhe Parthians in continuous succession. It was with the establishment of the Kushana rule that this land witnessed tranquility. The climate was now favourable for literary activities. The court of the enlightened Kushana ruler Kanishka, who was fascinated with the teaching of the Buddha, became a great centre of learning. Kanishka's patronage gave a fillip not only to the writing of purely religious and philosophical treatises but also to *belles lettres*, though of course even these were greatly influenced by considerations of religious advantage.

The greatest literary luminary of this age was Aśvaghoṣa, who was not only a great religious teacher and debater but also a great poet and dramatist. It is an irony of fate that the writings of Aśvaghoṣa were long ago consigned to oblivion in the land of his birth; though a few stray verses attributed to him were preserved in well-known anthologes like the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva. It was the discovery of the manuscript of the *Buddhacarita* and its publication by Professor Cowell of Oxford, that restored to As'vaghoṣa his well deserved place in the galaxy of Sanskrit writers. To-day we know Aśvaghoṣa[1] as the author of two *mahākāvyas*, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*, three dramas, of which only fragments have been preserved ; and a number of minor texts, about the authorship of which there is difference of opinion amongst scholars. Of his two epic poems, the more popular one is *Buddhacarita*, which contains in 28 cantos a complete account of the life of the Buddha

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1. See *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I (Revised Edn, 1969.) pp. 434-36.

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from his birth upto his Nirvāṇa. However, only 13 cantos and a portion of the 14th in original Sanskrit has been preserved. The remaining cantos are to be found in Tibetan and Chinese translations only. On account of the subject-matter this poem attained great popularity. We learn from Itsing, the Chinese pilgrim who came to India towards the close of the 7th century, that the poem was widely read throughout India as also in the islands of the South Pacific ocean. In writing this poem Aśvaghoṣa has meticulously adhered to the rule and practice of ancient Indian poetics, and we find in the *Buddhacarita* all those elements which are regarded as the characteristics of the *Mahākāvya*. He has also displayed full acquaintance with the great poem of Vālmīki, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the influence of which on the style of Aśvaghoṣa is apparent.

The second epic poem, the *Saundarananda* had been preserved only in two mss. in the library of thd Maharaja of Nepal, one of which is on palm leaf and is dated 1165 A.D. This was published first in 1910 by Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, who utilised only one paper ms. assignable to 18th century. A much improved edition was prepared by Prof. E. H. Johnston of Oxford, who utilised the palm leaf as well as the paper manuscript and also consulted the printed edition of H. P. Shastri. This edition was pnblished by the Punjab University, Lahore, in 1928. The *Saundarananada* deals in 18 cantos with the story of the conversion of his cousin Nanda, who was intensely attached to his wife, but was weaned away from her by the Buddha and converted to the faith. While the artistic merit of the *Saundarananda* is undoubtedly high, it is equally important to the students of Buddha's doctrine.

Besides the Kāvyas, Aśvaghoṣa also wrote some plays which have been preserved only in fragments. One of these is *Sāriputraprakaraṇa* on the conversion of Śārīputra Moggalana to Buddhism. Another play was allegorical, and the third also seems to be connected with the propagation of the faith. Similarly a short poem in praise of the monastery gong called the *Gaṇḍīstotragāthā* is also attributed in the Tibtan translation to Aśvaghoṣa.

A younger contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa was Kumāralāta, whose work *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* is some times wrongly attributed to Aśvaghoṣa. The discovery from Turfan of the fragments of the origi-

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nal text which has been published by Prof. Luders (Leipzig, 1926), makes it clear that the real author is Kumāralāta. He was a native of Taxila which has a long established tradition and reputation as a seat of higher learning. According to Hiuen Tsang, Kumāralāta was the founder of the Sautrāntika School of Buddhism. He was known as the 'Master of Parables'. This is amply illustrated by his *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* which is called also *Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti*, being a collection of parables written in the Kāvya style. This work is particularly valuable for the history of Indian culture, as it mentions the great epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* and contains references to scripts, art and paintings.

Another poet associated with Kanishka is Mātṛceṭa who is said to have been invited by the King. The reply sent by Mātṛceṭa has fortunately been preserved in the Tibetan translation. It is known as *Mahārāja-Kaṇikalekha*. The great sage exhorted the King to lead a moral life and to practise nonviolence.

I-tsing records that the poems of Mātṛceṭa were popular all over India. The following poetical works are attributed to him in the Bstan ḥgyur:

1. *Varṇārhavarṇastotra*
2. *Triratnamaṅgalastotra*
3. *Samyaksambuddhalakṣaṇastotra*
4. *Ekottarikāstava*
5. *Sugatapañcatriṁśatstotra*
6. *Śatapañcāśatkastotra*
7. *Triratnastotra.*
8. *Mātṛceṭagīti.*
9. *Āryatārāstotra.*
10. *Kaliyugaparikathā.*
11. *Āryatārādevīstotrasarvārthasiddhināmastotrarāja.*
12. *Mahārājakaniṣkalekha.*

Of these numbers 1 and 6 have been published. The *Śatapañcāśatka*, also known as *Adhyardhaśataka*, has been published by Rahul Sankrityayana. This poem is written in a simple and fluent style.

Regarding the beauty and sweetness of these poems I-tsing has a high opinion. He says: 'These charming compositions are equal in beauty to the heavenly flowers and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity the lofty peaks of mountain'. Even men like the Bodhisattva Asaṅga and Vasubandhu admired them greatly. I-tsing translated the *Śatapañcāśatka* into Chinese.

The flame that had been kindled under Kanishka's patronage continued to burn for centuries after him. In the city of Puruṣapura which was his capital, there flourished eminent Buddhist philosophers, the famous brothers Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, about both of whom we get much information from Paramārtha.

Asaṅga[1] was born in Puruṣapura. His father Kauśika was a Brahmin and a royal teacher, and had two other sons Vasubandhu and Virañcideva. Asaṅga belonged to Mahīśāsaka branch of the Sarvāstivādi school in the beginning, but later on he became an adherent of the Yogācāra school, when he wrote his *magnum opus*, the *Yogācārabhūmi*, a work of encyclopaedic content. Asaṅga wrote two other works to explain the teaching of Mahāyāna. These are the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and the *Mahāyānasaṁgraha*. He wrote several commentaries such as the *Kārikāsaptati*. Asaṅga's younger brother was Vasubandhu who was born probably about 320 A.D. In his younger days he belonged to the Sarvāstivādi School but later on, under the persuasion of his elder brother and in deference to his wishes, he shifted his allegiance to the Yogācāra school. In his younger days he is said to have written 300 works on the Hīnayāna teaching and after his conversion to Mahāyāna faith, he wrote an equal number of Mahāyāna texts, and thus came to be called the 'Master of a Thousand works'. Perhaps this is an exaggerated way of paying tribute to the great learning of Vasubandhu to whom the following works can undoubtedly be assigned :

1. A commentary on Āryadeva's *Śataśāstra*.
2. A commentary on Maitreyanātha's *Madhyantavibhaṅga*.

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[1] See *New Catalogus* Catalogorum, Vol. I. 1969 (Revised edn. pp. 480–1.)

3. *Daśabhūmikāśāstra.*
4. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkopadeśa.*
5. *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā.*
6. *Bodhicitrotpādanaśāstra.*

He is one of the chief teachers of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and is to be distinguished from the younger Vasubandhu, the famous author of the *Abhidharmakośa*. He died in *c.* 380 A.D.

During the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Christian era Sanskrit appears to have been very popular in the north-west of India as a medium for the dissemination of Buddhist teaching. A verse from the *Dhammapada* translated into Sanskrit is found engraved on a rock in the Swat valley:

अनित्या वत संस्कारा उत्पादव्ययधर्मिणः ।
उत्पद्य हि निरुध्यन्ते तेषां व्युपशमः सुखम् ॥

This is an evidence of the wide use of Sanskrit for spreading the gospel of the Buddha.

After Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, we have no definite record of the literary output in the subsequent ages, in this area.

CONTRIBUTION OF RAJASTHAN TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

राजस्थानप्रदेशस्य संस्कृतसेवा

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सर्वतः प्रथमं कर्नल्-टाड्-महोदय एवास्य प्रदेशस्य राजस्थाननाम्ना व्यवहारमकरोत्। पुरा सर्वोऽयं प्रदेशो नैकेन नाम्ना क्वापि न व्यवहृतो दृश्यते। प्रदेशस्यास्य विभिन्नानां विभागानां विभिन्नानि नामानि प्राचीनेषु ग्रन्थेषूपलभ्यन्ते। वर्तमानं सर्वं बीकानेरराज्यं जोधपुरराज्यस्य चोत्तरो भागो जांगलनाम्ना प्रसिद्धिं गत आसीत्। स एव प्रदेशः पश्चात् सपादलक्षनाम्नापि प्रसिद्धो दृश्यते। वर्तमानस्य अलवरराज्यस्योत्तरो भागः कुरुनाम्ना दक्षिण-पश्चिमश्च 'मत्स्य'-नाम्ना, पूर्वो भागश्च 'शूरसेन'-नाम्ना प्रसिद्धोऽभूत्। जयपुरराज्यस्योत्तरो भागो मत्स्यदेशान्तर्गतः दक्षिणश्च सपादलक्षान्तर्गत आसीत्। वर्तमानमुदयपुरराज्यं शिबिदेशनाम्ना प्रथितमभूत्। डूंगरपुरराज्यं वासवाडाराज्यं च 'वार्गट'-नाम्ना प्रथिते अभूताम्। जोधपुरराज्यस्य मरुस्थलं 'मरु'-नाम्ना व्यवह्रियते स्म। वर्तमानस्य जैसलमेरराज्यस्य निकटस्थः जोधपुरराज्यस्य भागः 'वल्ल'-देशनाम्ना विख्यातोऽभूत्। जोधपुरस्यैव उत्तरदक्षिणः प्रदेशः 'गुर्जरत्रा'-शब्देन व्यवहृतमभूत्। सिरोही-राज्यं चार्बुदनाम्ना प्रथितमासीत्। कोटा-प्रभृतयो भागाश्च मालवान्तर्गता एवाभूवन्। भारतस्वातन्त्र्यस्य पश्चादेव वस्तुतः राजस्थाननाम्ना प्रदेशोऽयं वर्तमानं रूपं लब्धवान्। अतः वर्तमानस्य राजस्थानप्रदेशस्यैव विभिन्नेषु भागेषूपलब्धस्य संस्कृतसाहित्यस्यास्मिन् निबन्धे चर्चा विधास्यते।

प्राचीनेषु भारतीयेषु साहित्यनिर्मातृषु अस्त्ययं बलीयान्दोषः यन्नैतैः स्वसाहित्ये क्वापि स्वसमयस्य, स्वस्थानस्य स्ववंशस्य च परिचयः प्रदत्तः। संस्कृतस्य ह्रासकालीनेषु साहित्यकारेष्वपि विरलाः केचिदेव कवयो लेखकाश्च काव्येषु अन्येषु ग्रन्थेषु च स्वपरिचयं दत्तवन्तः। अस्यां स्थितौ कः कविः

कुत्राभवत्, कश्च लेखकः कस्मिन् स्थाने कदा चाभवदिति निर्णयः कर्तुं न पार्यतेऽतः येषां लेखकानां कवीनां च कृतिषु स्थानादेरुल्लेखः प्राप्यते तेषामेव कृतीनामत्र परिचयः प्रस्तूयते ।

राजस्थानप्रदेशे गुणिजनाश्रयदातॄणां नृपतीनां संरक्षणं प्राप्यानेके विद्वांसः कवयश्च संस्कृते प्रचुरस्य साहित्यस्य निर्माणमकार्षुरिति तु विभिन्नेषु पुस्तकागारेषु सुरक्षितेभ्यः विविधविषयाणां ग्रन्थेभ्यः सुतरां ज्ञायते । एवं राजस्थानीयेषु नृपतिष्वपि आम्बेरस्य पश्चाच्च जयपुरस्य केचिन्नृपतयः आसन्नतिशयेन संस्कृतानुरागवन्तः साहित्यरसिकाः विद्वांसश्च । तेष्वपि मिर्जाराजा रामसिंह-प्रथमः, सवाई जयसिंह-द्वितीयः, सवाई रामसिंह-द्वितीयश्चासन् नितरां संस्कृत-प्रेमिणः । अतस्ते स्वस्वशासनकाले भारतस्य विभिन्नेभ्यः प्रान्तेभ्यः संस्कृतविदुष आहूयाम्बेरे पश्चाच्च जयपुरे न्यवासयन् । एतन्नृपतित्रयस्य कालेऽत्रानेके विद्वांसः विपुलं साहित्यमसृजन्नतस्तस्य सर्वस्य साहित्यस्यात्र लघुकाये निबन्धे वर्णनं दातुं न शक्यते, केवलं प्रसिद्धानामेव विदुषां परिचय उपन्यस्यते ।

श्रीदलपतिरामः

आसीदयं राजनीतिशास्त्रस्य मर्मज्ञः विद्वान् । अनेन मिर्जाराजस्य रामसिंहप्रथमस्याश्रये स्थित्वा 'राजनीतिनिरूपण'-नाम्नः प्रसिद्धग्रन्थस्य रचना कृता इति कृष्णामाचारिमहोदयः स्वीये 'A History of Classical Sanskrit Literature'-इत्याख्ये इतिहासग्रन्थे वदति । ग्रन्थस्यास्य समाप्तौ 'इति यवनपाठानुकृत्या राजनीतिनिरूपणं नाम शतकं विरचितं दलपतिरामेण' इति लिखितम् ; अत एष ग्रन्थः कस्यचिदरबीग्रन्थस्यानुवाद इति प्रतीयते ।

श्रीशङ्करभट्टः

श्रीशङ्करभट्टेन निर्मितः 'वैद्यविनोदसंहिता'-इत्याख्यः आयुर्वेदग्रन्थः मुम्बापुर्याः क्षेमराजश्रीकृष्णदास-मुद्रणालयात् १५७० वैक्रमेऽब्दे प्रकाशितोऽभूत् । ग्रन्थस्यास्य टीकाकर्त्रा गदाधरत्रिपाठिना अध उपन्यस्ते श्लोकेऽस्य परिचय इत्थं दीयते-

श्रीगौडवंशोद्भवशास्त्रवेत्ता ह्यनन्तभट्टो मुखजाग्रगण्यः ।
तस्यात्मजेनाथ सुशङ्करेण ग्रन्थः कृतो वैद्यविनोदनामा ॥

लेखकेनानेन स्वग्रन्थे चायं परिचयः प्रदत्तः—

राजाधिराजो जयसिंहवीरः ख्यातः पृथिव्यां महनीयकीर्तिः ।
प्रतीपभूपालनिवारणेन प्रतापपुञ्जज्वलदग्निकल्पः ॥ ३ ॥

तदात्मजो रामसमानसारो नाम्ना चिरायुर्नृपरामसिंहः ।
रूपेण दानेन पराक्रमेण तिरस्कृतानङ्गसुरद्रुमेन्द्रः ॥ ४ ॥

क्षेमस्य भोगस्य च मे विधातुस्तस्याज्ञया ग्रन्थकृतादरेण ।
ये ये प्रयोगा बहुशोऽनुभूतास्ते ते मया संलिखिता विमृश्य ॥ ६ ॥

श्रीहरिजीवनमिश्रमहोदयः[1]

श्रीरामसिंह-प्रथमस्याश्रये निवसता श्रीहरिजीवनमिश्रेण अद्भुततरङ्ग-घृतकुल्यावलि-पलाण्डुमण्डनप्रहसन[2]-प्रासङ्गिकप्रहसन - विबुधमोहनप्रहसन[2]-सहृदयानन्दप्रहसनविजयपराजित-नाटकादयो ग्रन्था निर्मिताः ये सर्वेऽपि विक्रमपुरस्थ-अनूपसंस्कृतपुस्तकालये सुरक्षिताः सन्ति । अनेन विरचिता प्रभावलीनाटिका राजस्थान-प्राच्याविद्याप्रतिष्ठाने सुरक्षिता वर्तते ।

श्रीविश्वनाथभट्टः

चित्पावनजातीयः श्रीहरिभट्टप्रपौत्रः विष्णुभट्टपौत्रः महादेवभट्टपुत्रः श्रीविश्वनाथभट्टः श्रीरामसिंहप्रथमस्याज्ञया शृङ्गारवापिकाख्यां नाटिकां शम्भुविलासाख्यं काव्यं च विरचितवान् । अस्य ग्रन्थद्वयस्य विवरणं आफ्रेट-महोदयस्य केटेलोगस् केटेलोगोरम्-इत्याख्यायां सूच्याम् उपन्यस्तमास्ते । श्रीरामसिंह-प्रथमस्य काले आम्बेरे लिखितानि रामविलास-विद्याविलास-जानकीराघव-प्रभृतीनि काव्यानि जयपुरस्थ-राजकीयपुस्तकागारे उपलभ्यन्ते ।

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[1] एनमधिकृत्य संस्कृतरङ्ग वार्षिकपत्रिकायाः ४-सञ्चिकायां डा. ज्ञा. अर्टोलामहाशयेन डा. वे. राघवमहोदयेन च लिखिता आङ्गलनिबन्धा द्रष्टव्याः । [2] मलयमारुते प्रथमस्पन्दे विबुधमोहनं, तृतीयस्पन्दे पलाण्डुमण्डनप्रहसनं च डा. वे. राघवमहोदयेन प्रकाशिते ।

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सवाई-श्रीजयसिंह-द्वितीयः

जयपुरनगरसंस्थापकः सवाई-श्रीजयसिंहद्वितीयः स्वयं विद्वान् विदुषां सम्मानयिता चाभूत् यस्य जयपुरे काश्यामुज्जयिन्यां मथुरायामिन्द्रप्रस्थे च निर्मापिताः ज्योतिषयन्त्रशालाः वैदुष्यस्य पताका इव परितः स्फुरन्ति। अयमश्वमेधेनेष्टुकामः भारतस्य विभिन्नेभ्यः प्रान्तेभ्यः महाविदुषः सादरमामंत्रयामास, पूजयामास निवासयामास च जयपुरनगरे। एष ज्योतिषे पारंगतः। अनेन निर्मिता जयसिंहकारिका उपलभ्यते।

रत्नाकरपौण्डरीकः

सवाई-जयसिंहद्वितीयेन योऽयमश्वमेधः कृतोऽभूत्तस्मिन्नयमेव रत्नाकरपौण्डरीकः सर्वप्रमुखोऽभूत्। आसीदयं महान् तान्त्रिकः सिद्धपुरुषश्च। अनेन श्रीजयसिंहदेवस्य ख्यातये जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम-नामा व्रततिथिनिर्णयात्मको महान् धर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थो निर्मितः यो हि क्षेमराज-श्रीकृष्णदासयन्त्रालयात् प्रकाशितः।

सम्राड् जगन्नाथः

अयं महाराष्ट्रब्राह्मण आसीत्। अयमपि महामान्त्रिको ज्योतिःशास्त्रेऽद्वितीयः पण्डितश्चासीत्। अनेन अरबीभाषातः अनूद्य रेखागणिते कोऽपि ग्रन्थः निर्मितोऽभूत्। अस्य सिद्धान्तकौस्तुभ-सम्राट्सिद्धान्ताख्यौ ज्योतिषग्रन्थावपि प्रसिद्धावभूताम्।

श्री केवलरामः ज्योतिषरायः

अयमपि श्रीजयसिंहदेवेनाश्वमेधे एवाकारितः जयपुरे आवासितश्चासीत्। आसीदयमुदुम्बरगोत्रीयः भट्टजातीयो ब्राह्मणः। अस्य रचनास्वनेकाः सारण्यः सन्ति। अस्य ज्योतिषशास्त्रीयो जयसिंहकल्पलताख्यः ग्रन्थः प्रसिद्धः; अभिलाषशतक-गङ्गास्तुतिपद्धत्याख्यौ काव्यग्रन्थावपि उपलभ्येते। अभिलाषशतकस्य जोधपुरस्थे राजस्थानप्राच्यविद्याप्रतिष्ठाने हस्तलिखिता प्रतिर्विद्यते।

श्रीकृष्णभट्टः

एष दाक्षिणात्यः तैलङ्गभट्टान्वयः ब्राह्मण आसीत्। अश्वमेधावसरे च श्रीनरसिंहदेवेन बून्दीत आनीतः। आसीदयं संस्कृतस्य व्रजभाषायाश्च मर्मज्ञः

कविः। अनेन विरचितेषु ग्रन्थेषु वृत्तमुक्तावली-पद्यमुक्तावली-सुन्दरीस्तवराज-ईश्वरविलास-वेदान्तपञ्चविंशति-रामचन्द्रोदय-वृत्तचन्द्रिका-रामगीतादयः संस्कृत-भाषानिबद्धाः ग्रन्थाः प्राप्यन्ते।

सवाई-श्रीरामसिंह-द्वितीयः

एष नृपतिः संस्कृते मर्मज्ञः विद्वानासीत्। अयमेव जयपुरे संस्कृत-महाविद्यालयस्य स्थापनां विधाय तत्र विभिन्नानां विषयाणामध्यापनाय प्रसिद्धान् विदुषो नियुज्य संस्कृतस्य महतीं सेवां व्यधात्। अस्य शासनकाले जयपुरे संस्कृतस्य सर्वतोऽधिकः प्रचारः समभूत्। अनेन निर्मितस्य स्मृतिबोधाख्यस्य धर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थस्य प्रतिलिपिर्जोधपुरस्य प्राच्यविद्याप्रतिष्ठाने सुरक्षिता। अनेन संस्थापिते संस्कृतमहाविद्यालये सर्वतः प्रथमं श्रीएकनाथमहोदयोऽध्यक्षपदम् अलमकरोत्, अनेकेभ्यश्छात्रेभ्यः व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य शिक्षां दत्त्वा संस्कृतस्य महतीं सेवां व्यधात्। तत्पश्चात् श्रीरामभजनसारस्वतोऽस्मिन् महाविद्यालये आचार्यपदे आसीत्। अयमपि सर्वशास्त्रपारंगतः। श्रीरामसिंहनृपतिना संस्थापितस्य 'मोदमन्दिरस्य' सदस्यपदे समासीनस्य श्री हरिश्चन्द्रमहोदयस्यापि शास्त्रपाण्डित्यमद्भुतमासीत्। अनेन श्रीरामसिंहदेवस्याज्ञया धर्मसंग्रहाख्यः ग्रन्थो विरचितोऽभूत्, यस्य हस्तलिखितप्रतिः पुण्यपत्तनस्थे प्राच्यविद्याप्रतिष्ठाने विद्यते। मोदमन्दिरस्य सदस्येषु श्रीसरयूप्रसादद्विवेदोऽपि तपोनिष्ठः तन्त्रमन्त्रशास्त्रयोर्मर्मज्ञः विद्वानासीत्। अस्य संग्रहशिरोमणि-आगमरहस्य-परशुरामसूत्रवृत्ति-सप्तशतीसर्वस्व-सर्वार्थकामद्रुम - वर्णबीजप्रकाशादयो ग्रन्थाः प्राप्यन्ते। पर्वणीकरोपाह्वस्य श्रीगङ्गारामभट्टस्य स्फुटश्लोकशतक-सङ्ग्रहाख्यो ग्रंथो जयपुरस्य पुस्तकागारे सुरक्षितोऽस्ति। पर्वणी-करोपाह्वः श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणभट्टोऽप्यासीत् विविधशास्त्ररहस्यवेत्ता। अनेन निर्मिताः रसिकाष्टक-शब्दशास्त्रप्रशस्ति-पद्यपञ्चाशिका - संस्कृतश्लोकशतकसंग्रह-नवीनश्लोकरत्नमञ्जूषा-परिभाषा-प्रतिच्छवि-ज्योतिषशास्त्रार्थसंग्रह- आपस्तम्बाह्निक-पद्धति-प्रयोगरत्नाकर - और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति-अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति-तुलादानपद्धति-सपिंड-कल्पलतावृत्ति-तर्ककन्दुक-कल्याणदशकप्रभृतयोऽनेके ग्रन्थाः सन्ति। श्रीजानकी-

लालचतुर्वेदिना विरचितस्य शब्दताम्बूलाख्यस्य प्रतिः जयपुरस्थे पुस्तकागारे सुरक्षिता वर्तते। श्रीपरमसुखोपाध्यायस्य कामरङ्गोदय-दण्डप्रजागर-रसार्णवोल्लासमालाख्यानां ग्रन्थानां प्रतयः पार्वणीकरसंग्रहालये सन्ति। श्रीनथमलब्रह्मचारिणा विरचितस्य शुद्धचरिताख्यस्य महाकाव्यस्य प्रतिः वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य पुस्तकालये विद्यते। सदानन्दस्वामिनः शैवसुधाकराख्यः प्रकाशितः ग्रन्थ उपलभ्यते। श्रीसदाशिवशास्त्रिणोऽपि वसन्तशतक-गोपालशतक-दुर्गाशतकाभिधास्त्रयो ग्रन्थाः सन्ति। श्रीद्रविडलक्ष्मीनाथशास्त्रिणां भारतेतिवृत्तसारनामा ग्रन्थः प्रसिद्धोऽस्ति। अस्य पाण्डित्यं विख्यातमासीज्जयपुरे। संस्कृतमहाविद्यालयस्याध्यक्षपदमलंकुर्वतां महामहोपाध्याय-श्रीदुर्गाप्रसादद्विवेदिनामपि उत्पत्तीन्दुशेखर-जैमिनिपद्यामृत-लीलावतीभाष्य-बीजगणितभाष्य-क्षेत्रमिति-गोलक्षेत्रमिति - गोलत्रिकोणमिति -सूर्यसिद्धान्तसमीक्षा - अधिमासपरीक्षा - पञ्चांगतत्त्व-चातुर्वर्ण्यपरीक्षा-वेदविद्या-ब्रह्मविद्या-मनुयाज्ञवल्कीय-भारतीयसिद्धान्तादेश-भारतशुद्धि-भारतालोकप्रभृतयोऽनेके ग्रन्थाः प्रकाशिता अप्रकाशिताश्च सन्ति। काव्यमालासम्पादकस्य श्रीदुर्गाप्रसादद्विवेदिनोऽपि संस्कृतसेवा न विस्मरणीया। अनेनापि शतशः संस्कृतग्रन्थानां संपादनं विधाय संस्कृतस्यानुपमा सेवा कृता। श्रीगोपीनाथशास्त्रिदधीचानामपि तर्ककारिका - सन्तोषपञ्चाशिका-वृत्तचिन्तामणि-रामसौभाग्यशतक - शिवपदमाला-आनन्दनन्दनकाव्य-विश्वनाथविज्ञप्तिपञ्चाशिका-कृष्णार्यासप्तशती - भावतरङ्गप्रशस्ति - यशस्वत्प्रतापप्रशस्ति-ज्ञानस्वरूपतत्त्वनिर्णय-स्वानुभवाष्टक-प्रभृतयो ग्रन्था उपलभ्यन्ते। श्रीकृष्णरामभट्टस्य आर्यालङ्कारशतक-काव्यमालाप्रशस्ति-काशीनाथस्तव-गोपालगीत-कच्छवंशमहाकाव्य - जयपुरविलास-जयपुरमेलककुतुक - छन्दोगणित-माधवपाणिग्रहोत्सव-मुक्तकमुक्तावली-शारशतक-पलाण्डुराजशतक-सिद्धभेषजमणिमाला-सम्राट्सुताभिनन्दन-प्रभृतयः विविधविषयग्रन्था उपलभ्यन्ते। श्रीहरिवल्लभभट्टस्य लोचनोल्लास-जयपुरनगरपंचरंग-दशकुमारदशा-गौर्यलंकारादयो ग्रन्थाः सन्ति। वेदवाचस्पतीनां समीक्षाचक्रवर्तिनां श्रीमतां मधुसूदन-ओझा-महोदयानां संस्कृतसेवापि न कदापि विस्मरणार्हा। अनेन वैदिकसाहित्यसम्बद्धानां परःशतानां ग्रन्थानां रचनां विधाय न केवलं राजस्थाने एव, अपि तु संपूर्णे भारते स्वयशः प्रकाशितम्। अस्य

परिचयः जयपुरतः प्रकाशितस्य संस्कृतरत्नाकरस्य वेदविशेषाङ्के द्रष्टव्यः। श्रीमता सूर्यनारयणाचार्येण निर्मितं मानवंशमहाकाव्यमपि संस्कृतरत्नाकरे क्रमशः प्रकाशीकृतमभूत्। महामहोपाध्याय-गिरिधरशर्मणां नाम तु सर्वेषामपि विदुषां विद्वांसः परिचितमेव। अस्माभिर्लिखितानां संस्कृतस्फुटलेखानां ग्रन्थानां च संख्या विपुलाऽस्तीतः स्थानाभावात् न दीयते। भट्टश्रीमथुरानाथशर्मणा साहित्यवैभव-जयपुरवैभव-गोविन्दवैभवप्रभृतयो ग्रन्थाः सन्त्येव संस्कृतविद्वत्सु प्रसिद्धाः। अन्येऽपि बहवः विद्वांसोऽत्र समभूवन्, सन्ति च वर्तमाना येषां संस्कृतसेवा न न्यूना। तेषु श्रीपट्टाभिरामशास्त्रि - महामहोपाध्यायश्रीशिवदत्तशास्त्रि - श्रीवृद्धिचन्द्रशास्त्रि - श्रीहरिशास्त्रि - श्रीवीरेश्वरशास्त्रिद्रविड - श्रीनन्दकिशोरकथाभट्ट - श्रीविहारीलालदाधीचानां नामानि विशेषत उल्लेख्यानि।

मेवाड् - प्रदेशीयेषु नृपतिषु महाराण-कुम्भकर्णस्य विद्यानुराग इतिहासे प्रसिद्धः। तस्य शासनकाले संस्कृतस्य प्रचुरा वृद्धिरजायत इति सुप्रसिद्धमेव। आसीत् स स्वयमपि संस्कृतेऽनुपमो विद्वान्। तेन कृताः सङ्गीतराज-चण्डीशतकवृत्ति-गीतगोविन्दटीकारसिकप्रिया - सङ्गीतरत्नाकरटीका - प्रभृतयः संस्कृतग्रन्था उपलभ्यन्ते। तस्य समये स्थाने स्थाने प्रस्तरोत्कीर्णाः संस्कृतप्रशस्तयोऽप्युपलभ्यन्ते। तत्समये कन्हकविविरचितमेकलिङ्गमाहात्म्यमपि प्रसिद्धमेव। महाराणकुम्भकर्णाश्रितेन मण्डननाम्ना शिल्पिना विरचिता वास्तुविद्यासम्बन्धिनः प्रासादमण्डन-देवतामूर्तिप्रकरण-रूपमण्डन-रागवल्लभमण्डन-वास्तुसारमण्डन-नामानः ग्रन्थाः कलकत्तासंस्कृतमालातः प्रकाशिताः सन्ति। मेवाडप्रदेशस्य नृपत्याश्रितैरन्यैरपि कविभिर्लिखितानि काव्यानि समुपलभ्यन्ते। तेषु महाराणराजसिंहस्य काले राजप्रशस्ति-महाकाव्यस्य रचना कृता। अमरसिंहप्रथमसमये अमरकाव्यस्य, अमरसिंहद्वितीयस्य चाभिषेकसमये वैकुण्ठनव्यासेन अमरसिंहाभिषेककाव्यस्य च रचना समभूत्। महाराणराजसिंहस्यैव समये सदाशिवनागराख्येन केनचित् कविना राजरत्नाकरस्य रचना कृता।

जोधपुरराज्येऽपि तत्रत्यानां नृपाणामास्थानस्थाः विद्वांसः अनेकेषां संस्कृतग्रन्थानां रचनां विधाय सुरभारत्याः सेवां व्यधुः। तेषु केषांचिदत्र परिचयः

प्रदीयते । महाराजस्य श्रीजसवन्तसिंहदेवस्य शासनकाले विरचित आनन्दविलासाख्यः वेदान्तग्रन्थः प्राप्यत इति ज्ञातम् (*New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. II. p. 115) । श्रीअजितसिंहमहोदयस्य समये दीक्षित-बालकृष्णभट्टमहोदयेन अजितचरित्रम् भट्टजगजीवनमहोदयेन च अजितोदयं च रचिते। श्री-अभयसिंहदेवस्य समये च भट्टजगजीवनमहोदयेन विरचितम् अभयोदयाख्यं काव्यमपि प्राप्यते । श्रीमानसिंहमहोदयस्य काले रचिते नाथचरित्रं मुण्डकोपनिषदः विद्वन्मनोरञ्जिनी-टीकायाः प्रथमभागश्च उपलभ्येते। श्रीकृष्णशर्मणा कृता मुण्डकोपनिषदः द्वितीयतृतीयखण्डयोष्टीका, शम्भुदत्तविरचिताः नाथचन्द्रोदय-जलन्धरस्तोत्र-राजकुमारप्रबोधाख्याः ग्रन्थाः सन्ति । श्रीसदानन्दत्रिपाठिनिर्मिताः अवधूतगीताटीका - श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायाः सिद्धतोषिणीटीका -जलन्धराष्टकटीकाः प्रसिद्धाः। श्रीविश्वरूपकृतौ गोरक्षसहस्रनामटीका-मेघमालाख्यौ ग्रन्थौ स्तः । भीष्मभट्टविरचिता विवेकमार्तण्डटीका उपलभ्यते। डीडवानानगरे निर्मिता श्रीरामर्षिमिश्रस्य यमकप्रबोधिन्याख्या टीका जयपुरस्थ-श्रीनन्दकिशोरशर्मणः कथाभट्टस्य समीपे आसीत् ।

विक्रमपुरवास्तव्यस्यैकस्य हरिद्विजाख्यस्य महाकवेरपि गोपालगीता-दुर्गा-प्रशस्ति-धन्वखलाष्टक-आनन्दविलासकाव्याभिधाः रचना उपलभ्यन्ते। चूरूनिवासिनः श्रीदेवीप्रसादमहोदयस्य शतचण्डीयज्ञविधानाख्यः कर्मकाण्डग्रन्थस्तु अतिप्रसिद्धः। तथा रतनगढ़वास्तव्यस्य श्रीचतुर्थीलालशर्मणः विवाहपद्धतिः नित्यकर्मपद्धतिश्च । रतनगढ़वास्तव्यस्य मङ्गलमहर्षेरपि संस्कृतसेवा न विस्मर्तुं योग्या । स हि परःशतेभ्यश्छात्रेभ्यः शिक्षां प्रदाय संस्कृतस्य प्रचारे साहाय्यमकरोत्। चूरूनिवासिनः श्रीहरनाभदत्तभाष्याचार्यस्यापि संस्कृतजगति ख्यातिरभूतपूर्वैवास्ति । श्रीविद्याधरशास्त्रिणः हरनामामृतं सुन्दरं काव्यम्। भरतपुरवास्तव्यस्य श्री-श्रीधरानन्दस्य दशविद्यामहिम्नः स्तोत्रतत्त्वप्रकाश - व्याससूत्रार्थचन्द्रिका - अनर्घराघवटीकाख्याः ग्रन्था उपलभ्यन्ते। कोटाधिपतेः श्रीगुमानसिंहदेवस्य शासनकाले कोटानगरे श्रीकृष्णदत्तविरचितः प्रासादपञ्चविंशतिनामकग्रन्थो विरचितः ।

जैनमुनीनामपि संस्कृतसेवा न ब्राह्मणविद्वद्भ्यः कृतायाः कथमपि न्यूना। केषांचिदेव जैनविदुषां परिचयोऽत्रोपन्यस्यते। सिद्धसेनदिवाकरः चित्रकूटे (चित्तौडे) स्थित्वा न्यायावतार-कल्याणमन्दिरस्तोत्रादिग्रन्थान् व्यरचयत्। तथैव आचार्यो हरिभद्रसूरिरपि चित्तौडे एव स्थित्वा साहित्यसाधनां व्यधात्। अस्य ग्रन्थानां संख्याऽतिविशालाऽतस्तेषामुल्लेखोऽत्र दुष्करः। कुवलयमालाया रचयिता श्री-उद्योतनसूरिरपि प्रसिद्धो विद्वानासीत्। आचार्यस्य सिद्धर्षेर्भिल्लमालनगरे विरचिता उपमितिभवप्रपञ्चाकथा, साचौरनगरवास्तव्यस्य महाकवेर्धनपालस्य तिलकमञ्जर्याख्यं गद्यकाव्यं च प्रसिद्धे। अन्येऽपि जिनवल्लभसूरि-जिनदत्तसूरि-वादिदेवसूरि-जिनचन्द्रसूरि-गुणरत्नाचार्य-मेघविजयभट्टारक-सकलकीर्ति - जिनदास-सकलभूषण - आचार्यसोमकीर्ति - भट्टारकज्ञानभूषण- भट्टारकशुभचन्द्र-सुमतिकीर्ति-प्रभृतयो जैनविद्वांसः संस्कृतस्यापूर्वां सेवां व्यदधुः।

संस्कृतस्य प्रचारे विस्तारे च राजस्थानप्रदेशीयानां पुस्तकागाराणामपि अपूर्वं स्थानं वर्तते। राजस्थाने सन्ति शताधिकानि पुस्तकागाराणि-जैसलमेरे, बीकानेरे, आम्बेरे, जयपुरे, जोधपुरे, उदयपुरे, कोटानगरे-येषु लक्षाधिकाः प्राचीनसंस्कृतसाहित्यग्रन्थाः संगृहीताः सन्ति। यदि मोगलानां शासकानां समये बहूनां पुस्तकागाराणां ध्वंसो नाभविष्यच्चैतेषां संख्या सहस्राद्प्यधिकाऽभविष्यत्। बहवो दुर्लभाः ग्रन्थाः पुस्तकानां प्रबन्धशैथिल्यात् प्रमादवशाच्च विनाशं गताः।

राजस्थानप्रदेशे धनिकानां वैश्यानामपि संस्कृतसंरक्षणे अस्ति विपुलो योगः। ते स्थाने स्थाने संस्कृविद्यालयानां स्थापनां कृत्वा संस्कृताध्ययनाध्यापनयोर्व्यवस्थां नाकरिष्यंश्चेत् तर्हि कथमिवाद्य संस्कृतं सजीवितमभविष्यत्।

CONTRIBUTION OF TAMILNADU TO SANSKRIT IN PALLAVA AND CHOLA PERIOD-MAINLY FROM EPIGRAPHS

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An outline of the contribution of Tamilnadu to Sanskrit in the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Chola periods (4th to 13th century A. D.), the patronage to Sanskrit, production of Sanskrit works, the impact of Veda and other branches of Sanskrit literature in the day-to-day life of the people is given here in this paper.

Royal Interest

The rulers of the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Chola dynasties were great scholars and took active interest in various fields of Sanskrit learning. Vijayaskandavarman of the Pallava dynasty is said to be a *Sarvaśāstrārthatattvajña* in the Ongodu grant. Mahendra's attainments in literature, music, dance and drama are too well known. His love for logic is revealed not only by such titles as *Anumāna* and *Upamāna* but also by an interesting verse in the Trichy rock-cut cave.[1] Rājasiṃha, the builder of Māmallapuram and Kailāsanātha temples, was an eminent scholar himself, learned in various branches of Śaiva Siddhānta and assumed such titles as *Āgamapramāṇa*, *Itihāsapriya* etc. A successor to him, Nandivarman, is said to be an expert in Kāvya, Nāṭaka and Ākhyāyikā, काव्यनाटक-आख्यायिकासु प्रवीणः, and his ability to compose intricate compositions is referred to as, बिन्दुमती-गूढचतुर्थपाद-प्रहेलिका-अक्षरच्युतकमात्राच्युतकादिषु निपुणः। The Pāṇḍya ruler Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍayan assumed such titles as *Vinayaviśruta*, *Gītakinnara*, and *Paṇḍitavatsala*. The Chola emperor Parāntaka also assumed the title *Paṇḍitavatsala*.

Vedic Studies

The epigraphs of the period show that Vedic Studies were greatly respected and encouraged. The establishment of a number of Caturvedimangalams by royal personages was a direct encouragement to the preservation of Vedic studies in Tamilnad. Among the recipients were a number of Caturvedins, Kramavids and

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[1] See my article 'Mahendra's Inscription at Tiruchirappalli–A Study' in *Dr. V. Raghavan Shashtyabdapurti Felicitation Vol.*, K. S. R. Institute, Madras 1971, pp. 135-38.

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Ṣaḍaṅgavids. Besides establishment of these Vedic centres, lands were gifted to these scholars for uninterrupted pursuit of their studies. The lands so gifted fall generally under two categories, Ekabhoga Brahmadeya, and Devadāna Brahmadeya. The former relates to the gift of land to an individual scholar either on account of his individual attainment, or for the merit of the donee. Similar grants to a number of Vedic scholars are also known. The recipients of Devadāna Brahmadeya were to recite Vedas in temples during temple-rites and on festive occasions. Some temples even instituted competitions in the recitation of Vedic hymns as in the case of the temple at Paṇḍāravāḍai, where a competition was held on *Jaiminīya Sāmaveda*, during the night of Ārdrā festival.

Establishment of Colleges

A number of colleges of higher learning were established as independent establishments and also as adjuncts to temples by kings and nobles. The *Ghaṭikā* of Kanchi is well known. The Pallava rulers took personal interest in the *Ghaṭikā* and reorganised it. A great *Vidyāsthāna* flourished in Bahur near Pondicherry, where fourteen kinds of Vidyās were taught and to which Pallava Nṛpatuṅga gifted three villages.

In the far south a Venāḍu ruler, Karunantan Aḍakkan, established a S'ālā in Pārthivaśekharapuram for imparting higher education in Sanskrit. Students belonging to the three *caraṇas* of *Bahvṛca*, *Taittirīya*, and *Talavakāra* (*Sāman*) were admitted. Higher learning was imparted in *Vyākaraṇa*, *Mīmāmsā* and *Paurohitya*. The rules governing admission and their methods of study are detailed in the charter. The students were also expected to do compulsory social service. This *Śālā* is said to have been modelled on the lines of the one at Kāndalūr, where evidently an influential institution flourished.

More detailed information is available from the Chola epigraphs about the institutions of higher learning and the subjects taught i.e. those from Ariyūr, Eṇṇāyiram, Tirumukkūḍal and Tribhuvani. The following subjects were taught: Vedas, *Ṛg*, *Yajus* and *Vājasaneya* (*Taittirīya*), *Chandoga*, and *Talavakāra Sāman*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and *Rūpāvatāra*, *Alaṅkāra*, *Prābhākara Mīmāmsā*, *Satyāṣāḍha Sūtra*, *Baudhāyanīya Gṛhya*, *Kalpa*, *Manu-Smṛti*, Vaikhānasa and Śaiva texts, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa and *Carakasamhitā*.

Administration

In the field of administration there was a blend of Sanskrit and Tamil during the period. In Royal orders (*Rājaśāsanas*) Sanskrit was given a due place. Besides the details given in Tamil, the Sanskrit introduction in excellent poetic form gave the geneology of the kings and their attainments. Even in the Tamil portion where sounds or words of Sanskrit origin occurred Sanskrit characters were used.

The Sanskrit part of the *praśasti* was composed in most cases by Brahmins and the Tamil portion, by men of learning from all sections of the society. In the Velvikkuḍi grant, the Sanskrit portion was sung by a certain Varodaya Bhaṭṭa, a *sarvakratuyājin*, while the Tamil portion was sung by a commander, Enādi Śāttan. The Pandya rulers honoured the composers of the *praśasti* by gifting tax-free lands. In some cases even the recipient of land-gifts, gave a portion of his land to the composer of the *praśasti*.

It is well known that the administration of the village-assemblies were mainly in the hands of the village-representatives during this period and that different types of village-assemblies suited to their vocation like Nagaram (assembly of merchants), Sabhā (assembly of Brahmin-settlements) and Ūr (assembly of all professions) were functioning most effectively.

In the case of Sabhā, the transactions with reference to punishments etc. were controlled by the *Dharma Śāstras*, though this was not known in the other types of assemblies. A thorough knowledge of *Mantra*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Bhāṣya* together with efficiency in administration were the pre-requisites for being elected to the assembly. This is made clear in inscriptions at Uttaramerūr and other places· The King's officers, a number of whom were Vellālas, bearing the titles Mūvendavelar, were also proficient in the various aspects of *Dharma Śāstras* as they periodically inspected the Sabhās and enquired into their affairs.

From the epigraphs of the Pāṇḍya rulers and the imperial Cholas, there is every reason to believe the Manu's *Dharma Śāstra* was the main guide for administrative and judicial functions. Besides *Manudharmaśāstra*, the study of other *Kalpas* were also needed for the followers of respective sects. From the Pallava Charters we find that the followers of *Āpastamba Sūtra* were predominant in the Tamil country. The other *Sūtras* represented were Hiraṇyakēśi, Chandoga, Bahvṛca, Āśvalāyana, and Kālarca. In the extreme south a follower of *Bodhāyana Kalpa* is mentioned in an epigraph of the Pāṇḍyas.

Āgama and Vāstu Texts

With the advent of Pallavas a great number of temples came to be built. The Pallavas, Pāṇḍyas and Cholas founded a number of new villages, where temples dedicated to various deities were erected. This required a proper understanding and study of Āgama and Vāstu texts. Some of the caves in Māmallapuram conform to the rules of Vaikhānasa texts like *Marīci Saṁhitā*. The Rathas of Māmallapuram show that they follow closely the Maya-school of architecture. The entire village of Uttaramerūr was laid out according to *Vāstu* texts and the remarkable temple of Sundaravarada was based on *Marīci Saṁhitā* of the *Vaikhānasa* school. The village had not only the temples but also a *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* and a pavilion for conducting the transactions of the village-assembly as prescribed in the text.

The Uttaramerūr inscription of the Sundaravarada temple states that the temple was built by *Āgamavids*. The Nāmakkal caves excavated by the Atiya chieftain in the 8th century A. D., show the influence of Vaikhānasa Āgamas. Among a number of titles assumed by this Atiya chieftain, one reads *Mānasāra*. It is well-known that *Mānasāra* is an important Vāstu text. The Viṣṇu-cave at Tirumayyam near Pudukkottai ascribed to the Pāṇḍyas exhibit traits of the Āgamas in the disposition of its deities.

With the Cholas, temple-building reached great heights and a number of sub-sects in S'aiva and Vaiṣṇava systems manifested themselves. The temples built by the followers of each sect show the impact of their doctrines as in the case of Mūvarkoil of Koḍumbālūr. *Kālāmukha*, *Somasiddhānta* and other S'aiva sects are mentioned in the temple-epigraphs here.

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Religion

Till the very end of the Chola empire, it was the Vaikhānasa branch of the Vaiṣṇava system that was mostly predominent. Most of the epigraphs were attested by the followers of Vaikhānasa school. Though we hear of the Pāñcarātra system in the 11th century A.D., no Pāñcarātrin is mentionted as a signatory in any epigraph. The impact of Rāmānuja's reformation in temple-rituals is not reflected in epigraphs till the end of the Chola rule.

In Śaiva, no particular Āgama finds specific mention, but it is evident that a clear knowledge of Āgamas and also initiation were required for performing worship in the temple. The Kūram Plates of Parameśvara Varman (7th century) states that a certain Ananta-śivācārya, and his descendants were to be in charge of worship in the Śiva temple built in his reign. This indicates that he was a Śivāgamin. A number of inscriptions refer to S'ivayogins, who were in charge of worship. Obviously they were those who were initiated into Śivayoga i.e. in the Yogapāda of Śaiva Āgamas. Śivācāryas were referred to also as Nambis and if the Nambis were not available, Vedic Brahmins could be employed.

Āgamas being vast in their content and application, the number of qualified Āgamins being not in proportion to the demand, it became necessary to prepare Āgamic digests with special reference to rituals, which came to be called the *Paddhati* literature. A number of S'aiva spiritual teachers, heading *maṭhas* in different regions of the country and having great influence in the King's court, prepared *Paddhatis*, which become popular and even pushed the basic *Āgamas* into the background.

Philosophy

Epigraphs also throw valuable light on the development in Tamilnadu of Sanskrit philosophic thought. The Dalavāypuram inscription of Vīranārāyaṇa speaks of Viṣṇu as a "Jyoti, without beginning, middle or end, to be comprehended only by Vedānta"; His form being 'beyond the comprehension of *Pratyakṣa*, *Anumiti*, *Samattvabodha*, *Kḷpti*, and *Jñāna*'. The Kūram Plates of Parameśvaravarman and the Kailāsanātha temple inscription of Rājasiṃha, give concepts of S'aiva Siddhānta. Sadāśiva is *Tattavamātrātma-mūrti*, *Sṛṣṭikṛt*, *Mantrasiddha*, and so on. The Kāñcī inscription of

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Rājasiṁha refers to *Śaivasiddhānta-mārga*, and the removal of all *malas*, showing thereby that Śaiva Siddhānta was well developed in the 7th century A.D.

Muṣic and Dance

A number of works on music and dance were also composed during this period. King Guṇasena, a disciple of Rudrācārya, left a monumental treatise on music at Kuḍimiyāmalai. Mahendra's contribution to music and dance as reflected in his inscriptions are too well known to need repetition. It is again in Tamilnad that Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* had been engraved on stone with suitable illustrations in the 12th century A.D.

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CONTRIBUTION OF TAMILNAD TO SAIVISM

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Śaivism is the religion that regards Śiva as the Supreme God. According to *Asitāgama* there are six varieties of S'aivism, viz. Śaiva, Pāśupata, Vāma, Bhairava, Mahāvrata and Kālāmukha. Of these *Śaiva* is described as being *Saumya* or beneficent type and the rest as *Raudra* or malevalent type.

Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy as enunciated in Tamil Nad has its roots far back in the dawn of the Christian era. The followers of this school hold the *Vedas*, *Āgamas*, the *Tirumantiram* of Tirumūlar (5th cent A D.) and the fourteen canonical works in Tamil written in the 13th century and there-after as authentic verbal testimony for the doctrines of this system. Though the Vedic and Āgamic texts are in Sanskrit, for the reason that they are found in all regions of India, they have to be considered as the quintessence of the best elements in the Aryan and non-Aryan thought. Sanskrit is the symbol of Indian Culture, a language that linked the varied patterns of human thought and experience in the vast sub-continent of Bhāratavarṣa.

Appayya Dīkṣita, commenting on the expression "Nānāgama-vidhāyine Śvetābhidhānāya" used by Śrīkaṇṭha in his *Brahma-sūtrabhāṣya*, gives two alternative interpretations: (1) the early teacher "Śveta" had resolved the various contradictions of the Upaniṣadic texts and had originated a system of Śaiva thought which may be properly supported by the Upaniṣadic texts; (2) the system of Śveta was based on the various *Śaivāgamas*. The latter interpretation may be taken to mean that these Āgamas were based on the Upaniṣ adsor on other vernacular Dravidian texts or on both.

Saint Tirumūlar (5th cent. A.D.) appears to be the first writer to use the word Siddhānta to denote the S'aiva system of philosophy in Tamil Nad. That he was well versed in Sanskrit also is known by his use of several technical terms current in Yoga, S'ākta and other philosophical works e.g. *cit*, *vedānta*, *bindu*, *mudrā*, *dhāraṇā* etc. The S'aiva devotional literature in Tamil of the early

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Nāyanmārs who lived in the 7th cent. contains several of the doctrines of Śaivism relating to the interrelation between God, soul and matter. These doctrines were systematised by the Śaiva Santānācāryas viz. Meikaṇḍadeva, Arulnandi S'ivācārya, Umāpati Śivācārya, Maraijñāna Sambandha and others from the 13th cent. onwards.

In Sanskrit besides the Āgamas which expound the S'aiva doctrines there are works of the southern school like the *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa* viz. *Tattvaprakaśikā*, *Tattvasaṅgraha*. *Tattvatrayanirṇaya*. *Bhogakārikā*, *Nādakārikā*. *Mokṣakārikā*, *Paramokṣanirāsakārikā* and *Ratnatraya*. Though there is nothing to indicate that any of these works were written exactly in Tamil Nad still their relevance to Tamil Nad is evidenced by the doctrines expounded therein and the fact that all of them are commented on by Aghoraśivācārya of Chola deśa in Tamil Nad.

The main plank of the Śaiva Siddhānta doctrine is that Śiva is the author of the five cosmic actions viz. creation, sustenance, involution, concealment and bestowal of grace; that he is the efficient cause of the universe; *Māyā* is the material cause and His *Citśakti*, the instrumental cause.

Śrī S'aṅkarācārya, the great expositor of Advaita, is equally great as a poet of devotional lyrics marked by mellifluous and rhythmic language. Chief among them are *Śivānandalaharī* and *Saundaryalaharī*. According to Advaita, *Saguṇopāsanā* is a stepping stone to the realisation of the Attributeless Reality in oneself. Viewed in this light his devotional lyrics praising the glories of God Śiva and His consort find an important place in Śaiva literature. It may be of interest to note that Ādi S'aṅkara was associated with the great city Kāñcī and the great *kṣetra* Cidambaram in Tamil Nad. In his gloss on *Brahmasūtra* II. 2. 37 he refers to Māheśvaras, the worshippers of Paśupati.

Rāmānujācārya (2nd cent.), born at S'rīperumbudūr near Madras in Tamil Nad, testifies to the existence of different sects of Śaivas in his time viz. Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kāruṇikasiddhāntins and Kāpālikas.

Śrīkaṇṭha (11th cent.), one of the outstanding commentators on *Brahmasūtras*, perhaps a contemporary of Rāmānuja, holds that the

Vedas and Āgamas are of equal authority as both are emanations from Lord Śiva who is identical with Brahman. He is associated with a place Tirumullaivāyil in Tamil Nad. This is probable in view of the fact that his doctrines agree in part with Rāmānuja and with the Śaiva Siddhānta school prevalent in Tamil Nad, besides his devotion to *Daharavidyā*, which is closely associated with Cidambaram, a place symbolising *cidākāśa*. He tries to bridge the gulf between Vedas and Āgamas as Tirumūlar did earlier and other Santānācāryas did later in Tamil Nad. Vedas are general and provide a common platform for different sects while the Āgamas provide for particular sects like Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Kaumāra etc. He agrees with the Śaiva Siddhānta school regarding the three categories of 'Pati' (God), 'Paśu' (soul), and 'Pāśa' (matter) and the supremacy of Śiva but unlike the Siddhāntins who accept the all-pervading nature of souls, he, like Rāmānuja, considers the soul to be atomic. The *Śarīra-Śarīri-bhāva* is another common ground between Śrīkaṇṭha and Rāmānuja. Unlike the Siddhāntins he holds that Śiva is both the efficient and material cause of the Universe.

Appayya Dīkṣita (16th cent.) was born at Aḍayapalam in Tamil Nad. He is the outstanding expositor of Śivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha. A prolific writer, he is credited with 104 works in Sanskrit. He is quite at home in every system of philosophy and several branches of knowledge. In an age of sectarian rivalry, when Vaiṣṇavism was a powerful challenge to Śaivism, he, though an Advaitin by conviction, maintained an equanimity. To meet the Vaiṣṇava bigotry of his period he was compelled to write several works seeking to establish the supremacy of Śiva over every other god. His *Brahmatarkastava*, *Bhāratasārasaṅgraha*, *Rāmāyaṇatātparyasaṅgraha*, and similar works were written in that context. He cites Vālmīki to support his stand on the supremacy of Śiva—

Kṛtābhiṣekaḥ sa rarāja Rāmaḥ sītādvitīyaḥ saha Lakṣmaṇena |
kṛtābhiṣeko Girirājaputryā Rudraḥ sa-viṣṇur bhagavān iveśaḥ ||

Important among his Śaiva works are *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā*, a commentary on the *Sūtrabhāṣya* of Śrīkaṇṭhadeśika, *Śivādvaitanirṇaya* and *Śivatattvaviveka*. His *Śivārcanācandrikā* is a work on the worship of Śiva based on the Āgamas. The *Śivarahasya* refers to the great role of Appayya Dīkṣita in resuscitating Śaivism thus :

Śaivaśāstram tadā bhūmau luptam vistārayiṣyati |

A tribute to his ardent devotion to Śiva is paid by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita when he refers to him as *Śrīkaṇṭhacaraṇāsakta*. He is also hailed as *Śrīkaṇṭhamatapratiṣṭhāpanācārya*. Yet his views on "Hari-hara-abheda" and "Viṣṇu-Gaurī-equation" speak of his large-heartedness in an age of narrow sectarianism. His *Varadarājastava* and *Kṛṣṇadhyānapaddhati* underline this trait of his.

Aghoraśivācārya (15th cent.), a disciple of Sarvātmaśambhu Śivācārya, was well versed in Vedas, Smṛtis and Tantras. His name is associated with a mutt at Cidambaram. He is the author of *Śivapañcāvaraṇa stotras* dealing with the minor deities that are located in the five peripheral enclosures in a temple with Śiva at the centre. *Mṛgendrovṛtti-dipikā*, a sub commentary on the *Mṛgendra Āgama* is also attributed to him.

Umāpati Śivācārya is a prolific writer among the authors of canonical works in Tamil on Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy in the South. He flourished towards the close of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century at Cidambaram, the holy seat of Lord Naṭarāja, whose artistic form symbolises the five-fold cosmic activity of Śiva. He is the famous author of *Pauṣkarabhāṣya* and of *Śataratnasaṅgraha*, a collection of well nigh one hundred sayings from Śaivāgamas like *Svāyambhuva*, *Mṛgendra*, *Mataṅga*, *Jñānottara* etc. He refutes the Advaita view of Brahman being both the efficient and material cause at once. The work deals with *Paśu*, *Pati* and *Pāśa* and also with *dīkṣā*, the means of release.

Mention may be made of *Śivapūjāstava* by Jñānaśambhu (14th cent.) in forty-seven verses. A descendent of Trilocanaśambhu, the famous author of *Siddhāntasārāvali*, has commented on *Śivapūjāstava*. This text and commentary were so popular that they were commented by great writers like Śivāgrayogī and Śivajñānasvāmin. Nigamajñānaśambhu is the author of *Śaivakālaviveka* which prescribes the auspicious hours for rituals. It is commented by Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa (16th cent.), who has also written a number of treatises on rituals like *Dīkṣāmaṇḍalapaddhati* and *Snapanapaddhati*. Pañcākṣarayogin (17th cent.) wrote the *Śaivabhūṣaṇa*.

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Aruṇadeva, a disciple of Jñānaprakāśaśivācārya, a resident of Tiruvārūr in Tanjore district, is the author of *Prāsādacandrikā* dealing with *mantras* that confer the grace of Śiva and Śivayoga. A work of similar theme is *Prāsādadīpikā* ascribed to Kacchapācārya of Kāñcīpuram.

Śivāgrayogi (16th cent.), author of *Śaivaparibhāṣā*, a metaphysical work on Śaivism, has also written treatises like *Śivāgrapaddhati* (also called *Kriyādīpikā*) and *Sannyāsapaddhati*, which deal with Śaiva rituals based on Śaivāgamas and to some extent on Śaiva metaphysics. *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati* is ascribed to Maraijñānadeśika (16th cent.). This work deals with the ritualistic worship of a personal God in seclusion.

Siddhāntasūtravṛtti is a commentary in Sanskrit on the twelve *sūtras* supposed to be a part of *Rauravāgama* expounding the philosophy of the S'aiva Siddhānta school. This view is not accepted by a large section of Śaiva Siddhāntins of the present day who aver that they are only a Sanskrit rendering of the twelve *sūtras* in Tamil attributed to Meykaṇḍadeva, the first among the Santānācāryas, who lived in the 12th century at Tiruveṇṇainallūr in Tamil Nad. This view finds favour with the editor of *Rauravāgama* published by the Indological Institute at Pondichery. However, we find a commentary on these *Siddhāntasūtras* in Sanskrit attributed to one Sadāśiva S'ivācāryayogin, disciple of one Viśveśvara Śivācārya, posterior to Nīlakaṇṭhaśivācārya. He is a vaidika S'aiva like several others and is well versed in Vedas and Āgamas. He is described as ' Nigamāgamapārāvārapārīṇavaidikaśaivasiddhāntasthāpanācārya. '

The first two sūtras give the logical proof and definition of Śiva, the creator and of the bonds that constrict the soul viz., *māyā* and *karma* which constitute the products of the Universe and the fruits of man's action, past and present ; the third and fourth deal with the logical proof and definition of the soul and of the power of concealment of God ; the fifth deals with God who, being immanent in the Universe, guides and protects the souls ; the sixth deals with the sentient and non-sentient things of the world ; the eighth and ninth deal with the benign grace of the Lord and the study of scriptures etc.; the tenth with self-surrender at the feet of the Lord and destruction of the effect of actions ; the eleventh and twelfth with devotion, contemplation, rituals and service as means of self-purification and blissful salvation.

Sarvātmaśambhudeva (15th cent.) is credited with the authorship of *Śaivasiddhāntadīpikā*. This work deals with the nature of *pati* (Paśupati), the *tattvas*, the *pāśas* and *dīkṣā*, the means for release. This treatise deals briefly with the different systems, atheistic and theistic and finally with the S'aiva Śiddhānta śāstra. The *Siddhānta-śāstra* in Sanskrit comprising twenty-eight works divided into ten of S'ivabheda and eighteen of Rudrabheda form the basis of almost every work on S'aiva Siddhānta, including the work under reference.

Nīlakaṇṭhadīkṣita (17th cent.), son of Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita who was a nephew of Appayya Dīkṣita. was the minister of King Tirumalai Nāyaka of Madurai. From his own statement "Śaivā vayam ā caturvadanāt" it may be taken that he is a votary of Śaiva Siddhānta. He is the author of *Śivotkarṣamañjarī* which seeks to establish Śiva as *śeṣin* and other *devatās* as *śeṣabhūta* or subordinate to Śiva. He is the author of *Śivatattvarahasya* which is an elaborate commentary on the 108 names of Śiva. The work reveals his extensive knowledge of scriptures and ancillary sciences. For example he explains the name "Śiva" in many ways : (1) Śiva meaning "Śobhana" denotes one possessed of several attributes like *sarvajñatā*, *tṛpti*, *anādibodha*, *svatantratā* etc. (2) S'iva is 'śobhana' in the sense that he is free from any tinge of impurity like *āṇava*, *karma*, *māyā* etc. associated with souls. 'Śuddhatvāt tu Śivaḥ proktaḥ,' says *Vātulāgama*. (3) Śiva means "Nirvikāra" from the root 'Śam" to be unruffled (4) Śiva is *icchāśraya* by metathesis from the root "vaś" meaning 'kānta' and so on.

His *Śivalīlārṇava* describes the sixty-four *līlās* or divine feats of God Śiva called Sundareśvara at Madurai. According to tradition Śiva appeared in the form of Sundara Pāṇḍya, King of the Pāṇḍyan dynasty and performed miraculous deeds and demonstrated the triumph of the pious over the wicked. This is based on the *Hālāsya-māhātmya*, the forty-fifth khaṇḍa of *Skanda Purāṇa*.

On the model of the major Purāṇas, Sthala Purāṇ·s came to be written by local devotees gifted with the art of versification and some of them got incorporated in the major Purāṇas. One such

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is *Śrīdakṣinakuṭīkṣetramāhātmya* dealing with the greatness of Śiva in what is now called in Tamil Tiruttenkuḍittiṭṭai in Tanjore district. In chapter 28 of this work the *pañcākṣara mantra* "Namas-śivāya" is construed in as many as 120 ways as limbs of Śiva. In chapter 29 we have a description of twenty-six *mūrtis* or anthropomorphic forms of Śiva beginning from Lingodbhava and ending with Kapālīśvara.

Siddhāntasārāvalī is attributed to Trilocana Śivācārya who is stated to be a spiritual descendant of Āmardaka mutt established by Vyāpaka Śambhu. This is an important work in Sanskrit on Śaiva Siddhānta based on *Mṛgendrāgama*. Anantaśambhu has written a commentary on this work. This work is divided into Jñānapāda, Kriyāpāda, Yogapāda and Caryāpāda. The first division gives the philosophic grounding according to the Śaiva Siddhānta doctrine. This deals with Śiva, who creates the Universe with Śakti as an instrument and Nāda as material, the souls of three kinds *Sakala*, *Pralayakala* and *Vijñānakala* in the ascending order of spiritual maturity, the bonds of *āṇava*, *māyā* and *karma* and their hold on the souls and release from the bonds with the advent of divine grace. The Kriyā section deals with *dīkṣā* in all its ramifications like *Agnikārya*, *Kalānyāsa*, *Samaya*, *Viśeṣa*, *Nirvāṇa dīkṣā* etc. The Yogapāda describes briefly the meditation on Paraśiva in the lotus seats from the *nābhi* to *dvādaśānta*. The Caryāpāda deals with the modes of worship of Śiva, Śivaliṅgapratiṣṭhā etc.

Sadāśivayogīndra. probably a Vīraśaiva, is the author of *Śivayogapradīpikā*. The work deals with several steps of *yoga* with particular reference to Śivayoga which leads to Śivabhoga.

Svātmanyeva sadāṣṭāṅgaiḥ pūjayecchivam avyayam |
Śaivaḥ sa eva vidvāmśca sa ca yogavidām varaḥ || II. 8

Sadāśiva Brahmendra Sarasvatī, a disciple of Paramaśivendra Sarasvatī, the 57th Head of Kāmakoṭi Śaṅkarācārya pīṭha, Kāñcī, lived in the early years of the 17th century at Sāhajirājapuram in Tanjore district. Though a great yogin and advaitin he was a devotee of Śiva but not of the sectarian type. His poems on Parameśvara in the *Navaratnamālā*, *Svānubhūtiprakāśikā* and *Śivamānasapūjā* reveal his devotional ecstacy.

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Among the philosophical works on Śaiva Siddhānta there are special treatises dealing with particular rituals or doctrines. The one dealing with the concept of *Mukti* called *Muktiniścaya* is attributed to Śrī Gurujñānasambandha, the first Head of Dharmapuram mutt in Tamil Nad. The work in the form of Tamil verses has an extensive commentary by one Velliambalavana Tambirān (17th cent.), a monk of the Śaivite order in the same mutt, well versed in Tamil and Sanskrit. The commentary contains quotations in extenso from a number of *Śivāgama śāstras* in Sanskrit in support of the nature of bliss on release. This bliss does not belong to the soul but is the bliss of Śiva experienced by the soul at the time of *Sāyujya* or spiritual integration with Him. He analyses the views of Ātmānandavādi, Śivasamavādī etc. and refutes their views. He is also credited with the translation in Tamil of the Vidyāpāda of *Mṛgendrāgama*.

Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇa Dīkṣita, patronised by King Sāhaji of Tanjore n the 17th century, is the author of *Naṭeśavijaya*, a work that describes in 10 cantos the glory of Naṭarāja, his temple-festivals and devotees like Patañjali and Vyāghrapāda.

Jñānaśivācārya (16th century), author of *Śaivaparibhāṣā*, hails from the Skanda-paramparā of Śaiva Ācāryas. In his Sanyāsāśrama at Sūryanārkoil in Tamil Nad he was known as Śivāgrayogin. His other works are *Kriyādipikā*, *Śivajñānabodhalaghuṭikā* and *Śivajñānabodha-Śivāgrabhāṣya*. The *Śaivaparibhāṣā* is a commentary on the twelve sūtras of *Śivajñānabodha* of Meykaṇḍadevar, the first among the Santānācāryas of Śaivism. The author interprets the sūtras following the Jñānapāda of the Āgamas, particularly the *Pauṣkara* and *Mṛgendra*. The tinge of Advaita is noticed in his exposition as he holds Śiva to be both the efficient and material cause of the Universe. He is also credited with the authorship of *Kriyākramadyotikā* dealing with the ritualistic aspect of the worship of Śiva.

Śivatattvasārasaṅgrahacandrikā is an epitome of Śaivāgamas and Purāṇas attributed to Gurumūrti, disciple of Bodhānanda. He lived at Tiruvaiyāru in Tamil Nad.

Kumāra Ḍiṇḍima who is identified with Saint Aruṇagirinātha (15th cent.), who sang the glories of Lord Śaravaṇabhava in Tamil

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in melodic poetic language with a happy blending of Tamil and Sanskrit words, has written a play of the Ḍima type called *Vīrabhadravijaya*, still in manuscript, wherein the exploits of Śiva's followers like Bhairavas who defeated Dakṣa is dramatised. Raudra is the dominant sentiment in this play. Among Appayya Dīkṣita's contemporaries mention may be made of Ratnakheṭa Dīkṣita, the author of *Śitikaṇṭhavijaya*, a poem in glorification of Śiva.

Nṛsiṁharāyamakhin, minister of King Ekoji of the Tanjore Mahrāṭṭa dynasty in the 17th cent., is credited with the authorship of *Tripuravijaya Campū*.

A more exhaustive search will reveal countless other works that remain locked in the manuscript libraries and mutts that may shed light on the history of Śaivism that has a long tradition in Tamil Nad.

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CONTRIBUTION OF TAMILNADU TO SANSKRIT—SRIVAISNAVISM

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Śrī Vaiṣṇavism is the name given to the religious school which upholds Viṣṇu as the primary and supreme deity. The Upaniṣadic reality is identified here with the personal deity Viṣṇu. The philosophical doctrines and the religious principles have become inextricably mixed up here to such an extent that it is hardly possible to explain the doctrines of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta without alluding to the religious practices of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism.

Śrī Vaiṣṇavism is based on the Vedas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, Āgamas, Smṛtis and the Tamil compositions called *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham.* The earliest exponents of this school are stated to have been Ṭaṅka, Dramiḍa, Bodhāyana and others. Their works are lost and are known only from citations in the works of later writers.

Sanskrit has been the language used in this school. From the 12th century A. D., the *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham* of the Ālvārs was commented in Tamil with an admixture of Sanskrit expressions. In this language, which came to be known as *Maṇipravāla*, were written not only the commentaries on the compositions of the Ālvārs but also small independent works on Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. In course of time, the Tamil compositions were also rendered into Sanskrit for the benefit of non-Tamil people.

After Rāmānuja's period, a schism arose in the school on the interpretation of the doctrines on the religious side.[1] This difference became deepened in the 16th century resulting in the rise of two sub-sects called *Vaḍakalai* and *Teṅkalai*. Equal significance for both the Sanskrit and Tamil sources was the feature in the former, while the authority of the Tamil compositions of the Ālvārs was given greater importance in the latter school.

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[1] The differences are held to rest on eighteen factors which are dealt with by Raṅganātha in the *Aṣṭādaśabhedavicāra* (*-nirṇaya*) (in ms.)

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During the development of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, the two phases namely, philosophical basis and traditional practice (*sampradāya*), went hand in hand. Often the practical side of the philosophical discipline marked the treatment of the school on the philosophical basis and the philosophical background was availed of while treating the practical side of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. This development went on under the influence of Vaiṣṇava Āgamas, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and *Tiruvāymoli*.

With reference to the contribution of the Tamil region to Sanskrit Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, two periods are worth noting. The first which could be stated to have begun with Nāthamuni, came to a close with Rāmānuja. The second could be considered to start after Rāmānuja and continue to the present times.

Nāthamuni[1] (b. 823 A.D.), whose full name was Raṅganāthamuni, was a resident of Vīranārāyaṇapuram in the South Arcot dt. of Tamil Nadu. He became the disciple of S'aṭhakopa, also known as Nammālvār, and is said to have received the *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham* from him. He was practically the earliest exponent of Srī Vaiṣṇavism to discuss the philosophical problems of the system in his *Nyāyatattva* which is now lost. The contents of this work are known from the citations in the works of Vedāntadeśika. This work repudiates the conclusions drawn by Gautama and other writers on the Nyāya system[2]. It must have been fairly an extensive work, as it is known to have had at least five sections, Jñānapāda, Prameyapāda, Pramātṛ°, Karma°, and Nyāya°, having sub-sections called *adhikaraṇas*. The other work of Nāthamuni which is also lost is *Yogarahasya*. Puṇḍarīkākṣācārya (826–931 A.D.), the foremost among the disciples of Nāthamuni, must have been a dialectician of a high order, as evidenced from the citations associated with his name in *Vāda* VII of Vedāntadeśika's *Śatadūṣaṇī*. S'rīrāmamiśra (832–937 A. D.), pupil of Puṇḍarīkākṣācārya, advocated *yathārthakhyāti*[3]. Vedāntadeśika refers to Rāmārya[4] and his *Trayyantārtha*, a work no longer extant.

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[1] Pp. 29-31, *History of Śri Vaisnavism*, T.A. Gopinatha Rao.

[2] भगवन्नाथमुनिभिर्न्यायतत्त्वसमाह्वया ।
अवधीर्याक्षपादादि न्यबन्धि न्यायपद्धतिः ॥—*Nyāyapariśuddhi*, p. 87.

[3] *Nyāyapariśuddhi*, p. 91.

[4] रक्षितृत्वं तु रामार्यैस्त्रय्यन्तार्थे हि सूचितम् ।
आत्मसिद्ध्यादिभिः प्रोक्तं यामुनार्यनिबन्धनैः ॥ —*Tattvaṭīkā*. p. 17.

Yāmunācarya (916–1041 A.D.) was the grandson of Nāthamuni. He was a powerful and leading exponent of S'rī Vaiṣṇavism during his period. His *Āgamaprāmāṇya* vindicates the validity of the *Pāñcarātra Āgama*. His *Siddhitraya*, which consists of three sections (all incomplete), *Ātmasiddhi*, *Iśvara°* and *Samvit°*, discusses the nature of soul, god and cognition respectively. Yāmunācarya seems to have advocated that Pūrvamīmāmsā and Vedānta formed parts of a single śāstra. Jaimini is said to have dealt with *karma* in his *sūtras* so that people could discharge their duties with faith and sincerity. Yāmuna is the earliest writer to argue in favour of the validity of the *Pāñcarātra* doctrines and to interpret[1] the *Utpattyasambhavādhikaraṇa* (*Brahmasūtras* II. 2. 39–42) accordingly. His *Gītārthasamgraha* is a critical summary of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Each chapter of the *Gītā* is dealt with in a śloka, giving its significance and purport. The *Gītā* is declared to prescribe an integrated path of *Karma*, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti*.

Yāmuna wrote also the *Puruṣanirṇaya*[2] which is now lost; it discussed the contents of the *Atharvaśira upaniṣad*, *Śvetāśvatara* and other texts including the Purāṇas. His two other works are the *Catuśślokī* and *Stotraratna*, which glorify respectively goddess Lakṣmī in four ślokas and Viṣṇu in sixty-five ślokas.

Rāmānuja (1017–1137 A.D.) was the reputed exponent of Viś. adv. Vedānta for which he made invaluable contribution. In the background of the writings of Nāthamuni and Yāmuna, he was instrumental for the development of some concepts which are looked upon as the specific traits of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. Stress on *Karma*, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* as an integrated course, treatment of the whole Veda (including the Karmakāṇḍa) as valid authority, concept of Brahman as associated with countless qualities and necessity of the individual selves to offer worship in the temples of Viṣṇu singly and in groups, are the significant aspects of Rāmānuja's contribution as evidenced in the works and practices of his followers, though all of them are not actually recorded in his writings. The stress was laid by him on the concept of the self-body relationship between god and

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[1] *Āgamaprāmāṇya*, pp. 53-63.

[2] *Nyāyapariśuddhi*, p. 148; *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p. 225; *Saccaritrarakṣā*, p. 46; *Gītārthasaṁgraharakṣā*, 1.

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the world of the sentient and insentient. It is believed that he gave a place to the compositions of the Ālvārs in the Vaiṣṇava fold.

The *Vedārthasaṅgraha*[1], which on the authority of its commentator Sudars'anasūri, was delivered as a discourse in the Tirumalai hills, was his first work. It gives in brief the contents of the Vedas and not Vedānta (Upaniṣads) alone. Analysing and rejecting the contributions of S'aṅkara, Bhāskara and Yādavaprakāśa, the author proceeds to set forth the view that the *Brahman* of the Upaniṣads has attributes and is identical with Viṣṇu. *Brahman* is the inner controller of both the sentient and the insentient. He is the soul of all selves and matter. Rāmānuja evolved a new definition of 'body' which is applicable to all bodies (*Vedārthasaṅgraha*, p. 18)

The *Śrībhāṣya*, which is his *magnum opus*, is a detailed com. on the *Brahmasūtras* written in a discursive manner. The concepts of the attributeless *Brahman* and of *Māyā* are shown to be baseless. A close study of this work with Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* shows that he was closely following the latter's work for refuting the Advaitic interpretation contained therein.

His *Vedāntāsāra* is a short commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* in which he offers the essence of the Vedānta. The *Vedāntadīpa*[2], is another commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*.

Rāmānuja wrote a commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* setting forth the teachings of the Lord on the lines laid down by Yāmunācārya in the *Gītārthasaṅgraha*.

His *Gadyatraya* comprises (1) *Śaraṇāgatigadya* conveying his appeal to goddess Lakṣmī and the lord for giving shelter to him who has surrendered himself to them, (2) *Śrīraṅgagadya* in the form of prayer to the lord at S'rīraṅgam and (3) *Śrīvaikuṇṭha-*

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1. श्रीभाष्यकृदुपन्यस्तो यः श्रीशैलपतेः पुरः ।
वेदार्थसङ्ग्रहस्तस्य कुर्मस्तात्पर्यदीपिकाम् ॥
—Intro. verse 3 in *Tātparyadīpikā*.

Śrībhāṣya (p. 74) refers to *Vedārthasaṅgraha*.

2. प्रणम्य शिरसा चार्यांस्तदादिष्टेन वर्त्मना ।
ब्रह्मसूत्रपदान्तस्थवेदान्तार्थः प्रकाश्यते ॥
—Intro. verse 2 in *Vedāntadīpa*.

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gadya in the form of an appeal to the lord to take him to Himself. This work is considered to have a bearing on the religious principles of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. The *Nitya* is another work of Rāmānuja treating the mode of worshipping the lord.

There is an unpublished work called *Brahmasūtravṛtti* attributed to Rāmānuja (Ms. No. 67584, Adyar Library). It is in the form of a commentary on II-2 of the *Brahmasūtras* and is also named *Vedāntasāra*. It is written in prose and verse, the prose being explanatory of the verse.

The period after Rāmānuja was marked by intense religious and philosophical activities by scholars. Mention must first be made of those who were the direct disciples of Rāmānuja. At their head stands S'rīvatsāṅkamiśra (1010–1116 A.D.), also known as Kūrattālvān, i.e. a native of Kūram, a suburb of Kāñcī. He was of much help to Rāmānuja in writing the *Śrībhāṣya*.[1]

Praṇatārtihara of Ātreyagotra (1057–1157 A.D.) who was also known as Kiḍāmbi Āccān[2], was in attendance on Rāmānuja and was conferred by his master the coveted title ' Vedānta-udayana '[3] for his erudition in Vedānta. He must be the Ātreyācārya[4] referred to by

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[1] श्रीकूरनाथलेखिनीनिक्षद्दृषदुल्लेखेन परीक्षितैः सुवर्णैः सुघटितम् ।
—Rāmānujācārya's *Rāmānujacampū*, p. 125, Madras Govt. Ori. Lib. Series No. 6; *Guruparamparā* p. 171.

[2] Praṇatārtihara served Rāmānuja as water-bearer in a pot (*Yatirājavaibhava*, pp. 67–69; *Rāmānujacampū*, p. 120). *Ghaṭāmbu* probably changed later into 'Kiḍāmbi.'

[3] विबुधपरिषन्निषेव्यां वेदान्तोदयनसंप्रदायसुधाम् ।
—*Rahasyatrayasāra*, ch. 32·

श्रीभाष्यं दर्शयित्वा यतिपतिरचितं शारदायै निवृत्ते
नत्वा श्रीवेङ्कटेशं पथि परमपदं दत्तवान् गोपिकायै ।
आख्यां वेदोत्तमाङ्गोदयन इति ददद्भाष्यकारेण दत्ताम्
आत्रेयाचार्याय विष्णोरनुजमनुदिनं सादरं तं नमामि ॥
—*Guruparamparā*. p. 254.

[4] श्रीमद्भाष्यकारशिष्यधुरन्धरैरात्रेयाचार्य श्रीविष्णुचित्त-वरदाचार्य-वादिहंस-नवाम्बुद-प्रभृतिभिः तत्तद्ग्रन्थेषु उपपादनात् ।
—*Adhikaraṇacintāmaṇi* on *Adhikaraṇasārāvali*, v. 24.

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Varadācārya, son of Vedāntadeśika, as a writer, though no work of his has come down to us. Varadaviṣṇumiśra, the nephew and disciple of Rāmānuja, was a logician and was helpful in the writing of the *Śrībhāṣya*[1]. Tirukkurukaippirān[2] Pillān was the son of Tirumalai Nambi, maternal uncle of Rāmānuja. He was taken by Rāmānuja as his spiritual son[3] (*jñānaputra*) and was directed by him to write the first *maṇipravāla* commentary on the *Tiruvāimoli* of Nammālvār[4]. Śrīrāmamiśra (b. 1094 A.D.)[5] was one of the illustrious disciples of Rāmānuja and it is said that he was well versed in both the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools of Mīmāṁsā[6] and that he studied the *Śrībhāṣya* thrice under Pillān[7] (Tirukkurukaippirān).

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[1] यस्मिन्पदं यतिवरस्य मुखात्प्रणेतुं निष्क्रामदेव निदधे निगमान्तभाष्यम् ।
तस्यैव तं भगवतः प्रियभागिनेयं वन्दे गुरुं वरदविष्णुपदाभिधानम् ॥
—*Guruparamparā*, p. 254.

He was also called Naḍādūr Ālvān, having been a native of Naḍādūr, a village near Kāñcī.

[2] His original name was S'aṭhakopa. He was the son of Tirumalai Nambi (973–1073 A.D.), the maternal uncle of Rāmānuja. The interest which he evinced in the *Tiruvāimoli* made Rāmānuja give him the name 'Tirukkurukaippirān Pillān', 'the boy of the God at Ālvār Tirunagari.' He was born in 1067 corresponding to Plava (p. 51, *History of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas*, T.A. Gopinatha Rao). This date cannot be admitted as his father Tirumalai Nambi must have been then in his 94th year. Nor can his birth be admitted to have taken place in the previous Plava which corresponds to 1007, as then he must have been eleven years older than his preceptor Rāmānuja. There is thus some problem about his date.

[3] *Yatirājavaibhava*, 82.

[4] *Ibid.* 83–4.

[5] Int. to *Nayadyumaṇi*, p. cxlii, Madras Govt. Ori. Lib. ed.

[6, 7] *Guruparamparā*. p. 222.

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Among the grand pupils of Rāmānuja, Parāśarabhaṭṭa[1], son of S'rīvatsāṅkamiśra, was a dialectician and a poet. Nañjīyar (1113–1213 A.D.), who was an Advaitin with the name Mādhava, was converted to Viś. adv. He was a disciple of both Praṇatārtihara[2] and Parāśarabhaṭṭa. He is the reputed author of *Nine thousand*, a com. on the *Tiruvāimoli* of Nammālvār. Śrī Viṣṇucitta (1106–1206 A.D.) was the disciple of Pillān and was known as Eṅgalālvān. He is remembered as the author of some Sanskrit works on Vedānta.

The next generation was marked by unceasing literary and śāstraic activity. Nārāyaṇārya distinguished himself as a writer of independent works on Vedānta. Varadanārāyaṇabhaṭṭāraka, also known as Vakulabhṛtkiṅkara[3], was a great writer who exerted great influence on Vedāntadeśika. Vātsya Vārādācārya[4] (1165–1275 A.D.) was the acknowledged authority on Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya* during his period. He had the distinction of having attracted profound scholars from the South to Kāñcī where he lived discoursing on the *Śrībhāṣya*. Seveśvarācārya, who rendered[5] direct service to the lord at Śrīraṅgam, was a reputed writer on Vedānta. Nampillai (1147–1252 A.D.), a disciple of Nañjīyar, was a leading exponent of the compositions of Nammālvār and had for his disciples two eminent and erudite scholars in Periyavāccān Pillai (1167–1262 A.D.), also known as Kṛṣṇapāda, author of many works in *maṇipravāla* and Vaḍakkuttiruvīthippillai (1167-1262 A.D.), also known as Kṛṣṇapāda, whose works have not come down to us.

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[1] The accepted date of Parāśara's birth is 1062 A.D. The *Guruparamparā*-tradition regarding his span of life could be reconciled by assuming him to have lived for 28 years after Rāmānuja's demise in 1137 A.D. He could have lived therefore for 103 years (1062–1165 A.D.).

[2] *Rahasyatrayasāra*, part II. p. 42.

[3] *Adhikaraṇacintāmaṇi* on *Adhikaraṇasārāvali*, v. 25.

[4] While yet a child, Vedāntadeśika received his blessings (*Tattvaṭīkā*, I. 2).

[5] *Adhikaraṇacintāmaṇi* on *Adhikaraṇasārāvali*, v. 25.

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The generation[1] next to the one referred to above had four exponents of great repute. Among them, Pillai Lokācārya (1205-1310 A.D.), son of Vaḍakkuttiruvīthippillai, wrote a number of works in *maṇipravāla* on Śrī Vaiṣṇavite philosophy and religion. The second was Ātreya Rāmānuja (1220-1310 A.D.), a pupil of Vātsya Varadācārya and the maternal uncle of Vedāntadeśika. He was a dialectician as revealed from his *Nyāyakuliśa*. Next to him, is Meghanādāri, a descendant of Rāmamiśra, disciple of Rāmānuja and author of important works on Viś. adv. He was later than Varadanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka whom he refers[2] to and was perhaps a contemporary of Pillai Lokācārya[3]. The other writer of this period was Sudars'anasūri, son of Vāgvijayasūri and grandson of Śrī Rāma, brother of Parāśarabhaṭṭa. He was the disciple of Vātsya Varadācārya and is remembered as the author of the *Śrutaprakāśikā* on the *Śrībhāṣya*.

The next generation had the distinction of having had the reputed Vedāntadeśika (1268-1369 A.D.), the most brilliant writer in Viś. adv. next only to Rāmānuja. His life was of unceasing literary activity. He was a dialectician of the highest order in his time. As a prolific writer, he has 114 works[1] to his credit, some in Sanskrit, some in Tamil and others in *maṇipravāla*. Nāināraccān Pillai, who was also known as Raṅgarājayajvan, was his elder contemporary and son of Periyavāccān Pillai. He wrote some works in *maṇipravāla*. Vādikesari Aḷagiyamaṇavāla Jīyar, pupil of Periyāvaccān Pillai and Nāināraccān Pillai, belonged to this period and has left a few works in Skt. and *maṇipravāla*. Aḷagiyamaṇavālapperumāl Nāyanār, younger brother of Pillai Lokācārya, lived between 1208–1303 (or 1236–1331) A.D. and is the author of the *Ācāryahṛdaya* in *maṇipravāla*.

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[1] The dates of Periyavāccān Pillai, Vaḍakkuttiruvīthippillai and Pillai Lokācārya require revision since Vedāntadeśika is said to have had intimate connection with them. At least Pillai Lokācārya must have been alive in 1336 A.D. when Śrīraṅgam was besieged by the Muslims.

[2] Referred to not by name but as a recent writer holding a view opposed to his own, vide *Nayadyumaṇi*, p. 171; cf. *Śribhāṣya* with *Nyāyasudarśana*, p. 135.

[3] Meghanādāri (*Nayadyumaṇi*, p. 179) refers to *Arcirādigrantha*, mentioning its author as 'Vādībhasimha'. Pillai Lokācārya is known to have written a work with this name. Since he was not known as 'Vādībhasiṁha', this reference is not of help in determining the date of Meghanādāri. Or, a work of this name could have been written by Vādikesari Aḷagiyamaṇavāla Jīyar, pupil of Periyavāççān Pillai and his son Nāiṇārāççān Pillai.

Subsequent to this period, writers of original works were few. Attempts were made then to maintain the traditional doctrines which were handed down to the scholars, who wrote mainly small tracts defending such doctrines. Varadācārya, also known as Kumāra Vedāntācārya (1316–1401 A.D.), was the illustrious son of Vedāntadeśika and wrote small treatises on Vedānta. Varavaramuni, also known as Maṇavāla mahāmuni, (1370–1444 A. D.), was a religious leader and author of works mostly in Tamil and *maṇipravāla*. Tātadeśika Śrīnivāsa (1509–1591 A.D.), who was also known as Mahācārya, and Raṅgarāmānujamuni were contemporaries and exponents of the Viś. adv. in the 16th century. Several scholars flourished after this period and have made invaluable contributions.

The contributions made after Rāmānuja to Viś. adv. and Śrīvaiṣṇavism could be classified under seven heads, namely, 1. On the Vedic texts, 2. on the *Śrībhāṣya*, 3. on the *Bhagavadgītā*, 4. on the *Āgamas*, 5. independent writings 6. on the work of early writers and 7. on Tamil *prabandhams*.

In the early period of development of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, the leading exponents did not feel the need to comment upon the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. Besides, there were

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[1] Among these, 12 are original works, 8 are commentaries on the works of earlier writers, 63 are on religion, theology and ritualism in Sanskrit, Tamil and *maṇipravāla* and 31 are poems, drama and devotional lyrics. The list in Dr. Satyavrat Singh's *Vedāntadeśika* (pp. 39-41) is defective in the enumeration of the works.

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works already available like the *Vākya* and the *Bhāṣya* on the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad.* During the post-Rāmānuja period the S'rī Vaiṣṇavites had to contend with the exponents of other schools of Vedānta. While attempting to defend their views, they had to offer their interpretations on the Upaniṣads. The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* was commented by Śrī Viṣṇucitta[1], Kūra Nārāyaṇa[2]. who was later than Vedāntadeśika[3], and Vādhūla Varadācārya[4]. The *Subālopaniṣad*[5] has the com, of Sudarśanasūri, who became the reputed author of the *Śrutaprakāśikā.* Śuddhasattvam Rāmānujācārya discussed in his *Atharvaśikhāvilāsa*[6] the purport of the *Atharvaśikha Upaniṣad* and concluded that this Upaniṣad upholds the supremacy of Viṣṇu. The *Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad* has coms. by Vedāntadeśika[7] and Kūra Nārāyaṇa[8]. The important Upaniṣads were commented by Raṅgarāmānujamuni[9] (c. 1600 A. D.). The principal Upaniṣads were offered word for word interpretation by S'rībhāṣyam Rāmānujācārya[10] in his *Upaniṣadbhāṣya.* The *Puruṣasūkta* and *Śrīsūkta* were interpreted by Prativādibhayaṅkaram Anantārya of Kāñcī.[11]

On the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja, several coms. were written. Some of them are lost and are known from citations in the works of Vedāntadeśika. The earliest among them is the *Śrībhāṣyavivaraṇa*[12] of Śrī Rāmamiśra, the direct disciple of

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1. *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p. 248. This is not extant.
2. Mss. at Adyar Library (A.L.) and Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras (G.O.M.L.).
3. Cf. Kūra Nārāyaṇa's *Īśāvāsyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, p. 86, Madras. 1914.
4. Mss. at A.L. and G.O.M.L.
5. Included in Vol. 54 of T.T.D. Series, Tirupati, 1955.
6. Ptd. in Telugu characters, 1889–91. Mss. at G.O.M.L. (R. 2225, R. 4991) and A.L. (T.R. 200). See also *New Catalogus Catalogorum* Vol. I. (Revised ed. 1969). p. 112.

7, 8. Ptd. Madras.

9. Anandasrama Series, Poona.
10. Madras, Telugu Script.
11. Kāñcī, 1899.
12. *Nyāyasiddhāñjana* pp. 210, 211, 229; *Nyāyapariśuddhi*, p. 171.

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Rāmānuja. The *Tūlikā*[1] is another whose authorship is not known. Among those which are available, the *Nyāyasudarśana*[2] of Varadanārāyaṇabhaṭṭāraka gives a lucid exposition of the *Śrībhāṣya*. More extensive than this is the *Nayaprakāśikā*[3] of Meghanādāri who refers[4] to the treatment of *Śarīra-śarīribhāva* in the *Vedānta-sūtropanyāsa* of S'aṅkara, son of Yajñeśvara. Meghanādāri maintains the number of *pramāṇas* as five[5] like the Prābhākaras and asserts that Rāmānuja's view was in favour of this and cites in support the name of Varadaviṣṇumiśra[6]. The *Śrutaprakāśikā* of Sudarśanasūri is a learned and extensive com. which, as its author states, is an exposition of what he learnt from his preceptor Vātsya Varadācarya. The *Śrutapradīpikā*[7] is another brief com. on the *Śrībhāṣya* by the same author. The *Tattvaṭīkā*[8] of Vedānta Deśika is an exhaustive com. on the *Śrībhāṣya* and is available only for a part of the first sūtra. Similarly incomplete is the com. *Mūlabhāvaprakāśikā*[9] of Raṅgarāmānujamuni. There is a com. by Śrīvatsāṅka Śrīmannārāyaṇamuni (*c*. 1700 A.D.) on the first sūtra called the

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[1] Also called *Tātparyatūlikā*. Cf. *Tātparyaṭīkā* pp. 7, 56, 64.

[2, 3] Pub. in the Madras ed. of *Śrībhāṣya* with ten coms.

[4] अतिचिरन्तनयज्ञेश्वरसूनुशङ्करकृते वेदान्तसूत्रोपन्यासे 'तादात्म्यनिर्देशः शरीरिभावनिबन्धन' इत्युक्तत्वाच्चास्मदीयमार्गस्यैव सांप्रदायिकत्वम् ।

—*Nayaprakāśikā*, p. 1336.

[5] अतः प्रमाणसंख्याविवादेऽपि इत्यादिभाष्यं वृत्तिकारोक्तेभ्यः प्रत्यक्षतानुमानशास्त्रोपमानार्थापत्त्याख्यप्रमाणेभ्योऽतिरिक्तप्रमाणसंख्याविवादेऽपीत्याहृत्य योजनीयम् ।

—*Ibid*. p. 1340

[6] प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणस्वीकारे भाष्यकारकालसमीपकालवर्ति-विष्णवार्यविरचितग्रन्थे प्रमाणपञ्चकस्यैव भाष्यकाराभिमतत्वेम लक्षितत्वदर्शनाच्च ।

—*Ibid*. p. 1342.

[7] R. 3120, G.O.M. L; 75612, A.L.

[8] Written by the author when he was teaching the *Śrībhāṣya* for the 28th batch of students (*Tattvaṭīkā*, v 7)
यतिपतिभुवो भाष्यस्यासौ यथाश्रुतिचिन्तित-प्रवचनविधावष्टाविंशे जयंध्वजपट्टिका ।
Pub. in the Madras ed. of *Śrībhāṣya* and in the Vedāntadeśikagranthamālā.

[9] Pub. in Madras ed. of *Śrībhāṣya*.

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Jijñāsāsūtra-bhāṣya-bhāvaprakāśikā.[1] *Subodhinī*[2] is the name of an incomplete com. by an author whose name is not known but who states that he wrote the com. under the direction of one Vādikesari Veṅkaṭācārya. The *Laghubhāvaprakāśikā*[3] is a com. on the first four sūtras of the *Śrībhāṣya* by a disciple of S'rīnivāsatātācārya. The *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya-ṭippaṇī*[4] is a short gloss on the *Śrībhāṣya* by Vigraham Deśikācārya of the last century.

The *Śrutaprakāśikā* has a voluminous and valuable com. called *Bhāvaprakāśikā*[5] by Raṅgarāmānujamuni. A part of the first chapter of the *Śrutaprakāśikā* has a com. called *Tūlikā*[6] by Vādhūla S'rīnivāsācārya, father of Mahācārya[7]. The *Gurubhāvaprakāśikā*[8] is an incomplete com. by Lakṣmaṇācārya, son of Śuddhasattvācārya, the 18th descendant from Embār (1026–1131 A.D.). The *Tātparyadīpikā* is an anonymous com. The contents of the *Śrutaprakāśikā* were summarised in the *Śrutaprakāśikā-saṁgraha*[9] by S'rīnivāsasūri, son of Tātadeśika.

Attempts were made by some writers to interpret the *Brahmasūtras* on the lines of the *Śrībhāṣya*. Appayadīkṣita's (*c.* 1600 A.D.) *Nayamayūkhamālikā*[10] and Raṅgarāmānujamuni's *Śārīrakaśāstrārtha-dīpikā*[11] represent the results of such attempts. The *Śrībhāṣyaprakāśikā*[12] is a brief com. by Śrīnivāsācārya of the last century. The *Brahmasūtrārtha-saṅgraha*[13] is a brief

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[1] A. L. No. 70273

[2] A. L. No. TR. 195

[3] A. L. No. TR. 196

[4] A. L. No. TR. 197

[5] Ptd. more than once. Madras, Tirupati, Brindavan and Kumbhakonam.

[6] R. 16 (G. O. M. L.) and 70676 (A.L.)

[7] Also called Doḍḍayācārya. His names were Śrīnivāsācārya and Rāmānujadāsa. From the colophon of Adyar ms. No. 70676 it is known that his father too was called Mahācārya.

[8] D. 4970 (G. O. M. L.) and No. 69673 (A. L.)

[9] TR. No. 190 (A. L.)

[10, 11] Pub. by V. N. Krishnamacarya.

[12] Ptd. in G. O. M. L. Series., Madras

[13] Ms. PM. 725 (A.L.)

Funding by IKS-MoE

com. by Saṭhakopamuni, a devotee of Hayagrīva. The *Brahmāsūtravṛtti*[1] is a similar work of anonymous authorship. and the *Brahmasūtrārthaṭippaṇī* is by one Varadārya.

Critical estimates of the *Śrībhāṣya* and of the sections (*adhikaraṇas*) of the *Brahmasūtras* in the light of the treatment by Rāmānuja were offered by several writers. The contents of the *Śrībhāṣya* are dealt with in the *Bhāṣyabhāvabodhaprbodhana*[2] of Meghanādāri. Of anonymous authorship is the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyasaṅgrahavivaraṇa*[3]. The *prima fācie* position as stated in the *Śrībhāṣya* is first given in verse-form in the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyārthapūrvapakṣa-saṅgrahakārikā*[4] of one Veṅkaṭārya. The *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣyopanyāsa*[5] is a short discourse by Mahācārya. Of similar nature are the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya-sārārthasaṅgraha*[6] of Śrīvatsāṅka Śrīnivāsa. *Vedāntanyāyamālikā*[7] of Śrīśaila Śrīnivāsācārya and *Adhikāraṇa-sārārthadīpikā*[8] of Maṅgācārya.

The *Saṅgatimālā*[9] of Śrī Viṣṇucitta represents the earliest attempt to justify the inter-connections between the sections as dealt with by Rāmānuja. This work is lost. Similar is the treatment offered in the *Nyāyakalpasaṅgraha*[10] of Seveśvarācārya. Vedāntadeśika's *Adhikaraṇasārāvalī*[11] treats this matter in 562 stanzas and it has a valuable com. *Adhikaraṇacintāmaṇi* by his illustrious son Varadācārya. The *Adhikaraṇadarpaṇa*[12] is another work of Vedāntadeśika which is now lost. The *Saṅgatisārasaṅgraha*[13] of Raghunāthācarya, *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya-*

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[1] Ms. TR. 198 (A.L.)

[2] Ms. R. 352 (G.O.M.L.)

[3] Ms. TR. 192 (A.L.)

[4] Ms. D. 4972 (G. O. M. L.)

[5] Ms. D. 4974 (G. O. M. L.)

[6] Ms. D. 4976 (G. O. M. L.) and 70526 (A.L.)

[7] Ms. 70783 (A.L.)

[8] Ms. PM. 739.

[9] Ms. D. 4853 (A.L.)

[10] *Nyāyasiddhāñjana* pp. 223, 244.

[11] Pub. Pudukkottai.

[12] Kāñcī (Vedāntadeśikagranthamāla) and Ahobila Mutt ed.

[13] Cited by author in his *Nikṣeparakṣā*, p. 33.

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siddhānta-sāra[1] of Śrīraṅgācārya, the anonymous *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyādhikaraṇārthasaṅgraha*[2], are works of similar nature.

The passages found in the source books as they are applicable to the various sections are treated in the *Viṣayavākyadīpikā*[3] of Raṅgarāmānujamuni.

The objections which were raised against Raṅgarāmānujamuni's *Bhāvaprakāśikā* were answered by S'aṭhakopa in the *Bhāvaprakāśikādūṣaṇoddhāra.*[4]

The third kind of contribution during this period takes the form of com. on the *Bhagavadgītā.* Apart from the *Bhāṣya* of Rāmānuja on the *Bhagavadgītā,* there are coms. such as the *Gītārthasaṅgrahavibhāga*[5] by one Nārāyaṇamuni, *Śrīnivāsakṛpā*[6] by Tirumalārya, *Gītārthasaṅgrahaṭīkā*[7] by Yāmunācārya, father of Periyavāccān Pillai, *Gītāsāra* by Vādikesari Alakiyamaṇavālajīyar and *Bālabodhinī*[8] by Varavaramuni, also known as Maṇavālamahāmuni. The *Gītārthasaṅgraha* of Yāmunācārya has the *Gītārthasaṅgraharakṣā*[9] of Vedāntadeśika and *Bālabodhinī*[10] by Jagannātha. Rāmānuja's *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya* has a voluminous, informative and magnificent com. called *Tātparyacandrikā*[11] of Vedāntadeśika.

The contribution that was made by the Vaiṣṇava scholars to the *Āgama*-literature is helpful for the understanding of the worship of the deity in the temples and houses. That North India must have been the home of these *Āgamas* should be conceded, but many are the indications that show that the *Āgamas* in their present available shape should have had their development in South

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[1] Ms. 73604 (A.L.)

[2] Ms. 70663 (A.L.)

[3] Ptd. Madras and Bombay.

[4] Ms. 69705 (A.L.)

[5] Ms. D. 4878 (G. O. M. L.) (title *Gītārthasaṅgraha*)

[6] Ms. R. 1857(d) (G. O. M. L.)

[7] Kāñcī, 1901

[8] Kāñcī, 1906

[9] Ptd. Madras, Kāñci and Śrīraṅgam

[10] Ms. R 1857(c), G. O. M. L.

[11] Ptd. Madras, Kāñcī and Bombay

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India. The contents, architectural designs and practices in the South Indian temples support this assumption. The texts of the *Pāñcarātra Āgamas* contain the life-accounts of the Ālvārs[1], Vedāntadeśika[2] and Āṇḍāl[3]; the references to the conduct of the floating festivals[4] and those observed in the Mārgaśīrṣa month[5], and accounts relating to the path of self-surrender[6], *Pañcasaṁskāra*[7], *Adhyayanotsava*[8] and others. Some of these texts contain expressions which are current only in the Tamil Nadu[9]. The recitation of the Tamil *prabandhams*[10] is ordained during the worship in temples and houses and festivals in the temples. The *Pārameśvara Saṁhitā* is virtually concerned with the worship at the temple at Śrīraṅgam. Kṛṣṇamuni[11], Vāsudevasvāmin[12] and Nārāyaṇamuni[13] are cited as authorities on the *Pāñcarātra*-tradition by Vedāntadeśika. Apart from the *Āgamaprāmāṇya* of Yāmuna, the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*[14] of Vedāntadeśika is a standard work vindicating the validity ot the *Pāñcarātra Āgamas*. The *Pāñcarātrasārasaṅgraha*[15] and *Pāñcarātrāgamasaṅgraha*[16] contain a brief exposition of the *Pāñcarātra Āgama*. Varadācārya defends the *Pāñcarātra Āgamas* against the attacks on their validity in his

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[1] *Upendra Saṁhitā* Ch. 4; *Śrīpraśna Saṁhitā* 25. 51; 46. 54.

[2] *Upendra Saṁhitā* Ch. 8

[3] *Ibid.* Ch. 4

[4] *Nārāyaṇa Saṁ*, Ch. 21; *Hiraṇyagarbha Saṁ*. Ch. 22; *Śrīpraśna* Ch. 40.

[5] *Vāsiṣṭha* Ch. 22; *Viṣṇurahasya* Ch. 33; *Viṣṇusiddhānta* Ch. 33; *Hiraṇyagarbha* Ch. 12

[6] *Ahirbudhnya* Ch. 37; *Lakṣmītantra* Ch. 17

[7] *Pārameśvara* 17. 585-90

[8] *Aniruddha* Ch. 26; *Śrī Praśna* 46. 7-12

[9] *Śrīpraśna* 44. 5; 46. 19. See Foreword to this work by Dr. V. Raghavan.

[10] *Īśvara* Ch. 11

[11] *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* pp. 2, 59, 60, 87.

[12] *Ibid.* p. 25

[13] *Ibid.* pp. 54, 56, 112, 127, 176

[14] Ptd. Adyar and Kāñcī.

[15] Ms. R. 762 (G.O.M.L.)

[16] Ms. D. 5289 (G.O.M.L.)

Pāñcarātrakaṇṭakoddhāra[1], while Rāmānuja brings out in the *Pāñcarātrarakṣāhṛdaya*[2] the contribution of Vedāntadeśika's *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*. The anonymous *Pāñcarātraprāmāṇya*[3] deals with the validity of the *Pāñcarātra Āgama*. A disciple of Sundararāja explains the nature of the principles of the *Vaikhānasa Āgama*. Similar in content are the *Āgamapradīpa*[4] and *Parārthayajanādhikāranirvāha*[5] of Sundaravīrarāghava and *Nityārcanavidhi*[6] of unknown authorship.

The literature of Viś. adv. in the post-Rāmānuja period was enriched by the production of independent treatises on the doctrines of Viś. adv. criticism of the views advanced against the Viś. adv. doctrines, and small tracts on miscellaneous topics of importance. The name Viś. adv. for this school of Vedānta was explained in the *Viśiṣṭādvaitaśabdārthavicāra*[7] and *Viśiṣṭādvaitasamarthana*[8], both being anonymous in authorship. The chief principles of the Viś. adv. school are treated in the *Rāmānujanavaratnamālikā*[9] of Dharmapurīśa, *Rāmānujasiddhāntasaṅgraha* of Śrīnivāsarāghava[10] and *R. S. saṅgraha* of Śrīnivāsa[11], son of Pāṭrācārya, *Śārīrakārthasaṁkṣepa*[12] of Rāghavācārya. The *Yatīndramatadīpikā*[13] of Śrīnivāsācārya, pupil of Mahācārya, summarises the tenets of the Viś. adv. school. Soul, Brahman, *avidyā*, destruction of *avidyā*, means of getting final release and *mokṣa* were treated in the *Ṣaḍarthsaṁkṣepa*[14] of Śrīrāmamiśra, which work is now lost.

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1. *Ibid*. D. 5279
2. *Ibid*. D. 5283
3. Ms. 66333 (A.L.)
4. Ms. R. 2219 (G.O.M.L.)
5. Ms. R. 1679. *Ibid*
6. Ms. R. 1343(g). *Ibid.*
7. Ms. 69722 (A.L.). Vide 'Antiquity of the name Viś. adv.', Dr. V. Varadachari, *Adyar Library Bulletin* XXVI. pts. 3-4.
8. Ms. 71314 (A.L.); R. 2543(b) (G.O.M.L.); 4221(a) (Mss. Lib. Tirupati)
9. Ms. TR. 199 (A.L.)

10, 11. Ptd. Kumbhakonam

12. Ptd. *Adyar Library Bulletin* Vol. 28.
13. Ptd. more than once.
14. Cf. *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, pp. 202, 210, 233, 240, 244

Funding by IKS-MoE

Incomplete and anonymous is the *Padārthasaṁgraha*[1] which deals with the categories of the Viś., adv. school. The sentient (*cit*), insentient (*acit*) and god (*īśvara*) are treated in the *Tattvatrayāvali*[2] of unknown authorship and *Cidacidīśvaratattva-nirūpaṇa*[3] of Varadanāyakasūri. Similar in content are the *Tattvaviveka*[4] of Lokācārya, *Tattvasaṁgraha*[5] of Raṅgarāja, son of Periyavāccān Pillai, *Siddhāntasaṁgraha* of S'rīśailadeśika, and *Tattvasāra*[6] of Vātsya Varadācārya, better known as Naḍādūr Ammāl, *Tattvaviveka*[7] of Varadācārya and *Tattvanirṇaya*[8] of Appagoṇḍācārya. Supremacy of Viṣṇu as designated by the word 'Brahman' over other deities was dealt with in the *Tattvanirṇaya*[9] by Vātsya Varadācarya, *Trimśacchlokī*[10] of S'rīrāma Śarmā, *Nārāyaṇapāramya*[11] of unknown authorship, *Paratattva-nirṇaya*[12] of Devanāyaka and *Viṣṇupāramyanirṇaya*[13] of unknown authorship. In this context the *Mahābhārata* is shown to uphold Viṣṇu's supremacy over other deities in the *Pañcāmnāyasāra*[14] of Samarapuṁgava and *Mahābhārata-tātparyarakṣā*[15] of Paravastu Vedāntācārya. On the same theme were written smaller works such as the *Nārāyaṇapadanirukti*[16] of unknown authorship, *Gāyatryarthaśatadūṣaṇī*[16] of Śuddhasattva Rāmānujācārya, *Pramāṇasaṁgraha*[17] of Devarāja and *Praṇavadarpaṇa*[18] of

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1. Ms. 71414 (A.L.)
2. Ms. 70703 (A.L.)
3. Ms. D. 15440 (G.O.M.L.)
4, 5. Ms. 71411 (A.L.)
6. Ms. 75700 (A.L.), D. 5068 (G.O.M.L.)
7. Ptd. G.O.M.L., 1951.
8. Ms. R. 3769 (G.O.M.L.)
9. Ms. R 387(c), (G.O.M.L.)
10. Kāñcī, 1902.
11. Ms. 70711 (A.L.)
12. Ms. TR. 227 (A.L.)
13. Ms. 70711 (A.L.), 3517 (Mss. Lib., Tirupati)
14. Ms. 67310 (A.L.)
15. Ms. TR. 752 (A.L.), D. 15365 (G.O.M.L.)
16. Ms. TR. 247 (A.L.), D. 4932 (G.O.M.L.)
17. Ms. TR. 226 (A.L.), R. 1830(a) (G O.M.L.)
18. Ms. 75614 (A.L.)

S'rīnivāsācārya. The sense of the word ‘ Brahman ’ is expounded, after repudiating the sense put forward by the Advaitins in the *Brahmaśabdārthavicāra*[1] and *Brahmaśabdārthaniṣkarṣa*[2] of Śaṭhakopācārya, *Brahmajñānanirāsa*[3] of S'rīnivāsācārya, another work[4] with the same title by Venkaṭakṛṣṇācārya, *Brahmapadaśaktivāda*[5] of Śrī S'aila Śrīnivāsācārya, another[6] work with the same name by Śrī Kṛṣṇatātācārya of Kāñcī and *Brahmalakṣaṇavākyārthasaṁgraha*[7] of S'aṭhakopamuni. The *Śrutitātparyanirṇaya*[8] of unknown authorship seeks to establish that Nārāyaṇa alone is established to be the supreme being by the Vedic passages.

Though the earlier writers sought to reject *kaivalya* as an aspect of *mokṣa*, later writers held different views on this. Pillai Lokācārya maintained it to be also an aspect of *mokṣa*. On this subject were written *Kaivalyanirūpaṇa*[9] of Vādhūla Varadadeśika and *Muktivicāra*[10] and *Kaivalyaśatadūṣaṇī*[11] by S'rī S'aila Lakṣmaṇa muni.

Brahman is upheld to be the material cause in the *Upādānatvavicāra*[12] of Saṭhakopācārya and *Siddhāntanyāyacandrikā*[13], also known as *Candrikākhaṇḍana* of Devarāja. Several doctrines which were maintained by the Dvaita scholar Vijayīndratīrtha are controverted in the *Vijayīndraparājaya*[14] of Śrīnivāsa Parakālayati; of similar nature is the *Nyāyaratnāvali*[15] of Paravastu Vedāntācārya.

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1. Ms. 75608 (A.L.), D. 5316 (G.O.M.L.)
2. Ms. D. 4932 (G.O.M.L.)
3. Ms. 70212 (A.L.)
4. Ms. 71326 (A.L.)
5. Ms. 70940 (A.L.), D. 4978 (G.O.M.L.)
6. Ms. 71333 (A.L.)
7. Ms. TR. 243 (A.L.)
8. Ptd. Kāñcī.
9. Ms. 71242 (A.L.), D. 4939 (G.O.M.L.), 6934 (Tirupati)
10. Ms. 66004 (A.L.), D. 15383 (G.O.M.L.)
11. Ms. 69836 (A.L.)
12. Ms. TR. 248 (A.L.)
13. Ms. TR. 209 (A.L.)
14. Ms. 70733 (A.L.)
15. Ms. TR. 267 (A.L.), 1834(a) (G.O.M.L.), 2401 (Tirupati).

Funding by IKS-MoE

The views of S'aṅkara, Bhāskara and Yādavaprakās'a are criticised in the *Vāditrayakhaṇḍana*[1], which is ascribed to Vedāntadeśika but is evidently the work of his son Kumāra Varadācārya. A criticism is offered by Vedāntadeśika of the Advaita views in his *Śatadūṣaṇī*[2]. His *Cakārasamarthana*[3], now lost, was intended to justify the use of ' ca ' in the previous work and thus reject Vidyāraṇya's criticism. Of similar nature is the *Vedāntakaṇṭakoddhāra*[4] of Campakeśācārya. The several standpoints on which the Advaitins have built their system received refutation in several small tracts such as *Advaitabahiṣkāra*[5] of Raṅgarāja, *Advaitakālānala*[6] of unknown authorship, *Akhaṇḍārthabhaṅga*[7] of Dharmapuriśa, *Avidyākhaṇḍana*[8], *Āśrayānupapatti*[9], *Prapañcamīthyātvānumānakhaṇḍana*[10] and *Vyāvahārikasatyatvakhaṇḍana*[11] of Kumāra Varadācārya and *Abhedakhaṇḍana*[12] of Prativādibhayaṅkaram Aṇṇan.

The Mīmāṁsā system receives a strong attack from Vedāntadeśika in his *Mīmāṁsāpādukā*[13] and *Seśvaramimāṁsā*, the latter being a com. on the *sūtras* of Jaimini upholding the Vedāntic traditions. Though left incomplete in the second pāda of Ch. I, it gives an insight into the author's zeal to seek support for theism from Jaimini. In the former work[14], the author refers to a revised version of the Pūrvamimaṁsā Sūtras by one Nārāyaṇārya to support theism. The *Apūrvabhaṅga*[15] of Śrīvatsāṅka Miśra was perhaps intended to repudiate the Mīmāṁsā concept of ' Apūrva.'

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1. Ms. 69425 (A L.), D. 4994 (G.O.M.L.)
2. Ms. TR. 232 (A.L.), D. 4916 (G.O.M.L.)
3. Ms. TR. 206 (A.L.), D. 4992 (G.O.M.L.)
4. Kāñcī, 1901, 1940 ; *Bib. Indica*, 1903-4
5. Vide p. 30, Int. to ed. of *Saṁkalpasūryodaya*
6. Ms. TR. 904 (A.L.), D. 5004 (G.O.M.L.), 3298 (Tirupati).
7. Ms. R. 2127 (G.O.M.L.)
8. Ms. D. 4848 (G.O.M.L.), TR. 201 (A L.)
9. Ms. TR. 1993 (A.L.)
10. Ms. TR. 205 (A.L.), R. 1364(h) (G.O.M.L.)
11. Ms. TR. 205 (A.L.), R. 1364(c) (G.O.M.L.)
12. Ms. TR. 205 (A.L.), R. 1364(b) (G.O.M.L.), 63 (Tirupati)
13. Ms. TR. 205 (A.L.), R. 1364(a) (G.O.M.L.)
14. Ptd. Kumbhakonam, Kāñcī,
15. Ptd. Kāñcī,

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The Nyāya attempt at proving God's existence merely through inference is rejected in the anonymous *Īśvarānumānavicāra*[1]. Several theories of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṁsā were repudiated and the Viś. adv. doctrines were sought to be maintained in the *Mānayāthātmyanirṇaya*[2] of Varadaviṣṇumiśra. *Tattvaratnākara*[3] of Parāśarabhaṭṭa, *Prameyasaṁgraha*[4] of Śrī Viṣṇucitta and *Prajñāparitrāṇa*[5] of Varadanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka. All these are now lost and we know of them only from the works of Vedāntadeśika who quotes them profusely in his works. It appears however that the problems of epistemology were not well settled as is known from the works of the first two writers. The *Prameyamālā*[6] of Vātsya Varadācārya is a work of great significance, as it discusses many vital doctrines of Viś. adv. The same must be said of the *Nītimālā*[7] of Nārāyaṇārya and *Nyāyakuliśa*[8] of Ātreya Rāmānuja. The *Nayadyumaṇi*[9] of Meghanādāri discusses several doctrines of the school but seems to be pro-Prābhākara in some of the doctrines, for which there is no sufficient evidence in the works of the followers of Rāmānuja.

The *Nyāyapariśuddhi*[10] is one of the major works of Vedāntadeśika who gives a Vedāntic interpretation of the Nyāya tradition. Likewise, the Vaiśeṣika doctrines receive a Vedāntic interpretation in his *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*[11]. His *Tattvamuktākalāpa*[12] with his own com. *Sarvārthasiddhi* on it may be treated as his *magnum opus*. No doctrine, whether held by the *āstika* schools or *nāstika* systems escaped his criticism and this work can be easily held to be on a par with the *Tattvasaṅgraha*[13] of Śāntarakṣita.

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[1] *Mīmāṁśāpādukā*, verse 11.

[2] Cited by Varadācārya, Vedānta deśika's son, in his *Adhikaraṇacintāmaṇi*.

[3] Ms. 71333 (A.L.).

[4] Referred to in *Nyayapariśuddhi*, pp. 110, 122, 150.

[5] Referred to in *N. Pariśuddhi* and *N. Siddhāñjana*.

[6, 7] Ref. to in *N. Pariśuddhi*.

[8] Ptd. Madras, 1886 ; *J. of Annamalai Uni*., 1940.

[9] Annamalai Uni., 1940.

[10] Annamalai Uni., 1938.

[11] G.O.M.L., 1956.

[12] Chowk. Skt. Series, 1923, Vedāntadeśikagranthamālā, 1940.

[13] Pandit Series, 1901 : Vedāntadeśika° 1940.

Funding by IKS-MoE

The *Pañcamatabhañjana*[1] of Tātadeśika seeks to uphold the supremacy of Śrīvaiṣṇavism over the other five religious schools. The incomplete text, as available, does not make clear what schools were rejected by him.

The prolific writer Mahācārya (*c.* 1600 A.D.) is known as the author of (1) *Brahmavidyāvijaya*[2] providing Nārāyaṇa to have unlimited qualities, (2) *Pārāśaryavijaya*[3] which gives an estimate of the Viś. adv. system (3) *Sadvidyāvijaya*[4] on the nature of 'sat', the primeval source of the world (4) *Advaitavidyāvijaya*[5] repudiating the Advaita doctrine (5) *Parikaravijaya*[6] proving Nārāyaṇa as the subject of the Vedas (6) *Gurūpasadanavijaya*[7] rejecting the Advaita interpretations of Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta (7) *Upaniṣanmaṅgalābharaṇa*[8] explaining the import of the Upaniṣads in favour of the Viṣṇu cult. Sudarśanaguru, his disciple, offers an estimate of his preceptor's works in his *Vedāntavijayamaṅgaladīpikā*[9].

Mention must be made of an attempt made by Dharmapuriśa who explained in his *Śaṅkarahṛdayāvedana*[10] that Śaṅkara did not hold views dissimilar to those of Rāmānuja. The *Tattvabhāskara* of Pelāppūra Dīkṣita gives a summary of Viś. adv. tenets. The *Paramkukhacapeṭikā*[11] and *Pratyaktvādisvayamprakāśavāda*[12] of Śrī Kṛṣṇatātācārya of Kāñcī and *Parapakṣanirākṛti*[13], *Pūrṇatva-*

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1. Mysore Ori. Ser. 1933, 1940, 1954.
2. G.O.S., 1926.
3. Ms. TR. 257 (A.L.), 2030 (Tirupati). For its contents see the present writer's article in the *Tātadeśikan Fourth Centenary Vol.*, Kāñcī.
4. Mss. TR. 245 (A.L.), D. 4940 (G.O.M.L), 6616 (Tirupati).
5. Ptd., Kāñcī.
6. Melkote, 1937.
7. Mss. 75630 (A.L.), D. 4851 (G.O.M.L.)
8. Ms. R. 365, G.O.M.L.
9. Mss. TR. 210 (A.L.); D. 5019 (G.O,M.L.); 6933 (Tirupati)
10. Ms. R. 4418 (G.O.M.L.)
11. N. S. Press, Bombay, 1943.
12. Ms. TR. 199 (A.L.)
13. Mss. TR. 238 (A.L.): D. 4926 (G.O.M.L.); 3020 (Tirupati)

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vicāra[1] and other works of Raṅgarāmānuja Mahādeśika prove that scholastic studies have not been wanting even in the present century.

Rāmānuja's *Vedārthasaṁgraha* was commented upon by Śrīrāmamiśra,[2] Sudarśanasūri[3] and Vedāntadeśika[4] but the *Tātparyadīpikā* of Sudarśanasūri alone is available. The *Mīmāṁśāpādukā*[5] has an incomplete com. by Kumāra Varadācārya, son of Vedāntadeśika. The *Sarvārthasiddhi*,[6] which is itself a com. by the author on his *Tattvamuktākalāpa* has the com. *Ānandadāyinī*[7] of Nṛsimhadeva and *Prakāśikā*[8] whose author is not known. The *Śatadūsaṇī* is commented upon by Mahācārya in the *Caṇḍamāruta*, by Nṛsimhadeva in the *Śatadūṣaṇīṭikā*[9] and S'rīnivāsadāsa in the *Sahasrakiraṇi*.[10] The *Nīkaṣa*[11] of Śrīnivāsa S'aṭhakopayati, *Nyāyasāra*[12] of S'rīnivāsācārya and *Sannyāyadīpikā*[13] of Śrī Kṛṣṇatātācārya of Kāñcī are the coms. available on the *Nyāyapariśuddhi*. Raṅgarāmānujamuni[14] and Kṛṣṇatātācarya[15] of Kāñcī had commented on the *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*. The *Adhikaraṇasārāvali* has, besides the *Adhikaraṇacintāmaṇi*[16] of Kumāra Varadācārya, the *Prakāśikā*[17] of Sundararājācārya.

The devotional lyrics *Catuśślokī* and *Stotraratna* of Yāmunācārya, *Śrīraṅgarājastava*, *Śrīguṇaratnakośa* and *Aṣṭaślokī* of Parāśarabhaṭṭa and the *Gadyatraya* of Rāmānuja (*Śaraṇāgatigadya*, *Śrīraṅga*° and *Vaikuṇṭha*°) have much influenced the theories of the Vaiṣṇavite schools in the post-Rāmānuja period. The three sacred mantras called ' Mūlamantra ', ' Dvaya ', and ' Caramaśloka ' came to be looked upon as *Rahasyatraya*, whose significance is cherished to be superior to the wealth of knowledge that one could acquire from the study of the Vedas and Śāstras. In particular these *mantras* have ordained the path of self-surrender as the easier path for attaining final release than that of devotion. In fact, during the post-Rāmānuja period, *prapatti* came to be treated as the indispensable course for adoption. The differences in the interpretations of these became larger and larger, leaving little room for even major issues like the concept of godhead.

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[1] Ms. 69823 (A.L.)

[2] Tirupati, 1932.

[3] Kumbhakonam, 1937.

[4] Cf. *N. Siddhāñjana*, pp. 229, 267.

[5] Madras, 1882; Tirupati, 1953.

[6] Cf. p. 34, Int. to *Saṅkalpasūryodaya*, Adyar.

[7] Pub. along with the text.

[8] Pub. often with the text. Madras, Kāñcī, Mysore.

[9] Ptd. in Mysore ed.

[10] Mss. TR. 217. 1, 217. 2, 217. 3, A.L.

[11] Ms. TR. 261 (A.L.)

[12] Ms. TR. 262 (A.L.)

[13] Ms. TR. 229 (A.L.); D. 4912-3 (G.O.M.L,)

[14] Chowk. Skt. Ser. 1933

[15] Pub. in *Annamalai Uni. J.*

[16] Ptd. Kāñcī and Madras.

[17] Ptd. Kāñcī.

At the outset, the difference is noted to mark the outlook of the two sects on the place of Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu, the supreme reality in Śrīvaiṣṇavism. The Vaḍakalai school gives the honoured place to the goddess on a par with Viṣṇu, while the other school places her as an individual self, though she is the consort of the Lord. Lakṣmī is therefore not atomic in size in one school and is only atomic in the other. Vādhūla Vīrarāghava's *Aṇutvasamarthana*[1] and the anonymous *Aṇutvaculaka*[2] support the view of the goddess being an individual self. The anonymous *Īśvarīśabdanirvacana*[3] lends support to this theory. Works on this topic are *Lakṣmīvibhutvakhaṇḍana*[4], and *Lakṣmīvibhutvasamarthana*[5], the authors of which are not known. This aspect of the problem has a meaning in taking Viṣṇu alone as the means of *mokṣa* or Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī together contributing the means. The *Lakṣmyupāyatvasamarthana*[6] and *Lakṣmyupāyatvanirāsa*[7] discuss this question. Kesarabhūṣaṇa and Vādhūla Varadācārya respectively in their works *Śrītattvadarpaṇa*[8] and

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[1] Madras, 1891 ; Śrīrangam, 1940.

[2] Ms. R. 3550 (G.O.M.L.)

[3] Ms. 70705 (A.L.)

[4] Ms. 70755 (A.L.)

[5] Ms. 69722 (A.L.)

[6] Ms, 71246 (A.L.)

[7] Ms. 70206 (A.L.)

[8] Ms. T.R. 253 (A.L.)

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Śrītattvaratna[1], and the anonymous works *Śrībrahmattvavyudāsa*[2], *Śrībrahmattvasamarthana*[3] and *Śrīmacchabdārthavicāra*[4] also discuss this question.

The anonymous *Bhaktiprapattyadhikāravicāra*[5] discusses the relative positions of *bhakti* and *prapatti* as the means of bliss. The collections of small tracts in *maṇipravāla* composed by Periyavāccan Pillai, his son Raṅgarājayajvan, Pillai Lokācārya and Vedāntadeśika go by the name of *Rahasyagranthas*. They contain accounts of the meaning of *prapatti* and its significance. The works allied to these are the anonymous *Caramopāyanirṇaya*,[6] *Nyāsavimśati*[7] of Vedāntadeśika, with his own com. on it, *Nyāsavidyāvicāra*[8] of Nīlameghācārya, *Nyāsavidyāvijaya*[9] of Śrīnivāsācārya, the anonymous *Prapattyupāyatvavicāra*[10] and *Śaraṇāvaraṇatattva*[11], *Siddhopāyasudarśana*[12] of S'rīnivāsadāsa, pupil of Mahācārya, *Kārpaṇyadarpaṇa*[13] of Śaṭhakopācārya, *Nyāsarīti* of Raṅganāthayati, *Nyāsavidyāpariṣkṛti*[14] of Śrīnivāsadāsa and others. *Prapattiprayoga* and *Prapannalakṣaṇa* are the names of some tracts on this subject. The *Prapannapārijāta*[15] of Vātsya Varadācārya, *Nikṣeparakṣā*[61] of Vedāntadeśika and *Nikṣepacintāmaṇi*[117] of Gopāladesika are standard texts devoted to establish the path of *prapatti* on *śāstraic* basis. The *Rāmānujanūṭṭrantādi* of Śrīraṅganāthadeśika is declared, in the *Prapannagāyatrīnirūpaṇa*[18] of S'rīrāmācārya, as the sacred *mantra* to be recited by those who have taken to the path of *prapatti*.

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1. Ms. 70705 (A.L.)
2. Ms. PM. 743 (A.L.)
3. Ms. 68447 (A.L.) ; R. 1299 (G.O.M.L.)

4, 5. Ms. 70755 (A.L.)

6. Ms. 70611 (A.L.)
7. Ms. 70755 (A.L.)
8. Ms. 71389 (A.L.)
9. Ptd. many times
10. Ms. 72793 (A. L.)
11. Ms. TR. 234 (A.L.), R. 2129 (G. O. M. L.), 3131 (Tirupati)
12. Ms. 73012 (A. L.)
13. Ms. 69730 (A. L.), R. 3364 (G.O.M.L.)
14. Ms. TR. 269 (A.L.), R. 6628 (G.O.M.L.)
15. Ms. R. 1372 (G.O.M.L.)
16. Ms. TR. 233 (A.L.), R. 21 (G.O.M.L.)
17. Mysore, 1883 ; Tirupati. 1954.
18. Kumbhakonam, 1903 ; Kāñcī, 1941.

The three *mantras* called *Rahasyatraya* are well treated by several writers. Among them, Vedāntadeśika stands foremost by his contribution through the voluminous *Rahasyatrayasāra*[1] written in *maṇipravāla*. The three *mantras* are explained in the *Rahasyatrayakārikā*[2] of Varadācārya, another work with the same name[3], *Rahasyatrayavivaraṇa*[4] by Vādikesari Saumyajāmātṛmuni, anonymous *Rahasyatraya-cuḍāmaṇi*[5] and *Rahasyatrayajīvātu*[6] of Śrīvatsāṅka Nārāyaṇamuni. The objections to the principles of these are stated and repudiated by Praṇatārtiharācārya in *Rahasyamañjarī*.[7] On this topic were written the *Tattvadīpa*[8] and *Adhyātmacintā*[9] by Vādikesari Saumyajāmātṛmuni. The difference in the interpretation of the *Caramaśloka* by the two sects of the Vaiṣṇavas is brought out in the *Caramaślokarahasyacandrikā*[10] by Pelāppūr Dīkṣita. Pillai Lokācārya's interpretation of the word 'parityajya' in the *caramaśloka* is supported in the *Tyāgaśabdārthaṭippaṇī*[11] of S'rīśaila Rāmānujamuni. The *Mūlamantra* receives an explanation in the *Mūlamantrārthakārikā*[12] of Rāmānujadāsa.

The *Nityagrantha*[13] of Rāmānuja played a prominent role in guiding the later Śrīvaiṣṇavites in offering worship to the deity. The *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*[14], *Abhigamanasāra* of Śrīvatsāṅkamiśra, *Nityakramasamgraha*[15] of Gṛdhrasaromuni, *Nitya* of Parāśarabhaṭṭa and *Āhnikakārikā* of Vaṅgivaṁśeśvara are all based on this work. The first and the last-mentioned works alone are now available. *Pañcasamskāra* is considered to form an essential part of the life of

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1. Kumbhakonam, 1908.
2. Ms. 71389 (A.L.)
3. Pub. several times
4. Ms. 68261 (A.L.)
5. Kāñcī, 1909.
6. Ms. 75613 (A.L.)
7. Ms. 75613 (A. L.); R. 94 (b) (G.O.M.L.).
8. Ms. 75613 (A. L.) ; D. 5339 (G. O. M.L.) ; 6534 (Tirupati).
9. Ms. 69730 (A. L.) ; D. 5347 (G.O.M.L.).
10. Ms. P M. 737 (A. L.)
11. Calcutta, 1917.
12. Ms. 75617 (A. L.) ; R. 379 (G. O. M. L.)
13. Ms. 75616 [A. L.) ;
14. Ms. 73537 (A. L.
15. Ptd. Kāñcī

a Śrīvaiṣṇava. Several works have been written on this topic. Among them, the *Saccaritrarakṣā*[1] of Vedāntadeśika stands foremost. The *Siddhāntacandrikā*[2] of Paravastu Vedāntācārya and the *Sudarśanamīmāmsā*[3] of unknown authorship vindicate the practice of branding the shoulders with the Śaṅkha and Cakra against the opposition from non-Śrīvaiṣṇava quarters. The *Taptamudrāvilāsa* of Nṛsimha, *Taptamudrāṅkaṇapramāṇsamgraha* of Campakeśācārya and the anonymous *Pañcasamskārakāla, Pañcasamskāravidhi* and *Pañcasamskāra-viṣayasamgraha* are works dealing with this topic. The *Tulasīmālādhāraṇanirṇaya* is a work on the need to wear the Tulasi seeds.

That the Tamil Prabandhas and the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa teach the same doctrines of Viś. adv. is dealt with in the *Siddhāntasiddhāñjana*[4] whose author is not known. Based on this principle are *Vilakṣaṇavaiṣṇavotkarṣanirūpaṇa*[5] and *Vilakṣaṇādhikārinirṇaya*[6], both of unknown authorship. The practices and principles of the Tenkalai schools are repudiated by Kṛṣṇatātācārya in the *Durarthadūrikaraṇa*[7] and *Durūhaśikṣā*[8] of Śrīnivāsaparakālayati. The doctrines that form part of the school of which Vedāntadeśika is the head are explained in the *Deśikasiddhāntarahasya* of Anantācārya.

The Sampradāya works cited above influenced the literature of the later period in two ways. One was in the writing of the coms. on important works. The coms. were written in *maṇipravāla* for the originals in Skt. and *maṇipravāla*, and in Skt. for the same. The other method was in rendering the original works written in Tamil into Sanskrit for the easy comprehension of those who were not conversant with Tamil.

The devotional lyrics of Yāmuna, Parāśarabhaṭṭa and Vedāntadeśika were looked upon as works conveying esoteric sense of the

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1. Madras, 1967
2. Pp. 2, 59, 60, 87, *Pāncarātrarakṣā*
3. Madras, 1878, 1928 ; Kāñcī, 1940
4. Ms. TR. 265 (A.L.) ; R. 2194 (G.O.M.L.) ; 2951 (Tirupati)
5. Kāñcī, 1907
6. Ms. 69785 (A.L.)
7. Ms. 70659 (A.L.)
8. Ms. 70423 (A.L.)

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tenets of S'rīvaiṣṇavism. The *Catuśślokī* was commented in *maṇipravāla* by Sudarśanasūri and Raṅgarājayajvan and in Sanskrit by Vedāntadeśika.[1] The *Stotraratna* was commented by Sudarśanasūri, Vedāntadeśika,[2] Nārāyaṇamuni and Nārāyaṇayatīndramahādeśika. Among them, the first-mentioned work is in *maṇipravāla*, the second in Skt. and the other two are lost. This work of Yāmuna has a com. by Ātreya Varadācārya. Parās'arabhaṭṭa's *Śrīraṅgarājastava* was commented by Rāmānujācārya in Skt. and by Aṇṇā Appaṅgār in *māṇipravāla*. His *Śrīguṇaratnakośa* has coms. by Ātreya Śrīnivāsācārya and Nārāyaṇācārya. His *Aṣṭaśloki* has coms. by Saumyopayantṛmuni,[3] Nārāyaṇamuni,[4] one Vaiṣṇavadāsa,[5] Govindarāja and in *maṇipravāla* by Śrīnivāsārya.[6] Rāmānuja's *Gadyatraya* occupies a high place in the Śrīvaiṣṇava-sampradāya, and so is the com. by Vedāntadeśika. The com. on this work by S'rī Viṣṇucitta is lost.

The *Rahasyatrayasāra* of Vedāntadeśika has coms. by Śrībhāṣyam Śrīnivāsācārya, Lakṣmī Kumāratātacārya, Vedāntarāmānujamuni and Gopāladeśika. The ślokas which summarized the sense of each of the chapters of the *Rahasyatrayasāra* have coms. by Śrībhāṣyam Śrīnivāsācārya[7] and others. The Tamil verses contained in this work are interpreted in Skt. by Bharadvāja Śrīnivāsa.[8] Similarly, the *Kārikās* in the *Rahasyatrayasāra* are commented by Varadācārya.[9] The contents of the *Rahasyatrayasāra* are condensed in Skt. by Kumāra Varadācārya[10]. The *Adhyātmacintā*[11] of Vādikesari Aḷakiyamaṇavālajīyar has a com. *Adhyātmacintāmaṇi*[12] by Varadācārya. Vedāntadeśika had offered in Skt., the summary of the *Tiruvāimoli* in his *Dramiḍopaniṣatsāra*[13] and the purport of the

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[1] Ms. TR. 222 (A.L.)

[2] Ms. TR. 223 (A.L.)

[3, 4] Ptd. Madras and Kāñcī.

[5] Ms. 70658 (A. L.)

[6] Kumbhakonam, 1909.

[7] Madras, 1871; Kāñcī, 1913.

[8] Kāñcī, 1913.

[9] Śrīrangam and Kāñci.

[10] Mss. at Adyar and (G.O.M.L.)

[11] Mss. 70971 (A. L.); D. 5342 (G.O.M.L.); 2078 (Tirupati)

[12] Bangalore, 1885.

[13] Bangalore, 1886

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same in his *Dramiḍopaniṣattātparyaratnāvali*[1]. The *Mumukṣuppaḍi* of Pillai Lokācārya has the Skt. com. *Tātparyadīpikā*[2] by Vīrarāghavācārya, also known as *Bālasarasvatī*. The *Rahasyatrayamīmāṁsā*[3], which is a Tamil com. on Pillai Lokācārya's *Mumukṣuppaḍi*, has a Skt. com. *bhāṣya* by Śuddhasattvam Rāmānujācārya. Vādikesari Aḷakiyamaṇavāḷajīyar's *Tattvādīpa* has a *maṇipravāla* com. *Tattvadīpaprakāśa* and a metrical summary by the same author in the *Tattvadīpasaṁgrahakārikā*[4]. Vedāntadeśika's *Nikṣeparakṣā* has a com. by Nṛsimhācaryā. Raṅgarāmānujamuni wrote com. in Skt. on Śaṭhakopa's *Tiruvāimoli*[5] and Āṇḍāl's *Tiruppāvai*.[6]

Govardhanam Raṅgācārya of the last century rendered into Skt. verse the *Tiruvāimoli* of S'aṭhakopa and into Skt. prose the *Īḍu*, the com. on it. Kalki Narasimhācārya versified in Skt. the *Tiruvāimoli*. The *Arthapañcakanirūpaṇa* is a Skt. metrical rendering of Pillai Lokācārya by Gārgya Veṅkaṭācārya. His *Tattvatraya* has been rendered into Skt. by Govardhanam Raṅgācārya. Kumāra Varadācārya rendered into Skt. his father's *Vīrodhaparihāra*, *Tattvatrayaculaka* and *Āhāraniyama*. Dāśarathi, pupil of Vādhūla Vīrarāghavācārya, rendered into Skt. the *Upadeśaratnamālā* of *Maṇavālamahāmuni*.

Veṅkaṭeśa's *Draviḍāmnāya-śataka* and Govinda's *Kurukeśagāthānukaraṇa* are Skt. renderings of Śaṭhakopa's *Tiruvāimoli*.

The sixteen small *Rahasyas* of Vedāntadeśika have been rendered into Skt. by Naḍātūr Sundararājācārya.

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1. Calcutta, 1917
2. Ms. PM. 728 (A.L.); R. 2135 (G.O.M.L.)
3, 4. Pub. in all earlier edns. of *Bhagavadviṣaya*
5. Ms. TR. 249 (A.L.); R. 15 (G.O.M.L.)
6. Kāñcī, 1908, 1911
7. Ms. PM. 729 (A.L.)
8. Ptd. in Kāñcī ed. of *Bhagavadviṣaya*
9. Pub. in Kumbhakonam ed. of *Tiruppāvai*
10. Ptd.

CONTRIBUTION OF SRIVAISNAVISM TO SANSKRIT—LITERATURE ON RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

R. N. SAMPATH,
Curator, G.O.M. Library, Madras.

Śrīvaiṣṇavism, the compound word comprising the words 'Śrī' and 'Viṣṇu', means "that path which centres on Viṣṇu who is with Śrī or 'Viṣṇu and Śrī'. Both these interpretations become meaningful in the context of the importance attached to the status and form of Mahālakṣmī (Śrīḥ) *vis-a-vis* Mahāviṣṇu. The *Tengalai* sect by and large does not stand by the view of absolute equality of Lakṣmī with Viṣṇu but considers Her, though His consort, only as the representative of the Jīvas. Contrarily the *Vaḍagalai* sect understands the position of Mahālakṣmī as one of absolute equality with Viṣṇu in all aspects, being His very Power.

In the days of Rāmānuja there was the three-faced religious and philosophical activity, the one representing the Upaniṣadic thought of *Viśiṣṭādvaita*, the other, the *Pāñcarātra* and *Vaikhānasa Āgamas* relating to temple-worship and the third, the Tamil *Prabandha* School of Āzhvars. Rāmānuja blended the chief aspects of these three as thought, action and emotion. It is because of this synthesis, the system of Rāmānuja became not only very practicable and popular but also appealing to both the laity and the learned.

Bhakti is the sheet anchor of any system of religion and Śrīvaiṣṇavism is no exception to this. Rāmānuja supplied to the religious-minded the concept of Mahāviṣṇu as the *Brahman* of the Upaniṣads. Such an Entity as the *cause* of all causes has to be attended upon by one and all-*Nitya*, *Mukta* and *Baddha Jīvas* for their own ultimate benefit and eternal service to Him. *Nitya-kaiṅkarya* is *Mokṣa* according to Rāmānuja. The literature on this in Sanskrit, particularly in the recent past, has been very rich.

Rāmānuja has been credited with the work *Nityam* which outlines the daily chores of a Vaiṣṇava. The next land-mark is the work of Vedāntadeśika. He has to his credit *Saccaritrarakṣā* in Sanskrit which delineates the prescribed conduct and mode of life of a Śrīvaiṣṇava. With the development of schisms among the

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Śrīvaiṣṇavas small changes in the practices without detriment to the basic principle of Viśiṣṭādvaita came and the codes of conduct had to be written largely depending upon the practices of 'S'iṣṭas' and these came to be known as "Āhnikas"—daily duties to be observed. In these *Āhnikas* directions are also found for the observance of special occasions like Kṛṣṇajayantī, Rāmanavamī, Nṛsiṁhajayantī and Ekādaśī.

Even works on philosophical themes had an accent on the performance of these duties rather than on intellectual understanding. For example, the *Arthapañcaka* of Pillai Lokācārya of 13th century is in Tamil language dealing with five topics viz.—the nature of Īśvara, nature of Jīva, goal in view, means of attaining that goal and the obstacles. The work in the main emphasises *Kaiṅkarya*—service to the Lord. This work has been rendered into Sanskrit with the same title by Gārgya Veṅkaṭācārya of the 18th century.

Similarly *Ṇatvadarpaṇa* of Śrīnivāsācārya (18th century), *Ṇatvatattvaparitrāṇa* of S'rīnivāsadāsa, *Ṇattvacandrikā* of Kṛṣṇatātārya (both of early 19th century), *Ṇatvopapattibhaṅgavāda* of Tirumalācārya (19th century) are important works in which the significance of the letter ṆA in the word 'Nārāyaṇa' is discussed. The bone of contention here is whether the word is significant in respect of one particular entity or of secondary application. This word 'Nārāyaṇa' is an important factor in the two mystic mantras—*Aṣṭākṣara* and *Dvayam* and hence the discussion on this word becomes a matter of prime necessity.

This leads one to the topic of *mantras*. Every Vaiṣṇava has to know about three mystic *mantras* called *Rahasyas*. These three esoteric spells are extensively dealt with by Vedāntadeśika in his *magnum opus Rahasyatrayasāra.* For obtaining these mantras one has to undergo certain discipline and procedure. Rāmānuja in his days had introduced an act called "Pañcasaṃskāra" for all Śrīvaiṣṇavas as a symbol of unity and recognition, if not identification. That practice has been continued even to-day by all the Ācāryas. These life-purificatory acts are—Tāpa, Puṇḍra, Nāma, Mantra and

Yāga. The first is the bearing of the marks of Viṣṇu's disc and conch on the shoulders of oneself. (The Madhvasampradāya enjoins not only the five chief Āyudhas of Viṣṇu but also Padma—thus they are to bear six *mudrās* as against two of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas). This is done by the Ācārya with necessary preliminary rites through the impress of the two Āyudha-emblems heated in a holy fire to a bearable degree.

The next is the wearing of a cast-mark on twelve specified parts of the body above the navel. This is done with the white-coloured sacred mud got from a specified place and the design being that of a mark on the hood of a serpent.

The Third act is that of taking a *dāsya nāma* as Keśava-Rāmānuja-dāsa, Mādhava-Rāmānuja-dāsa etc. All are Rāmānuja-dāsas and for distinction Keśavādi-names are added before.

Only after this, the mystic *mantra* is transferred to the ear of the Śiṣya by the Guru through whisper, while the recipient repeats the same twice. The Guru or the Ācārya shall disseminate besides the three chief mantras, other mantras too that are necessary for the individual for the performance of Pūjā to the Lord Viṣṇu.

The last act is known as yāga. This is otherwise known as *Bharanyāsa* or *Śaraṇāgati*. This is usually performed for the S'iṣya by the Ācārya only after the passage of some time. This anticipates maturity of thought and receptive tendency of mind in the individual.

An individual who has undergone the first four acts as enunciated above is a true "Vaiṣṇava" and not the one born in a Vaiṣṇava family.

Naturally this process has given room for independent works bringing out relevant authorities to substantiate the tradition. The *Taptacakrādyaṅkaṇa-pramāṇāni* of an unknown author, *Taptamudrādhāraṇa-pramāṇādarśa* of Lakṣmaṇācārya, *Taptamudrādhāraṇa-pramāṇa-saṅgraha* by Campakeśācārya and *Taptamudrāvilāsa* of Nṛsimhādvaita are only a few that deal with the necessity of bearing the marks of Viṣṇu. *Sudarśana-mīmāṃsā* deals with the same theme for the Madhva-sampradāya.

From these, it becomes clear that this system has laid stress on the Ācārya. Even in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the commentator Govindarāja stresses this role of Ācārya as *Ghaṭaka*-coordinator-between Jīva and Īśvara. Hanumān, according to him, is the best Ācārya among the characters of the Epic and he has become the best *Ghaṭaka*. Vedāntadeśika in his *Nyāsavimśati* clearly enunciates the role of Ācārya in the second and the last verses of his work. The role of Ācārya is popularly known as 'Puruṣakāra' and in Śrīvaiṣṇavism Mahālakṣmī performs the role of *Puruṣakāra* in the vicinity of Mahāviṣṇu on behalf of Jīvas.

This role of Mahālakṣmī has given scope for the following works in the two district camps, the *Puruṣakāramīmaṃsā* of Śrīvatsāṅka Vipaścit and Śrī S'aila of the last century, *Śriya upāyatva-vicāra* of unknown authorship, *Śriyaupāyatvasamarthana* of Raghunātha of early 19th century are on the role of Mahālakṣmī.

The *Śrīyaśśaraṇyatvavicāra*, *Śrītattvaratna*, and *Śrīvicāra*-all of unknown authorship and *Śrīvibhutvasamarthana* of Raghunātha Sūri (19th century) deal with the svarūpa (nature) of Mahālakṣmī, her being as equally powerful as Viṣṇu and enjoying similar *vaibhavas*.

Śrītattvasudhā and *Lakṣmī-maṅgala-dipīkā* of Vīrarāghava of 19th century deal with the dependent (Śeṣa) nature of Mahālakṣmī regarding Viṣṇu and her role as the representative agent of the Jīvas in the presence of Mahāviṣṇu.

The Vaḍagalai sect has a practice in vogue to emphasise the absolute loyalty and solid support to the cause of religion and Ācārya, in the form of tasting (ācamana) the water rendered sacred by the touch of the right toe of the Ācārya. *Śrīpādatīrthagrahaṇa* and *Śrīpādatīrthavaibhava* of unknown authorship are on this tenet.

Of course this is not practised by the Tengalai sect. Similarly there are about 18 differences in practical applications amongst the adherents of the two sects and these differences are codified in the *Aṣṭādaśā-bhedanirṇaya* of Raṅganātha Sūri (last century).

Among the eighteen differences between the two schisms of Śrīvaiṣṇavism, three on the side of practice of religious duties and one on the metaphysical plane are more important. The former three are popularly known as—*muccār—sāṇiccār sadaccār* and *uppuccār*. That is, the Tengalai sect shall not take Pañcagavya (a combination of five products of cow to purify oneself), bath in the sea and bath in the river Gaṅgā—whereas all the three are prescribed for Vaḍagalais. The latter one—on the metaphysical side—is the role of Jīva towards Īśvara in the aspect of Mokṣa. The Vaḍagalais understand the importance of volition on the part of Jīva whereas the Teṅgalais make it the sole responsibility of Īśvara. This attitude has resulted in the *Markaṭa-kiśora-nyāya* and *Mārjāra-kiśora-nyāya*.

With the acceptance of temple-cult as part of Śrīvaiṣṇavism, the 'Arcā' aspect of Viṣṇu (idol-worship) in His five-fold manifestation (Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmi and Arcā) forms the theme of some texts. In works like *Arcādarpaṇa*, *Arcādījyā-prabhāva*, and *Arcākhaṇḍana* of unknown authorship and *Arcāvatāra-prāmāṇya* of Vīrarāghava Sūri (last century), the importance of idol-worship, spiritual presence in the consecrated idols and authenticity of the concept of the Arcā-form of Viṣṇu are discussed.

The diurnal span of time is divided into five parts and are set apart for five activities, *abhigamana*, *upādāna*, *ijyā*, *svādhyāya* and *yoga*, i.e. getting up early in the morning and attending to the routine course of action as enjoined by the Dharmaśāstras till 8–00 A.M. Then the period upto 12-00 noon is known as upādāna. In this period the house-holder is enjoined to acquire the necessary things for preparing the food etc. for the day. The subsequent period of time till 2-00 P. M. is ijyā during which he shall perform the pūjā to Viṣṇu in any form according to his acceptance, family-practice etc. (Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsimha, Kṛṣṇa and other forms) and partake in the company of guests, if any, family-members and other relatives or incomers, the *prasāda* that has been already offered unto God. The interval from this time to the bed-time is called svādhyāya, when one engages oneself in the pursuit of teaching the disciples or studying himself the Itihāsas, Purāṇas or attending to wordly avocations for monetary stability. In the night before he retires, he is enjoined to meditate on God, review the activities of the day and get the pardon of the Lord for acts that might displease

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Him. Thus the day is patterned for the S'rīvaiṣṇavas and such a course is known as *pañcakāla-kriyā* and the adherents are termed "Pañcakālaparāyaṇas". Works like *Pañcakālakriyādīpa* of S'atakratu Śrīnivāsācārya of early 19th century, *Pañcakālānuṣṭhāna-krama* of unknown authorship and *Paramavaidikasiddhāntatattva-ratnākara* of Śrīnivāsa Śiṣya of the middle of the 19th century, deal with this pattern of life of a S'rīvaiṣṇava.

The life of a Srīvaiṣṇava is not perfect or complete if he does not perform the act of surrendering unto the Lord, known as *śaraṇāgati* or *prapatti*. Theoretically it falls under three heads-directly appealing to God realising one's nothingness by oneself (svaniṣṭhā), approach to God with the assistance of an Ācārya who shall intercede on behalf of the person by chanting the appropriate petitions like *Śaraṇāgati-gadya* of Rāmānuja etc. which the ardent person too shall repeat (*Ukti-niṣṭhā*) and Ācārya himself appealing to the Lord on behalf of the person who is unable even to follow and repeat the mantras (*Ācāryaniṣṭhā*). But in practice the first viz., *svaniṣṭhā* is never practised as that smacks of arrogance or complacency of oneself being competent to approach God directly neglecting the *puruṣakāra*-principle. So the middle course-*uktiniṣṭhā* is practised even by the most learned and considered as *śiṣṭās*. For others the *ācārya-niṣṭhā* is the most recommended but none worth the name of a Śrīvaiṣṇava of any caste and sex shall ignore to perform this most important act of one's life. So much so this item of practice has become a rich source material for many a work in the field. *Bharanyāsakrama* of Ṣaṣṭha Parāṅkuśa of Ahobila Maṭha, *Nyāsarīti* of Raṅganāthayati, *Nyāsavidyāpariṣkṛti* of Śrīnivāsadāsa, *Nyāsavidyāvijaya* of S'rīnivāsa, all of 16th century, and *Prapatti-niṣṭha* and *Prapattīparisīlana*, both anonymous, are a few of the works on this subject.

The individual who has performed *prapatti* is known as *prapanna* and he has to conduct himself in a disciplined way and the treatises indicating the guide-lines for him are *Prapannakartavya-vidhi*, *Prapannagati-dīpikā* of unknown authorship, *Prapanna-dharmasāra* of Vaikuṇṭhanātha, *Prapanna-vijaya* of Ācci Raṅgācārya, *Prapanna-viṣaya* of Rāmānujamuni and *Prapanna-satkarmacandrikā* of Rāmānuja-yogin-all assignable to the period from 1750 to 1850.

Independent and original treatises were also produced on the mode of life and activity which a Srīvaiṣṇava should adopt. *Śiṣṭa-bhūṣaṇa* of Elayavalli Rāmānuja of early 19th century, *Śiṣṭācāra-pramāṇa* of Singarārya, *Śuddhayājilakṣaṇa* and *Śuddhayājisañcikā* (an anthology) may be mentioned in this field.

Śeṣatva-śeśitvalakṣaṇopanyāsa is more to educate a person to possess greater faith and devotion towards Viṣṇu who is Śeṣin by revealing the *sevya-sevaka-bhāva* between Īśvara| and Jīva, than to illustrate the philosophical doctrine.

Śrīvaiṣṇava-lakṣaṇa of S'rīkṛṣṇa Tātārya, *Śrīvaiṣṇava-sadācāranirṇaya* of Raghunātha yati and *Śrīvaiṣṇavācāra-saṅgraha* of Rāmānuja—all perhaps of the last decade of 19th and early 20th century, deal with the functions and qualifications of a typical S'rīvaiṣṇava. These are semi-*Āhnika* works.

Following the pattern of *Saccaritra-rakṣā* of Vedāntadeśika (13th century), *Saccaritra-paritrāṇa* of Vīrarāghava of the last century may be mentioned. Other works of similar contents are *Satkarma-candrikā* of Rāmānuja-yogin, *Satsampradāyanirūpaṇa*, *Sadānuṣṭhānadarpaṇa*, *Saddarśanasudarśana*, *Sampradāya-candrikā*, *Sampradāyavicāra*, *Siddhānta-candrikā* of the Śrīnivāsadāsa and *Sucaritacaṣaka* of Rāghavārya, all of the last century.

S'rīvaiṣṇavism had thus produced a rich literature in Sanskrit on the practice of religious conduct and routine of the followers of Viśiṣṭādvaita.

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CONTRIBUTION OF TAMIL NADU TO SANSKRIT—ALAMKARA, SANGITA AND NATYA SASTRAS

DR. S. S. JANAKI, MADRAS

The contribution of Tamil Nadu to Sanskrit *Alaṁkāra Śāstra* begins as early as the seventh century with Daṇḍin of Kāñcī. Daṇḍin is one of the earliest *Ālaṁkārikas* and an important pre-Dhvani writer. His *Kāvyādarśa* in about 660 verses, written in chaste and smooth diction, is a well-known work. Here Daṇḍin has analysed, with the help of his own beautiful illustrations the different formal aspects of poetry. *Alaṁkāras* of *Śabda* and *Artha*, no doubt, receive a full treatment at his hands. The clearly formulated scheme of poetics in the *Kāvyādarśa* gained its popularity throughout India and even outside. Nearly twenty, five ancient and modern writers have commented on it (*New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. IV. pp. 107–10). Of these commentators is a Ceylonese Ratnaśrījñāna, patronised by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Tunga. Also large chunks from *Kāvyādarśa* have been incorporated in the Sinhalese work 'Siya-bas-lakara' (*Svīyabhāṣālaṁkāra*) of King Silameghasena (*c.* 830–51). A Tibetan version of the work with Mongolian commentaries is also known (*New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. IV. pp. 167–8). Nearer home, the Kannada *Kavirājamārga* of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nṛpatuṅga (9th cent. A. D.) bears its strong impress. In Tamil Nadu itself a *Daṇḍi-alaṁkāra* was written. Its popularity in eastern India is attested by its quotations in the philosophical works of Vācaspati Miśra (Introd. to Darbhanga ed. p. 17). Bhoja has great regard for Daṇḍin, refers to him as 'mahākāvyopaniṣad-ācārya' and has incorporated almost the entire *Kāvyādarśa* in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (Dr. V. Raghavan's *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* 1963 ed. pp. 284–5 678–9).

Following Bhoja and full of information on all the major and minor forms of drama (*Rūpakas* and *Uparūpakas*) is the important work *Bhāvaprakāśa*(*na*) of Śāradātanaya (*GOS*. XLV. 1930). The author says that he wrote in the place called *Merūttara* (I. 1. 12), which, as the editor of the work suggests, may refer to the

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historically well-known agrahāra of *Uttara-merūr* in Kāñcī–region, (*GOS*. Intro. p. 12).

In the post-Dhvani period the versatile and prolific Appayya Dīkṣita (17th cent.) of Aḍayapalam contributed substantially to Alaṁkāra. His *Vṛttivārttika* is an exposition of the three *Śabda-śaktis-Abhidhā*, *Lakṣaṇā* and *Vyañjanā*; the available text (N. S. Press and Kasi S.S.) consist of only two sections on *Abhidhā* and *Lakṣaṇā*. His *Lakṣaṇaratnāvalī* (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras. Vol. IV. pp. 242-4) on the technical terms in dramaturgy is also fragmentary. His *Kuvalayānanda* on *Arthālaṁkāras* in *K*(*ārikā* and *Vṛtti*, is fortunately complete and has been printed often. To the hundred *alaṁkāras* of Jayadeva's *Candrāloka* chap. 5) Appayya has added fifteen more in this work, and has illustrated them all with verses from well-known *Kāvyas* and *alaṁkāra*–works as also some from his own *Varadarājastava*. The *Kuvalayānanda* became a very popular work in the field. Appayya's depth of all-round knowledge and critical insight are evident in his discussions on figures like Utprekṣā, Nidarśanā, Samāsokti, Kāvyaliṅga and Lalita.

The *Citramīmāmsā* of Appayya in *Kārikā* and elaborate *Vṛtti* is a still more scholarly performance. The available printed portion covers twelve *alaṁkāras*,–Upamā, Upameyopamā, Ananvaya, Smaraṇa, Rūpaka, Pariṇāma, Sasandeha, Bhrāntimat, Ullekha, Apahnuti, Utprekṣā and Atiśayokti. The discussion on Upamā is most detailed and takes up the major portion of the text; and that on Atiśayokti is incomplete. In Appayya's own words, the unfinished *Citramīmāṃsā* is as enjoyable as the incomplete the moon worn by Śiva, *ardhendur iva dhūrjaṭeḥ*).

In the detailed *Vṛtti* in the *Citramimāṃsā* Appayya critically discusses the viewpoints of his predecessors, like Daṇḍin, Ruyyaka Vidyādhara, Bhoja, Vidyānātha and Vidyācakravarttin. Appayya was strongly criticised by Jagannātha Paṇḍita, who bore an animus to him, in his *Citramimāṃsā-khaṇḍana*. The latter necessitated the *Citra-mīmāṃsā-doṣadhikkāra*, a defence of Appayya against the unjustified criticism of Jagannātha, by Atirātrayajvan, a grandson like

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1. Darbhanga, 1957.

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Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, of Āccān Dīkṣita, the brother of Appayya Dīkṣita himself.

Besides Atirātrayajvan, there were other descendants[1] of Appayya, whose contribution to *alaṁkāra śāstra* is noteworthy. Appayya Dīkṣita II, second son of Āccān Dīkṣita, a brother of the famous Appayya, is known from reference to have written the *Alaṁkāratilaka*. Another Āccān Dīkṣita, a descendant of Appayya I and resident of Gopālasamudra in Tirunelveli district, wrote a whole series of verses, the *Anyoktimālā* in two *Āśvāsas* and 183 verses (*Bulletin of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library*, Madras, Vol. V. 1952. pp. 1–37) using the figure Anyokti or Aprastutapraśaṃsā.

In the post-Appayya period manuals and digests with eulogistic verses on the respective patrons of the authors were written. Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, son of Ratnakheṭa S'rīnivāsa Dīkṣita and a younger contemporary of Appayya, wrote the manual *Kāvyadarpaṇa* (Part I, *ullāsas* 1–6, Vani Vilas Press, S'rīraṅgam, 1926–27), on the model of *Kāvyaprakāśa* and another, *Alaṁkāracūḍāmaṇi* (referred to in his own *Kāvyadarpaṇa*). A Bhāṣyakārācārya, descendant of Varadaguru and resident of Bhūtapurī or Śrīperumbudūr, wrote the *Śāhityakallolinī* (Madras ms.), copiously taking verses from standard texts like the *Kāvyādarśa*, *Kāvyaprakāśa* and *Rasārṇavasudhākara*. Sudhīndrayogin, a Mādhva teacher, wrote the *Alaṁkāranikaṣa* (ms. at Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras) with illustrative verses on a Sudhīndra and the *Alaṁkāramañjarī* with his own commentary *Madhudhārā* (in ms.) with examples in praise of his teacher Vijayīndra. Aruṇagirikavi, son of S'eṣādri and pupil of Veṅkaṭādri, praised his patron Godavarman, ruler of Vaḍakkumkūr in Kerala (*c.* 1550–1650 A.D.), through the illustrative verses in the *Godavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa* (Ptd. *J. of Travancore University Oriental Mss. Library*, Vol. I.) dealing with *arthālaṅkāras*. Both Yajñanārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣita eulogised their patron-king Raghunātha Naik of Tanjore (1614–33 A.D.) in their respective works *Alaṁkāraratnākara* (Tanjore ms.) and *Raghunāthabhūpālīya* (Tanjore ms.). The *Guṇaratnākara* (Tanjore ms.) of Narasimha on one hundred *alaṁkāras* sang the glories of the patron-king Sāhaji of Tanjore. So also did Kāśī Lakṣmaṇa Kavi in his *Śāharājīya* (Tanjore ms.). In 1895 A.D. Kṛṣṇasudhī of Uttaramerūr in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam (Kāñcī), son of Śivarāma, wrote the *Kāvyakalānidhi* (in ms.) in ten *Kusumas* with illustrations in praise of King Ravivarman of Kolattunāḍ in Kerala (*N. C. C.* Vol. IV p. 84). Kacchapeśvara Dīkṣita of Brahmadeśa in North Arcot district, son of Vāsudevayajvan, composed the *Rāmacandrayaśobhūṣaṇa* (in ms.) in three *paricchedas*, eulogising Bommarāja, Zamindar of Kārveṭnagar in North Arcot (*N. C. C.* Vol. III p. 118).

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[1] Dr. V. Raghavan, ' Appayya Dīkṣitas II and III, *Proceedings of All-India Oriental Conference*, Tirupati, Vol. X. 1940, pp. 176–80,

Three different works with the same title *Śabdabhedanirūpaṇa* (Tanjore mss.) by three court-poets of the above-mentioned Śāhaji, Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, Rāmabhadra's student Nārāyaṇa and Venkaṭakṛṣṇa deal with the *Śabdaśaktis*.

In the field of commentarial literature we had Taruṇavācaspati, teacher of the Hoysala King Vīra Rāmanātha, who was in charge of the Tamil area of the Hoysala empire and who ascended the throne in 1255 A. D. (Dr. V. Raghavan, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, XIII. pp. 293 ff.). Taruṇavācaspati commented on the *Kāvyādarśa* (Ptd. Madras and Trivadi) and his son Keśavabhaṭṭāraka too wrote the commentary *Tātparyanirūpaṇa* (in ms.) on the same *Kāvyādarśa*.

Vidyācakravarttin III, son of Vāsudeva, and patronised by the Hoysala King Ballāla III (1291–1342 A.D.), whose jurisdiction extended to Koṅgu, Kāñcī and other parts of Tamil Nadu, occupies a noteworthy place with his commentaries on the two standard works, the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and the *Alaṁkāra-sarvasva*. On the *Kāvyaprakāśa* he wrote the brief *Laghuṭīkā*, known through references, and the *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* or *Sampradāyaprakāśinī* (T.S.S. 88 and 100). He wrote the *Sañjīvanī* (Delhi, 1965) on the *Alaṁkāra-sarvasva* and also gave its metrical resume in *Kārikās*, the *Niṣkṛṣṭārtha Kārikās*. Important writers in the field of *Alaṁkāra* like Mallinātha, Kumārasvāmin and Appayya, have referred to Vidyācakravarttin's opinions authoritatively.

Of the authors from Tamil Nad who have commented on the *Kuvalayānanda* we have Gaṅgādhara Adhvarin, originally a native of Tiruvālaṅgāḍu in Chingleput district and whose ancestors had some connection with Appayya. On the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Vedāntācārya of Kāñcī wrote the *Prakāśottejinī* or *Sarvaṭīkābhañjinī*, whose tenth section is called 'Ravirājayaśobhūṣaṇa' since the illustrations given there are all in praise of King Ravivarman of Cochin (*N.C.C*. Vol. IV. p. 101).

Sumatīndra, a Madhva pontiff of Rāghavendra Math and honoured in Tanjore by Śāhaji (1684–1711) wrote the commentary *Madhūdhārā* (in ms.) on the *Alaṁkāra-mañjarī* of Sudhīndra, another Madhva teacher.

In the present century Śvetāraṇyam Nārāyaṇa Yajvan wrote along with a commentary, the *Vṛttālaṁkāraratnāvalī* (Madras, 1931), a long hymn on Rāma illustrating metres and figures and a similar hymn on Śiva, with gloss and illustrative of figures of speech, the *Śivārthālaṁkārastava* (Madras, 1897) (See Dr. V. Raghavan, 'Sanskrit writings in the first half of the present century,' *Journal af the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*Letters*), Calcutta, IX. ii. 1968. p. 221).

A survey of the Sanskrit Saṅgīta Literature from Bharata up to the present times, printed and in manuscript, has been given by Dr. V. Raghavan in his 'Early Sangīta Literature' (*Journal of Music Academy*, Madras, III, 1932. pp. 11-32, 94–102; reproduced in *Sangeet Natak Akademi Bulletin*, New Delhi. No. 5. 1956–57, pp. 19–28; No. 6. pp. 23-30), and 'Later Sangita Literature' (*Journal of Music Academy*, IV. 1933. pp. 16-24, 50–84; revised and enlarged version in *Sangeet Natak Akademi Bulletin*, New Delhi. No. 17. 1960, pp. 1–24; No. 18. 1961. pp. 1–18). The important Saṅgīta-writers from Tamil Nadu are mentioned below from the above account.

In the period immediately following the standard treatise of *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Śrī Vidyācakravarttin mentioned above, is known from his own references, to have written the *Bharatasaṁgraha* on music and dance. It is gathered from references that a certain Gopāla Nāyaka was a composer of songs and was also proficient in the different modes of singing. Haripāladeva (1309–12 A.D.) says

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in his *Saṅgītasudhākara* that he gave a practical demonstration of music and dance at Śrīrangam.

In the post-Vijayanagara period the Nāyaka and Mahratha rulers of Tanjore, in the 17th century and later, were chiefly responsible for the patronage and authorship of works in the field of *Saṅgīta* and *Nāṭya*. The earliest of these, Govinda Dīkṣita, minister of Cevvappa, Acyuta and Raghunātha Nāyakas, wrote the *Saṅgītasudhā(–nidhi)* (Music Academy, Madras, 1940) in seven chapters. The hitherto available mss. of the work contain only chaps. 1–4 on *Svara*, *Rāga*, *Prakīrṇaka* and *Prabandha*. The remaining chapters on *Tāla*, *Vādya* and *Nartana* are yet to be found.

Raghunātha Nāyaka to whom the *Saṅgītasudhā* has been attributed, was himself a scholar in *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya*. He is known to be the innovator of *rāgas*, and *tālas* and also to have devised a *Mela* and Veena with his name.

Govinda Dīkṣita's son Veṅkatamakhin, considered as the systematiser of Carnatic music and author of the 72 Melakarta-scheme, wrote the *Caturdaṇḍīprakāśikā* (Music Academy, Madras 1934), at the instance of Raghunātha's successor Vijayarāghava. In the twelve chapters of the work the author has given an exposition of 'Caturdaṇḍī' i.e. *Gīta*, *Prabandha*, *Ṭhāya* and *Ālāpa*. As available now the end of the 11th chapter, *Tālas*, are lost. Veṅkaṭamakhin has written the work with authority and self-assertion and also criticised rather strongly Rāmāmātya of the 16th century, a contemporary and brother-in-law of Rāmarāja of Vijayanagar and author of *Svaramelakalānidhi*.

Of the Mahratta rulers of Tanjore who succeeded the Telugu kings Tulaja or Tukkoji (1729–35 A.D.) wrote the *Saṅgītasārāmṛta* (Music Academy, Madras, 1942). Dr. V. Raghavan has critically analysed the thirteen mss. of this work available in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, discovered its valuable dance–chapter and presented it in his detailed Introduction to the Music Academy edn. of the text. The *Sārāmṛta* is in fourteen *Prakaraṇas*, of which the tenth on *Rāga* and the twelfth on *Prabandha* are incomplete in all the mss. Besides this musical treatise Tulaja has also composed songs, Padas (in ms.) in Sanskrit, Marathi and Telugu and also a *Yakṣagāna* in Sanskrit and Telugu, the *Śivakāsamundarīpariṇaya* (Tanjore, 1971).

With the *Caturdaṇḍī*° and *Saṅgītasārāmṛta* writing of authoritative musical treatises correlating the *lakṣaṇa* and *lakṣya* aspects of Carnatic music comes to a standstill. The works written in the subsequent period were generally of the nature of compendia, manuals or tracts. Of such works by Tamilians we have Govinda's *Saṅgrahacūḍāmaṇi* or *Saṅgītaśāstrasāṁkṣepa* (Adyar, 1938), Śrīmuṣṇam Appalācārya's *Saṅgītasaṁgrahacintāmaṇi* (in ms.) and the anonymous *Melādhikāralakṣaṇa* (ms. in Tanjore). The *Saṅgrahacūḍāmaṇi* Tanjore of the 18th century or perhaps still later, is important in as much as it records the system of Carnatic music prevalent now. The *Melādhikāralakṣaṇa*, a comparatively recent production, continues the topic of the *melarāgas* after Veṅkaṭamakhin and multiplies the (Janaka) Rāgas on the basis of 24 *śrutis*. Appalācārya, a native of the village Śrīmuṣṇam near Cidambaram, wrote the *Saṅgītasaṅgrahacintāmaṇi* on dance in Sanskrit and Tamil and only a part of the work has come down to us.

CONTRIBUTION OF TAMILNADU TO SANSKRIT—VEDAS, ŚĀSTRAS, KĀVYA Etc.

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

SEE APPENDIX

MODERN SANSKRIT WRITERS OF DELHI

DR. SATYA VRAT

Professor of Sanskrit, University of Delhi

Sanskrit studies are being pursued with interest in different parts of India. So are they in Delhi whose contribution to the new Sanskrit literature in quality as well as quantity can well excite the admiration of every lover of literature. It covers a wide range of subjects and compares very favourably with the modern Sanskrit literature produced in other States. It may however, be pointed out here that Delhi cannot claim a distinct tradition of Sanskrit studies as many other States in India can. It has been a meeting place of scholars from different regions of the country whose profession brought them here and who made it their home and enriched its social and cultural life. In this respect it has an edge over other States and cities. The Sanskrit literature produced in Delhi is the work of people of different linguistic and social groups with different kinds of background.

One of the ablest of the Sanskritists of Delhi is Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Chajju Ram Sastri Vidyāsāgara. His contribution to the different branches of Sanskrit literature is notable. One of the earliest of his works was a Sanskrit *kāvya* in five cantos, *Sultānacaritam*[1] on the life-history of King Mahīpāla, son of Mahendrapāla of Chtttor who was otherwise known as 'Suratāna' or Sultan. The work has been long out of print. Pandit Vidyāsāgara also wrote a play *Durgābhyudaya*[2] in seven Acts. It has for its theme the Purāṇic story of the encounter of Goddess Durgā with demon Mahiṣa and his destruction at Her hands. A reputed logician, Navyanaiyāyika, Pandit Vidyāsāgara never allows the jargon of Navyanyāya to overpower him. His play is singularly free from any show of pedantry and recondite expressions and fully justifies his claim in the prologue :

> karkaśe tarkaviṣaye komale kāvyavastuni |
> samaṁ līlāyate yasya Chajjūrāmasya bhāratī ||

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[1] Published by the author, Dehra Dun. Saṁvat 1967.

[2] Sumer Bros., Delhi, Second Edition, Saṁvat 2021.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Pandit Vidyāsāgara has also written the play *Chajjūrāmāyaṇa* which has for its theme the whole of the Rāma-story. It has seven Acts; it has not yet been published. Among his other publications mention may be made of *Kurukṣetramāhātmya*[1], *Karmakāṇḍapaddhati*[2] and *Sāhityabindu*[3], the last being a contribution to Alaṅkāra Śāstra. It has won Pandit Vidyāsāgara well-deserved recognition. In this the author's unique contribution lies in his selection of examples of the entire Doṣaprakaraṇa from the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrī Harṣa. This intellectual exploit he has indulged in, in justification of the theory that the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* is the most defective as well as the most meritorious of the Kāvyas:

> Kāvyasya guṇadoṣāṇām ākaraḥ kathyate budhaiḥ ||
> Naiṣadhaṁ tatra te 'smābhiḥ pradarśyante yathāmati ||[4]

Pandit Vidyāsāgara's attempt is quite interesting and it is for this alone, if not for anything else, that the *Sāhityabindu* deserves serious notice. Pandit Vidyāsāgara has also written Sanskrit commentaries on some of the old texts like *Mūlacandrikā* on the *Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvali*[5], *Saralā* on the *Nyāyadarśana*[6], *Sārabodhinī* on the *Vedāntasāra*[7], *Parīkṣā* on the first two Āhnikas of the *Mahābhāṣya*[8], *Sārabodhinī* on the five Adhyāyas of the *Nirukta*[9], *Sādhanā* on the *Laghusiddhāntakaumudi*[10] and *Parīkṣā* or *Vidyāsāgarī* on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*[11]. Pandit Vidyāsāgara has also written a history of Sanskrit literature in Sanskrit verse called the *Vibudharatnāvali*, which seeks to refute many a well-known theory of Western scholars. The latest of Pandit Vidyāsāgara's works is the Mahākāvya, *Paraśurāmadigvijaya* which deals wlth

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1. Published by the author, Delhi, Saṁvat 2017.
2. „ „ „ 2024.
3. Meharchand Lacchmandas, Delhi, 1961.
4. *Sāhityabindu*, p. 90.
5. Published by the author, Varanasi, Saṁvat 1981.
6. „ „ Delhi, Saṁvat 1990.
7. „ „ Varanasi, Saṁvat 1988.
8. Meharchand Lacchmandas, Delhi, Saṁvat 1999.
9. Meharchand Lacchmandas, Delhi, 1962,

10, 11. Unpublished,

Funding by IKS-MoE

Paraśurāma, the sixth among the ten incarnations of the Lord. A very good astrologer, Pandit Vidyāsāgara has also written a valuable treatise, *Pratyakṣajyautiṣam* which still awaits publication.

Pandit Vidyāsāgara has been a source of inspiration to his pupils too, one of whom, Sri Om Prakash Sastri, son of a well-to-do Delhi businessman, has only recently come out with a collection of his poems under the title *Bhāvalaharī*[1]. The poems are couched in elegant expression and give a delicate portrayal of human sentiments.

The next important name in the field of Sanskrit letters in Delhi is that of Pandit Charudeva Sastri, who has the honour of being the first critical editor of the *Vākyapadīya*[2]. Sri Sastri is a prolific writer. His Sanskrit has a classical ring about it. He handles it with ease and facility. One of his earliest works is *Śrīgāndhicarita*[3] which describes the life-events of Gandhiji upto the Salt Satyagraha. Sri Sastri is a grammarian of all-India reputation. His work, the *Śabdāpaśabdaviveka*[4], (the discrimination between correct and incorrect words) is a remarkable contribution to the critical analysis of the Sanskrit language. In this work of about 300 pages he mentions some 500 sentences as are grammatically justifiable but are not sustainable idiomatically. Among his other works mention may be made of *Prastāvataraṅgiṇī*[5], a collection of Sanskrit essays written in chaste classical style, *Anuvādakalā* or *Vāgvyavahārādarśa*[6] a book on translation with 36 pages of introduction dealing with some of the most important and controversial topics of Sanskrit usage and *Vākyamuktāvalī*[7], a collection of choice sentences of Sanskrit. Sri Sastri has a little over a score of research papers in Sanskrit to his credit. Only recently he has brought out the Hindi translation with exhaustive notes on the Navāhnika portion of the *Mahābhāṣya* of

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1. Published by the author, Delhi, Saṁvat 2020.
2 Ram Lal Kapoor Trust Society, Lahore, Saṁvat 1991.
3. Published by the author, Lahore, Saṁvat 1987.
4. Bharatiya Sanskrit Bhawan, Jullundur City, Saṁvat 2011.
5. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1950.
6. Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, Second Edition, 1956.
7. Bharatiya Sanskrit Bhawan, Jullundur City, Saṁvat 2013.

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Patañjali[1]. Some of his other works lying in ms. are the *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya* and *Upasargārthacandrikā*.

Pandit Prabhudatta Sastri, one of the oldest Sanskritists of Delhi, has written quite a few works in Sanskrit, all of which with the exception of one, are small in size but are nevertheless full of patriotic sentiment. The bigger one is *Samskṛtavāgvijaya*[2], a play in five acts "which depicts the past greatness and the present sorry plight of Sanskrit language." The play is peculiar in this that in it Hindi is employed in place of Prakrit. Pandit Prabhudatta Sastri is a well-known figure in the Kavi-sammelanas of Delhi.

Pandit Dina Nath Sastri Sārasvata has scored a remarkable record by the hundreds of articles that he has published in Sanskrit journals over the years. The total number of pages covered by his articles stands at the staggering figure of 10,000. Sri Sārasvata is now busy bringing out his own Hindi rendering of his *magnum opus* in Sanskrit, the *Sanātanadharmāloka*.

Śāstrārthamahārathī Pandit Mādhavācārya is another well-known name in the field of letters in Delhi. He has so far written four Sanskrit works, the fourth one, *Kathāśataka* being still under print. This work deals with 103 characters of ancient India on whom not much has been written so far in Sanskrit. Among the other works of the Śāstrārthamahārathī are: (*Ṭoḍay-smṛti*)[3] a satire on the West-influenced Indian society with a good sprinkling of English expressions, *Kabīracarita*[4] on the life and teachings of the well-known saint Kabir and *Paratattvadigdarśana*[5], a discussion on the point as to who among the gods represents or represent the Supreme Essence (Paratattva). According to the author it is the One Being who is Real, all the gods represent that very One Being (Ekatattva). Hence there is no contradiction if each one of them is said to be the Supreme Being (Paratattva) in older texts.

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[1] He had already brought out Hindi translation and comments on the first two Āhnikas in Saṁvat 2019.

[2] Published by the author, Delhi, 1942.

[3] Madhava Pustakalaya, Dharma Dhama, Delhi, Second Edition, Saṁvat, 2007.

[4] Madhava Pustakalaya, Dharma Dhama, Delhi, Saṁvat 2009

[5] Madhava Pustakalaya, Dharma Dhama, Delhi, Saṁvat 2020

Funding by IKS-MoE

To the octogenarian Pandit Mukund Sarma goes the credit of giving us two compendia of materials from lexicons, their *ṭīkās* as also commentaries on Sanskrit *kāvyas* and technical terms in vogue in the science of Astrology under the title *Mukundakośa*[1] (only the Lingānuśāsanavarga is printed so far) and *Jyotiṣakośa*[2] respectively.

The late Pandit Chudamani Sastri Shandilya, has written a big volume on the history of Dharmaśāstra divided into eighteen sections out of which four have so far seen the light of the day. Pandit Shandilya has also written a short kāvya *Pañcavaṭīya*[3]. Out of its two cantos only the first has been published so far.

Pandit Kedar Nath Sharma who retired from the Archaeological Survey of India quite some time back has written an account of Mahenjo Daro and Harappa civilizations in excellent Sanskrit. Excerpts from his work have appeared from time to time in the *Saṁskṛta Ratnākara* of Delhi.

Businessman by profession, Pandit Gurudayalu Sharma takes to writing in Sanskrit as a hobby. He is at his best in humorous writings. His humour is very often pungent and incisive. He has written quite a few parodies and humorous skits, a collection of which has recently been brought out by him under the title *Kāvyāmṛtadhārā.*

Sri A. R. Ratnaparakhi, an employee of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat, has brought out two interesting Sanskrit works : one, a collection of dialogues, *Saṁvādamālā*[4], and the other, a novel, *Kusumalakṣmi*[5], both of which have won him well-deserved recognition. He writes easy Sanskrit prose and mixes English and vernacular expressions.

Pandit Indra Vidyāvācaspati, the noted critic, author and journalist, has written a volume on the history of India under the title *Bhārataitihyam* which is being published serially in the *Gurukula Patrikā* of Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar. It is a complete

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1. Published by the author, Delhi, 1962.
2. ,, ,, Delhi, 1967.
3. ,, in the collection *Saṁskṛtasudhā*, Atma Ram & Sons, Delhi, 1957.
4. Published by the author, Delhi, 1959.
5. ,, ,, Delhi, 1961.

Funding by IKS-MoE

history of India in simple and easy Sanskrit verse from the beginnings to the late developments.

The University of Delhi has also contributed its share to the growth of Sanskrit literature. Apart from a dozen theses in Sanskrit so far submitted to the University for the Ph.D. degree, a couple of its teachers have written quite a few original and creative works in Sanskrit.

Dr. N. N. Choudhuri, Retired Professor of Sanskrit of this University published his D.Litt. thesis in Sanskrit under the title *Kāvyatattvasamikṣā*[1]. It is written in chaste classical Sanskrit Dr. R. V. Joshi, formerly of the Delhi University, and now in Jodhpur, published in 1964 his father's *Kalpalatā* with his own gloss *Rasikabodhinī*.

The present writer has written two Sanskrit Kāvyas, *Śrībodhisattvacarita*[2] and *Śrīgurugovindasiṁhacarita*[3], the former, a Mahākāvya in 1000 verses in different metres, besides a number of smaller poems published in Sanskrit periodicals over the years, the most notable among them being the *Bṛhattaram Bhāratam*[4] on Greater India and *Ṣaḍṛtuvarṇana* on six seasons. He has also published a farce *Napuṁsakaliṅgasya mokṣaprāptiḥ*[5].

Prof. M. R. Bhat of the Hindu College is a prolific writer of Sanskrit. He has quite a large number of Sanskrit works to his credit including the Mahākāvya *Śivānandavilāsa*[6] in eleven cantos on the life and teachings of His Holiness Swami Śivānanda of Rishikesh. Earlier he had sung His praise in 68 verses titled *Gurusaparyā*[7] written after the manner of the Stotrakāvyas of old. It was the devotee in him which again impelled him to write *Rāmakṛṣṇasahasranāma*[8] in 186 verses (6+5+168+7) after the manner of the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*. A pupil of a great Sanskritist of

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1. Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1959.
2. Published by the author, Delhi, 1960.
3. Guru Govind Singh Foundation, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1967.
4. *Sārasvatī Suṣamā*, Varanasi, Vol. XII. No. 1 Saṁvat 2014.
5. *Bhāratī*, Jaipur, Vol. VII, No. 6, Saṁvat 2014.
6. The Yoga-Vedanta Forest Academy, Divine Life Society. Rishikesh, 1962.
7. Published by the author, 1950.
8. „ „ author, 1950.

the South, Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastri, Prof. Bhat wields a facile pen. His writings are characterized by chasteness and elegance and are reminiscent of classical Sanskrit poems. In 1950 Prof. Bhat published from Bangalore a poem *Svātantryajyotiḥ: Ballad of the Indian Republic*[1] on the attainment of Independence, the Indian constitution and the two great leaders of the freedom movement, Nehru and Patel. In 1957 Prof. Bhat sang the glory of the National Flag in eight verses (Aṣṭaka) published in the *Saṁskṛta Rātnākara*. In 1953 he brought out from Bangalore a collection entitled *Arjunaḥ*[2] in 76 pages of easy Sanskrit prose of three essays on Arjuna (pp. 1-47), Śrīkṛṣṇa Caitanya (pp. 48-57), Upaniṣads, *Upaniṣanmahimā* (pp. 58-69) and a story from the *Bṛhatkathā* entitled *Rājasiṁhaḥ* (pp. 70-76). On his return from East Africa where he had gone in mid-fifties Prof. Bhat published serially in the *Saṁskṛta Bhavitavyam* of Nagpur, Sanskrit versions of three African stories under the title *Āfrīkakathāḥ*. In his *Amṛtavāṇī* which he started from Bangalore Prof. Bhat published a number of his writings, such as the song *Śrīrāmagīta*[3] (11 verses) modelled after the *Gopikāgīta*, the prayer *Śrī Rāmasamprārthanā*[4] (15 verses) and a prose critique *Viśvajanīnā Gitā*[5] (pp. 1-26). Quite a few other writings of Prof. Bhat have either been published in other journals or are lying unpublished. One of his published works is *Śri-Rāmadāsagītā*[6] with a translation in English, which, in its 700 verses divided into 14 Adhyāyas, expounds the philosophy of His Holiness Svami Rāmadāsa of Ānandāśrama, Kanhangad. The latest of Prof Bhat's works is *Kāñcīkāmakoṭijagadgurupīṭhamahimastotra*, an eulogy written in honour of His Holiness Svāmi Candraśekharendra Sarasvatī in 125 verses. It will appear shortly in the Souvenir Volume to be brought out by the disciples of His Holiness in honour of the Diamond Jubilee of his ascending the Pīṭha.

Dr. Krishna Lal of the P.G.D.A.V. College has been writing poems and articles which have been serially published in

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[1] Published by the author, 1950.
[2] ,, ,, author, 1950.
[3] ,, in the *Amṛtavāṇī*, Bangalore, 1954.
[4] ,, ,, ,, 1953.
[5] ,, ,, ,, 1954.
[6] ,, by Ānandāśrama, Kanhangad, 1964.

Sanskrit periodicals. He has also brought out a collection of his poems under the title *Śiñjārava*[1] which is marked by raciness and vivacity. He wields a facile pen. Among Sanskrit prose writers of the teachers of the Sanskrit Department of the University of Delhi may be mentioned Dr. B.M. Chaturvedi, author of a large biography of Madan Mohan Malavīya (*Mahāmanaś-carita*), Dr. Dayanand Bhargava of Ramjas College, S. M. Sastri, Dr. Ravi Shankar Nagar of K. M. College, Dr. Ram Gopal Mishra, Dr. Ravi of P. G. D. A. V. College and Dr. R. M. Sharma who have been contributing frequently to Sanskrit periodicals. Sri S. B. Yogi of the St. Stephens College is an *Āśu Kavi.* His compositions marked by a mixed expression provide much recreation to Delhi audiences. He and his colleague in the same College, Harsh Kumar have however been keeping many of their poems unpublished.

The Lal Bahadur Shastri Central Sanskrit Institute is also contributing a good deal to modern Sanskrit literature in Delhi. Its project of publishing Statewise accounts of work done in the Sanskrit field during the past century is monumental. Out of the many volumes planned the first on Jammu and Kashmir is published already, while those on Rajasthan and Andhra are in the press. Work on other volumes is also progressing satisfactorily. Among the other publications of the Institute are *Vaidikavijñāna*, *Purāṇapārijāta*, *Prameyapārijāta*, all by Mahāmahopādhyāya Giridhara Sarma Chaturvedi, *Saṁskṛtiparicaya* by Mahāmahopādhyāya Parameshwaranand Shastri and *Cālukyarāja Ayyaravaṁśa-carita kāvya* translated by Vishwanath Shastri Bharadwaj. Among works in the press are *Kāśmīretihāsaḥ*, Volume III in the series of the lectures delivered during the Śāradīyajñānamahotsava and *Gītikādambari*, a collection of some 26,000 verses written by Pandit Amir Chandra Shastri over the years.

Pandit Parmananda Pandey's *Jayorjapraśastiḥ Dillidigdārśanam ca* is an eulogy of King George V as also a Delhi guide. It is profusely illustrated and describes in chaste and mellifluous Sanskrit the large number of places of historical and cultural interest in Delhi.

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1. Vasudeva Prakashan, Delhi, Saṁvat, 2022.
2. Published by the author, Delhi, 1935.

Funding by IKS-MoE

CONTRIBUTION OF VARANASI TO SANSKRIT

संस्कृतश्रीसंवर्धने वाराणस्या अंशदानस्य दिग्दर्शनम्

PT. BADARI NATH SUKLA,
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वाराणसी किल संस्कृतविद्यानां चिरन्तनं सर्वमूर्धन्यं केन्द्रम् । पुराऽस्याः प्रत्येकं भवनं मठं वा मन्दिरं वा गृहस्थानां गृहं वा पाठशालाप्रायं प्रतिवीथि प्रतिगृहं च संस्कृतशास्त्राणां विचारचर्चयाऽनवरतं मुखरितं च भवति स्म । समग्रो नगरभागो गीर्वाणवाण्या अनवद्यैर्निनादैरवद्योतते स्म । इत्थमियं विद्यापुरी वाराणसी देशस्य समस्तप्रदेशानां छात्रैरध्यापकैः, साधकैः, काशीवासार्थमागतैः सद्गृहस्थैः, साधुभिः, सन्यासिभिः, कलाविद्भिः व्यापारिभिश्चोपनीतानां भाषावेषादीनां, भजनपूजनादीनां, गीतवाद्यादीनां विविधानां जीवनप्रणालीनां च समन्वयसामंजस्ययोरपूर्वा स्थलीव प्रतिभासमाना सम्पूर्णस्य भारतस्य प्रातिनिध्यं दधाना केनाप्यपूर्वेणैव गौरवेण समुद्द्योतते ।

तत्र संस्कृतशास्त्राणामध्यापनं वाराणस्यां बहुधा प्रवर्त्तते, मठेषु, विद्यालयेषु, विदुषां गृहेषु च । अत्राधुनाऽपि बहवो मठाः प्रायः प्रतिवीथि बहवः संस्कृतविद्यालयाश्चेदृशा विद्यन्ते, यत्र च्छात्रवृत्तीनां पुस्तकावासभोजनादीनां च सौलभ्यसंपादनपूर्वकं छात्रेभ्यो विभिन्नानां शास्त्राणां शिक्षणं दीयते । विद्वांसोऽप्येतादृशा अद्याप्यनेके सन्ति, ये निजगृहेषु निश्शुल्कं रात्रिन्दिवं विद्यार्थिनिवहानध्यापयन्ति । संस्कृतशिक्षायाः सम्बन्धे वाराणस्या अभिनिवेशस्य परम्परायाश्चानुरोधादेव नवीनविद्यानामध्ययनाध्यापनार्थप्रतिष्ठापितेनापि काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयेन काशीविद्यापीठेन च संस्कृताध्यापनप्रबन्धः प्रसभं सम्पाद्यते । वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य तु स्थापनैव प्रादेशिकशासनेनानया भावनयैव कृता, येन वाराणस्याश्चिरन्तनं संस्कृतशिक्षाकेन्द्रत्वमुत्तरकालेऽप्यक्षुण्णमनुवर्त्तेत ।

संस्कृतग्रन्थानां मुद्रणप्रकाशनयोर्विषयेऽपि वाराणस्याः प्रयासः प्रशंसनीयोऽस्ति । भूतपूर्वस्य काशिकराजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवन-

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ग्रन्थमालाः, चौखम्भासंस्कृतग्रन्थप्रकाशनकार्यालयेन संचालितानां विविधग्रन्थमालानां, गोयनकासंचालिताया अच्युतग्रन्थमालायाः, वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य प्रकाशनविभागेन प्रवर्त्यमानयोः डा. गंगानाथ झा-डा. सम्पूर्णानन्दग्रन्थमालयोः, मोतीलालबनारसीदासपुस्तकप्रकाशनविभागस्य, मास्टरखेलाड़ीलालपुस्तकप्रकाशनविभागस्य, श्रीरघुनन्दनप्रसादशुक्लपुस्तकालयस्य किशोरप्रकाशनस्य, भारतधर्ममहामण्डलप्रकाशनविभागस्य, जैनज्ञानपीठस्य, काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयीयनयपालग्रन्थमालायाः, वैयक्तिकप्रकाशनसंस्थानानां च संस्कृतग्रन्थप्रकाशनकार्यं समुल्लेख्यमस्ति। एभिः संस्थानैः संस्कृतवाङ्मयस्य भाण्डागाराभिवृद्धये मुद्रणप्रकाशनाभ्यां यत्स्तुत्यं कार्यकारि तत्साहित्यिकेतिहासस्य गौरवपूर्णमङ्गत्वमासाद्य विद्योतते ।

नूतनानां संस्कृतग्रन्थानां प्रणयनेऽपि वाराणस्याः प्रवृत्तिः प्रशंसास्पदमस्ति। संस्कृतशिक्षायाः प्रधानतायुगे वाराणसीमधिवसद्भिर्विद्वद्भिर्विभिन्नेषु शास्त्रेषु बहूनां व्याख्याग्रन्थानां मूलग्रन्थानां च प्रणयनं यत्क्रियते स्म, तत्तु युगानुरूपतया स्वाभाविकमेवावर्त्तत, परं संस्कृतशिक्षाया ह्रासयुगेऽपि सन्निहितातीतशताब्दीषु विशेषेण एकोनविंशे विंशे च ख्रिष्टाब्दे यदत्र तेषु तेषु शास्त्रेषु नूतनग्रन्थानां प्रणयनं निरवर्त्तत, तदपि नूनमुल्लेखनीयमस्ति। अनयोः ख्रिष्टाब्दयोः काश्यां संस्कृतवाङ्मयस्य प्रायः सर्वासु शाखासु यथा वेदे, व्याकरणे (पाणिनीयेऽपाणिनीये च), निरुक्ते, प्रातिशाख्ये, कल्पे, छन्दसि, मीमांसायां, वेदान्ते, पुराणे, इतिहासे, ज्योतिषे (सिद्धान्ते गणिते फलिते च), शिक्षायां, न्याये, वैशेषिके, सांख्ये, योगे, तन्त्रे, धर्मशास्त्रे, कर्मकाण्डे, वैष्णवशास्त्रेषु, साहित्ये (काव्येऽलंकारे च), कोशे, आयुर्वेदे च बहूनां नवीनग्रन्थानां व्याख्यात्मकानां मौलिकानां च रचनाऽभूत् ।

संस्कृतपत्रिकाणां प्रकाशनेनापि वाराणस्यां संस्कृतस्य श्लाघनीयं संवर्धनं कृतम्। एकोनविंशे विंशे च ख्रिष्टाब्दे याः संस्कृतपत्रिकाः प्रकाशमागतास्तासु काशिकराजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयेन पूर्वं परिचालिता पण्डितापरनामिका काशीविद्यासुधानिधिनाम्नी पत्रिका, अमरभारती च पत्रिका, सारस्वती-

सुषमा, सुप्रभातम्, संस्कृतरत्नाकरः, ज्योतिष्मती, सूर्योदयः, पुराणं च विशेषेण स्मरणीयाः सन्ति। आसु पत्रिकासु समकालिकानां विदुषां विभिन्नेषु विषयेषु गवेषणापूर्णा लेखाः, कविताः, प्राचीनाः सूक्तयः, अप्रकाशिता लघुकाया ग्रन्थाश्च प्रकाशन्ते स्म। आसु सारस्वतीसुषमा, सूर्योदयः, पुराणं चाद्यापि प्रकाशन्ते। सारस्वतीसुषमा वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य त्रैमासिकी अनुसन्धानपत्रिकाऽस्ति। सूर्योदयो भारतधर्ममहामण्डलस्य मासिकं मुख्यपत्रं, पुराणं च काशिराजन्यासस्यार्धवार्षिकी पत्रिकास्ति। 'गाण्डीवं' संस्कृतसाप्ताहिकं पत्रं पण्डितवर्येण श्रीरामबालकशास्त्रिणा परिचाल्यते, यत्र शास्त्रीया लेखाः, नवीनाः कविताः, सामयिकाः समाचाराः, राजनीतिका विचाराश्च प्रकाशन्ते। इमानि चत्वारि संस्कृतपत्राणि साम्प्रतं प्रशंसनीयां संस्कृतसेवां वितन्वन्ति।

संस्कृतग्रन्थानां संस्कृतशास्त्रीयज्ञानानां च साधारणीकरणमपि संस्कृतवाङ्मयमहिम्न उपचायकमत एतद्दिश्यपि वाराणस्याः प्रयत्नः श्लाघ्यो विद्यते। कार्यमिदं संस्कृतग्रन्थानां भाषान्तरैरनुवादेन शास्त्रीयविषयानाश्रित्य भाषान्तरैः स्वतन्त्रग्रन्थप्रणयनेन च द्विधा सम्पाद्यते। अनया दिशा संस्कृतगवीमाराधमानेषु बुधजनेषु म. म. डा. गंगानाथ झा, म. म. पण्डित-गोपीनाथ कविराज, पण्डित-बलदेवोपाध्याय, पण्डित-श्रीसीतारामचतुर्वेदिप्रभृतीनां नामानि मुख्यानि सन्ति। प्राचीनपरिपाट्याः यैः पण्डितैरस्मिन् क्षेत्रे कार्यं कृतं तेषु म. म. पण्डितहरिहरकृपालुद्विवेदि, म. म. पण्डितगिरिधरशर्मचतुर्वेदि, पण्डित-श्रीचण्डीप्रसादशुक्लसदृशानां महापण्डितानां नामानि नूनं स्मरणीयानि।

संस्कृतग्रन्थालयानां प्रतिष्ठापनेनापि वाराणस्या संस्कृतवाण्या वर्णनातीता परिचर्या व्यधायि। वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवनपुस्तकालयो नवीनग्रन्थालयश्च विशेषेण समुल्लेख्यौ, यत्र विभिन्नविषयाणां विभिन्नासु लिपिषु लक्षाधिका हस्तलिखितग्रन्था मुद्रितग्रन्थाश्च संगृहीताः सन्ति। एतद्व्यतिरिक्ताः काशीहिन्दूविद्यालये, काशीविद्यापीठे, गोयनका - संस्कृतमहाविद्यालये, पार्श्वनाथविद्याश्रमे च महाकायाः संस्कृतपुस्तकालयाः सन्ति। वेदविषये स्वर्गीयश्रीविद्याधरगौडस्य श्रीभगवत्प्रसादमिश्रस्य श्री रामनाथसारस्वतस्य

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च गृहगताः ग्रन्थालयाः, आयुर्वेदविषये स्वर्गीयत्र्यम्बकशास्त्रिणः स्वर्गीयसत्यनारायणशास्त्रिणश्च गृहगता ग्रन्थालयाः, जैनदर्शनविषये पार्श्वनाथविद्याश्रमस्य, जैनज्ञानपीठस्य, स्याद्वादमहाविद्यालयस्य च ग्रन्थालया उल्लेख्याः सन्ति । पण्डित - श्रीक्षेत्रेशचन्द्रचट्टोपाध्यायस्य स्वीये ग्रँन्थालये संस्कृतस्य विभिन्नाङ्गसम्बद्धानां सुदुर्लभानां ग्रन्थानां समीचीनः संग्रहोऽस्ति ।

शास्त्रार्थविचारस्तु वाराणस्यास्तदप्रतिमद्वितीयं च साधनं यद्द्वारा संस्कृतस्य विभिन्नेषु शास्त्रेषु निरन्तरं नवनवानां विचाराणां समुन्मेषः सम्पद्यते । नामकरणमुण्डनोपयनपाणिग्रहणश्राद्धादीनां, मठमन्दिरादिप्रतिष्ठापनाद्युत्सवानां, मण्डलेश्वरमठाधीशादिपदारोहणादीनां, विशिष्टानां विदुषां, वरिष्ठानामधिकारिणां जगद्गुरुशङ्कराचार्यप्रभृतिमहापुरुषाणां चाभिनन्दनादीनां च प्रसंगेषु, तीर्थयात्रासन्दर्भे विभिन्नप्रदेशेभ्यः समागतैः धनिकजनैः चिकीर्षिताया विद्वत्सम्माननाया अवसरेषु च समायोजितासु पण्डितसभासु, महाविद्यालयानां वार्षिकोत्सवेषु, रामघट्टस्थसाङ्गवेदविद्यालयस्य सुप्रसिद्धे गणेशोत्सवे, प्रतिश्रावणं प्रतिभौमं दुर्गाकुण्डे, नागपञ्चम्यां नागकूपे, वसन्तपञ्चम्यां विभिन्नेषु सरस्वतीपूजनोत्सवेषु च समवेते विद्वत्समवाये विदुषां शास्त्रार्थविचाराः प्रवर्त्तन्ते, यत्र पण्डितप्रकाण्डानां प्रतिभाया अपूर्वश्चमत्कारो नवनवानां कल्पनानामाविष्कारश्च संस्कृतज्ञानशेवधेः संवर्धने सुमहद् योगदानं विधत्तः ।

तदित्थं संस्कृतविद्यानामभ्युदयाय विस्ताराय प्रचाराय च वाराणस्या बहुमुखः प्रयासो विद्यावतां मोदाय हिताय च प्रवर्तमानो दिग्दर्शनात्मनैव किंचिदिह सङ्ग्रहेण निर्दिष्टः ॥

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संस्कृतवाङ्मयस्य संवृद्धौ उत्तरप्रदेशस्य योगदानम्

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य उत्तरप्रदेशो भगवतो रामकृष्णयोरजयोरपि जन्मभूमिः, यं प्रदेशं भगवच्चरणाम्बुजमाध्वी भगवती भागीरथी, कृष्णप्रिया यमुना, रामप्रिया सरयू च स्वीयैः पूतजलप्रवाहैर्नित्यं नितरां सिञ्चन्ति, यस्य प्रदेशस्य सर्वातिशायिमाहात्म्यं भगवतः श्रीरामचन्द्रस्य प्राणेभ्योऽपि गरीयसी अयोध्या, भगवतः श्रीकृष्णस्य प्राणप्रिया मथुरा, भगवतो विश्वनाथस्य प्रियतमा त्रिलोकपावनी वाराणसी चादियुगेभ्यः प्रख्यापयन्त्यो विराजन्ते, यस्य चोत्तरसीमानं देवतात्मा हिमालयो जागरूकप्रहरीव नित्यं पाति, तस्य बहुविधं गौरवं महत्त्वं च साकल्येन वर्णयितुं वाणी कस्य प्रभवेत् को वा तदर्थं दुस्साहसमनुतिष्ठेत्। एतस्येदृशस्य बहुविधस्य माहात्म्यस्य प्रधानेषु हेतुष्वयमप्येको यदस्य सुमहान् योगो वर्तते सर्वभूतहिताय सर्वजनसुखाय महर्षिभिश्चिरान्निरन्तरं कृतप्रसारायाः भव्यायाः भारतीयसंस्कृतेराधारभूतायाः संस्कृतभाषायास्तद्वाङ्मयस्य च श्रियः संवर्धने। तदत्रत्यानां सुरभारतीसमवाप्तवराणां संस्कृतसुधियां यशोऽमृतं पायं पायं भवत्येव मानसे कापि अमन्दानन्दसन्दोहवृष्टिः। यथावसरमेतेषामेव विदुषां संस्कृतस्य संरक्षणे प्रसारे प्रचारे च योगदानस्यांशदानस्य वा दिग्दर्शनमात्रं प्रयोजनमत्रोपस्थापितस्य संक्षिप्तस्यास्य विवरणस्य।

विषयारम्भात् प्रागेवावधेयमेतत् सुधीभिर्यत् संस्कृतवाङ्मये कृतस्य योगस्य विचारावसरे कवीनामाचार्याणां च जन्मकार्यक्षेत्रयोरन्यत्वेऽनेकत्वे वा जन्मक्षेत्रमुपेक्ष्य कार्यक्षेत्रमेवापेक्षणीयमनुसरणीयं च, तस्यैवात्र महत्त्वात्। यथा बाणभट्टस्य जन्म बिहारप्रदेशे सञ्जातं, किन्तु तेन सकलवैदुषिकं साहित्यिकं वा कार्यं स्वकीयाश्रयदातुः कान्यकुब्जाधिपतेः हर्षस्य सान्निध्ये कृतमिति तेनैव कृताद् वर्णनाद् ज्ञायते। स्वजनुषा बिहारप्रदेशमलङ्कुर्वाणोऽपि बाणो वैदुषिककार्यैः स्वकीयैरुत्तरप्रदेशभूमिमेवालञ्चकार। तस्मात् संस्कृतवाङ्मयस्य

संवर्धने उन्नयने च तेन कृतो योगः उत्तरप्रदेशस्यैव गणयितव्यः । अयमेव पन्थाः अत्राश्रितः कविवरस्य बाणभट्टस्य एवं चान्येषामपि कविवराणां ग्रन्थकाराणाम् आचार्याणां च विषये ।

साम्प्रतं विषयप्रस्तावावसरे सर्वप्रथमं सर्वप्राक्तनं लोके छन्दसां नूतनावतारकर्तारं कविवरं तमसातीरवासिनं भगवन्तं वाल्मीकिं नौमि येन भुवनपतेर् अयोध्याधिपतेः भगवतो रामचन्द्रस्य विमलं चरितमाश्रित्य रामायणं नाम किमपि अनिर्वचनीयमाहात्म्यम् आदिकाव्यं विरचय्य लोके स्वस्य महती कीर्तिर्विस्तारिता स्वजन्मभूमेरुत्तरप्रदेशस्य स्वदेशस्य भारतस्य च महतोऽपि महीयान् महिमा संवर्धितः । “सदूषणापि निर्दोषा सखरापि सुकोमला । नमस्तस्मै कृता येन रम्या रामायणी कथा” इति भट्टत्रिविक्रमेण स्वकीये नलचम्पूकाव्ये साधु समनुष्ठितं गुणकीर्तनमादिकवेर्वाल्मीकेर्महात्मनः । अस्यैव समकालिको रघुकुलगुरुर्भगवान् वसिष्ठोऽप्यत्रावश्यमेव स्मरणीयो यन्नाम्ना ख्यातिं गतं योगवासिष्ठं वसिष्ठस्मृतिश्चेति ग्रन्थरत्नद्वयमुपलभ्यतेऽद्यापि । नैको वसिष्ठो, नैको व्यासः, नैकः शंकर इति सर्वेषामपि विदुषां विदितचरं यद्यपि, तथापि निश्चप्रचमेतद् यदादिवसिष्ठनाम्ना प्रचलिते कुले जातस्य यस्य कस्याप्येकस्य, जातानां वानेकेषां प्राप्तवसिष्ठनाम्नां महापुरुषाणामेव ज्ञानं मतं चोक्तग्रन्थरत्नद्वये प्रतिपादितं वर्तते, एतच्च महते गौरवायास्मदीयानामुत्तरप्रदेशीयानां भारतीयानां च । ऋग्वेदसंहितायाः सम्पूर्णमेव सप्तमं मण्डलं वसिष्ठकुले जातानाम् ऋषीणां प्रसूतिरित्यहो महाभाग्यमुत्तरप्रदेशीयानाम् ।

भगवतो याज्ञवल्क्यस्य समकालिकम् ऋषिं भरद्वाजं प्रयागे गङ्गायमुनयोः संगमे कृताश्रमं को नैव वेत्ति विद्वान् । स्वकीयज्ञानराशिना प्रवचनेनाध्यापनेन च कियानुपकारः कृतो दिग्भ्यो विदिग्भ्यश्चागतानां जिज्ञासुजनानां प्राचीने भारते इत्याकलयितुं कः स्ववाण्या दुस्साहसं समाचरेत् । केनापि भरद्वाजेन कृतं विमानशास्त्रमेकमुपलब्धं साम्प्रतम्, यस्य ब्रह्ममुनिपरिव्राजकैः पर्वतीयैः कृता संस्कृत-टीका केन्द्रीयशासनेन पुरस्कृता वर्तते । अयं भरद्वाजः प्रयागे कृताश्रम एव भरद्वाज उताहो अन्यः कोऽपीति निर्णेतुं न शक्यतेऽत्र साक्ष्याभावात् ।

विषयविस्तारभिया ततोऽर्वाचीनकाले जातानां कवीनाम् आचार्याणां च काव्यकृतयः शास्त्रकृतयश्चानुकीर्त्यन्ते संक्षेपेणैव। ख्रिस्तीयपूर्वद्वितीयशताब्द्यां जातो लोकविश्रुतो महाभाष्यकारः पतञ्जलिरात्मानं गोनर्दीयत्वेन प्रख्यापयति स्वकीयकृतौ। गोनर्दश्चाधुनिकोत्तरप्रदेशीयो गोंडानामको जनपद एवेति केषाञ्चिद्विदुषां मतम्। यद्येतत् सत्यं तर्हि महत् सौभाग्यमेतदुत्तरप्रदेशस्य। तदनु ख्रिस्तीयप्रथमशताब्द्यां लब्धजनिः कनिष्कसमकालिकोऽश्वघोषः आत्मानं साकेतकं घोषयति स्वकृतौ। तेन प्रणीतं बुद्धचरितं, सौन्दरनन्दं चेति कमनीयं महाकाव्यद्वयं शारिपुत्रप्रकरणं चेति रूपकमद्यापि सहृदयानां हृदयान्यावर्जयति स्वभाषावैशद्येन भावमाधुर्येण विचारगाम्भीर्येण च। ख्रिस्तीयतृतीयशताब्द्यामाविर्भूतो मैत्रेयनाथोऽपि साकेतनिवासी आसीत्। स एव बौद्धदर्शनस्य विज्ञानवादप्रस्थानस्य स्थापको मन्यते। तस्याभिसमयालंकारकारिका - मध्यान्तविभाग - बोधिसत्त्वभूमिकाख्यास्तिस्रः कृतयो बौद्धधर्मदर्शनयोर्महार्घाः सम्पदः। ख्रिस्तीयचतुर्थशताब्द्यां जातोऽसंगनामकः बौद्धदार्शनिकः विज्ञानवादस्याप्रतिम आचार्यः कस्यापि पुरुषपुर(आधुनिकपेशावर) - राजपुरोधसो ज्येष्ठपुत्रोऽयोध्यां चिरं सिषेवे मैत्रेयनाथस्य शिष्यत्वेन। स्वकीयकृतिभिर्विज्ञानवादं सुदृढभित्तौ स्थापितवानयं विलक्षणो विचक्षणः। ख्रिस्तीयपञ्चमशताब्द्यां लब्धजनिर्वसुबन्धुर्नाम विश्रुतो बौद्धदार्शनिकः सांख्यं प्रत्याख्यातुं स्वकीयां परमार्थसप्ततिं विरचितवान्।

ख्रिस्तीय - षष्ठशताब्द्या अन्तिमे पादे स्वजन्मना भारतभुवमलंकुर्वाणः श्रीहर्षदेवः कान्यकुब्जाधिपतिः कवीन्द्रकदम्बकरम्भितोऽपि सन् स्वयमपि विख्यातरूपककर्तासीत्। ख्रिस्तीय - सप्तमशताब्द्याः पूर्वार्धे अनेनैव नाटिकाद्वयं रत्नावली प्रियदर्शिकेति नाम कृतम्। एकं नाटकमपि नागानन्दाभिधं विहितम्। केचन विद्वांसः काव्यप्रकाशीयां सुपरिचितां पंक्ति[१]मेकामनुसरन्तः एतासां कृतीनां हर्षकृतित्वं सन्दिहानाः धावककृतित्वं यद्यपि स्थापयन्ति तथाप्येताः कृतयः पूर्वप्रतिपादितसिद्धान्तानुसारेण उत्तरप्रदेशरचितत्वात्तस्यैव महते गौरवाय। एतस्यैव राजकवित्वेन प्रभूतप्रथमधिगतः उच्छिष्टाखिलजगद्रञ्जिताशेषसुधीजनो गद्यकाननसञ्चरणचतुरपञ्चाननो बाणभट्टः। कमनीया कादम्बरी कथा हर्षचरि-

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[१] काव्यप्रकाश - प्रथमोल्लासः-श्रीहर्षादेर्धावकादीनामिव धनम्।

Funding by IKS-MoE

ताख्याऽऽख्यायिका च प्रणीते अनेनैव । चण्डीशतकं स्तुतिकाव्यमप्यस्यैवेति धीमन्तः प्रायेण प्राहुः ।

तदनु ख्रिस्तीयसप्तमशताब्द्या उत्तरार्धे दक्षिणापथमलंकुर्वाणः कविकुलविभूतिर्भवभूतिरपि कल्हणकृतराजतरंगिणीप्रामाण्यबलेन कान्यकुब्जाधीशस्य यशोवर्मणो राजकविरासीत् । अनेन महाकविना महावीरचरितं मालतीमाधवमुत्तररामचरितं चेति रूपकत्रयं प्रणीतम् । 'स्पष्टभावरसा चित्रैः पदन्यासैः प्रवर्तिता । नाटकेषु नटस्त्रीव भारती भवभूतिना ॥' इति सुष्ठूक्तं धनपालेन स्वकीयतिलकमञ्जर्याम् । घनसन्दर्भे मयूरीव नृत्यन्ती भवभूतेः शिखरिणी क्षेमेन्द्रेण स्वकीये सुवृत्ततिलके निरर्गलतरङ्गिणीति स्तुता । अस्यैतदशेषवैशिष्ट्यमावहद् उत्तररामचरितं को नैव जानाति संस्कृतानुरागी, पठति वा न प्रेम्णा । स्वयं यशोवर्मापि कान्यकुब्जेश्वरः रामाभ्युदयस्य नाटकस्य रचयितेति विदन्ति विद्वज्जनाः । 'कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवितः । जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिबन्दिताम्' इति राजतरंगिणी(४।१४५)-लेखेनास्य कवित्वं निश्चप्रचम् ।

कविराजो राजशेखरः यद्यपि महाराष्ट्रभुवमलञ्चकार स्वजन्मना ख्रिस्तीयनवमशताब्द्या अन्तिमे पादे तथापि 'देवो यस्य महेन्द्रपालनृपतिः........' इति स्वकीयोक्त्या दशमशताब्द्यां सम्भूतस्य महेन्द्रपालस्य कान्यकुब्जाधिपस्य राजसभामुपेत्य तस्य गुरुः संवृत्तः । कान्यकुब्ज एव समग्रं साहित्यिकं जीवनं व्यतीतमनेन । तत्रैव निवसतानेन कर्पूरमञ्जरीति सट्टकं विद्धशालभञ्जिकेति नाटिका एवं च बालरामायणं बालभारतं चेति नाटकद्वयं विरचितम् । अस्यैव समकालिकः क्षेमीश्वरः कान्यकुब्जाधिपतेर्महीपालस्य राजकविः नलदमयन्तीकथापरं नैषधानन्दं सत्यव्रतहरिश्चन्द्रकथापरं चण्डकौशिकं च विरचितवान् ।

द्वादशशताब्द्यां कान्यकुब्जाधीशस्य विजयचन्द्रस्य जयचन्द्रस्य च राजकविर्बभूव गुणैकपक्षपातिनां सारासारविचारविचक्षणानां हर्षकरः श्रीहर्षः समवाप्तसरस्वतीप्रसादः कविकुलमणिः । अद्वैतवेदान्तीयं नैयायिकतर्कशैल्यामुपनिबद्धमस्य खण्डनखण्डखाद्यं कस्य विदुषश्चेतश्चमत्कृतं नो कुरुते । 'पूर्वदृष्टा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात् । सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः ॥'

Funding by IKS-MoE

इत्यानन्दवर्धनाचार्योक्तमौलिकतामानदण्डं चरितार्थयत् शृङ्गारामृतशीतगुस्वरूपं द्वाविंशतिसर्गपरिमितं नैषधीयचरितं नामास्य महाकाव्यं विदितचरमेव समेषां विदुषाम् काव्यमाधुरीमरन्दरसिकानाम्। अन्याश्चापि बह्व्यः कृतयोऽस्य विस्तरभिया नैवोल्लिख्यन्तेऽत्र। अस्यामेव शताब्द्यां कान्यकुब्जनरेशस्य गोविन्दचन्द्रस्य राजकविः कश्चित् शङ्खधरनामा लटकमेलकप्रहसनस्य रचयिता बभूव। अस्यामेव शताब्द्यां गुर्जरनरेशस्य राजकविः सुभटो नाम जालोन-जनपदे जातो दूताङ्गदं नाम रूपकविशेषं रचितवान् यदनेकशोऽभिनीतं राजधानीषु बूंदीकोटारीवा-अजमेरादिषु।

न केवलं कान्यकुब्जमण्डलमेव प्राप्तयशसां कवीनामाश्रय आसीत् प्रत्युत बुन्देलखण्डोऽपि। बुन्देभूमिर्न केवलं वीरप्रसूः प्रत्युत कविप्रसूरपि। काले काले बहून् महाकवीन् जनयामासेयम्। अस्यां भूमौ एकादशशताब्द्या उत्तरार्धे कीर्तिवर्मा नाम चन्देलनरेशः प्रादुर्बभूव। तस्य राजकविः कृष्णमिश्रो नाम प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयं नाम कामपि अभिनवां नाटकं रचयामास। इदं प्रतीकात्मकनाटकानां परम्परायां प्रामुख्यं भजते।

अस्यामेव कालिंजरनरेशस्य परमर्दिदेवस्य परमालेत्यपरनामधेयस्य तथा च तत्पुत्रस्य त्रैलोक्यवर्मदेवस्य महामात्यो वत्सराजः लब्धप्रतिष्ठः नाटककविर्जातः। अस्य समयः खिस्तीयद्वादशशताब्द्या उत्तरार्धः त्रयोदशस्य च पूर्वार्ध आसीत्। कर्पूरचरिताख्यो भाणः, हास्यचूडामणिनामकं प्रहसनम्, त्रिपुरदाहो नामा डिमः, किरातार्जुनीयनामा व्यायोगः, समुद्रमथननामा समवकारः, रुक्मिणीपरिणयाख्य ईहामृगश्चास्य ललिताः कृतयः।

उत्तरप्रदेशस्य पर्वतीयमण्डलमपि अनेकेषां लब्धप्रतिष्ठानां कवीनां जन्मभूमिरासीत्। अत्रैव षोडशशताब्द्यां गड्वालनरेशस्य राजकविः गोकुलनाथः अमृतोदयं मुदितमदालसा चेति नाटकद्वयं कृतवान्। अष्टादशशताब्द्या उत्तरार्धे लब्धजन्मनः पण्डितप्रवरस्य पाण्डेयकुलावतंसस्य विश्वेश्वरस्य कवेः कार्यस्थली प्रसिद्धः अल्मोडाजनपद आसीत्। लक्ष्मीधरसूनुरयं महानुभावः कविराचार्यश्चा-

प्यासीत् । अस्यैकोनविंशतिर्ग्रन्थाः । तत्र सर्वप्रसिद्धः अलंकारकौस्तुभः काव्यशास्त्रीयो ग्रन्थः । गोवर्धनाचार्यकृतार्यासप्तशतीसरण्यैव अनेनापि महाकविना अपरा आर्यासप्तशती विरचिता । लक्ष्मीविलासम् ऋतुवर्णनं रोमावलीशतकम् होलिकाशतकम् , वक्षोजशतकं चास्य खण्डकाव्यानि । नवमालिका रुक्मिणीपरिणयं च एतस्य नाटकद्वयं, मन्दारमञ्जरी चास्य गद्यकाव्यं कथाकोटिसमाविष्टं वर्तते । कवीन्द्रकर्णाभरणमस्य चित्रकाव्यम् । सिद्धान्तसुधानिधिरसचन्द्रिकाप्रभृतीनि चास्यान्यानि ग्रन्थरत्नानि । पर्वतमालाभिमण्डितेऽल्मोडाजनपद एव जातः ऊनविंशशताब्द्या उत्तरार्धे श्रीरमादत्तपन्तो लेखनीकृपाण-दीपशतक-अपरपञ्चरात्र-आख्यानि काव्यानि कृतवान् । गुमानीकविरिति उपनाम्ना प्रसिद्धः लोकरत्नपन्तोऽपरः पर्वतीयः कविः, येन गुमानशतकमुपदेशशतकं चेति काव्यद्वयं कृतम् । अन्येन पर्वतीयेन वटुकनाथशर्मणा सीतास्वयंवरनामकं ललितं महाकाव्यं प्रणीतम् ।

साकेतमण्डले बहवः कवयः आचार्याश्च मध्ययुगे आधुनिके चापि काले संजाताः । तेषु सर्वप्रसिद्धो रामचन्द्रोऽयोध्यानिवासी षोडशशताब्द्याः पूर्वार्धे जातः, एतच्च ‘अब्दे वियद्वारणबाणचन्द्रे (१५८०) श्रीरामचन्द्रेऽनु च तस्य टीकाम्’ इति तद्रसिकरञ्जनाख्यस्य काव्यस्य टीकाकारस्य लेखादनुमीयते । रोमावलीशतकं शृंगारवैराग्यशतकं सपञ्चविंशति चास्यान्ये काव्यकृती । अष्टादशशताब्दीकेनायोध्यावासिना कविनोमापतित्रिपाठिना सरयूस्तोत्रं विरचितम् । पण्डितप्रवरः श्रीनकच्छेदरामशास्त्री काशीस्थस्य सुप्रसिद्धविदुषः श्रीबालशास्त्रिणः शिष्यः महामहोपाध्यायस्य शिवकुमारशास्त्रिणः सहपाठी चासीत् । अस्य जन्म उत्तरप्रदेशस्य बस्तीजनपदे बभूव, तथापि अयोध्यास्थितवैदिकादर्शसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालये सुचिरं कार्यं कुर्वतानेन सनातनधर्मोद्धार इति महत्त्वपूर्णो ग्रन्थो विरचितः । अनेनैव कमपि नारायणाख्यं स्वकीयं पूर्वपुरुषमधिकृत्य नारायणमहाकाव्यं रचितम् । ऊनविंशशताब्दीकोऽयमाचार्यः । एतच्छिष्यो हरिदासनामा विद्वान् सनत्कुमारसंहिताव्याख्यारूपं रामस्तवराजभाष्यं रचितवान् । प्रायेणैतत्कालिकावेव चन्द्रभूषणशर्मा भागवताचार्यश्चेति विद्वांसौ स्वकृतिभिः साकेतं समलंचक्रतुः । चन्द्रभूषणशर्मणा स्वकीयो वेदान्तमार्तण्डमरीचिनामाद्वैतवेदान्तपरो ग्रन्थः प्रणीतः । ग्रन्थोऽयं लक्ष्मणपुरीतः १८६६ ख्रीस्ताब्दे प्रकाशितः ।

भागवताचार्येण रामानन्ददिग्विजय-भारतपारिजात-पारिजातापहार - पारिजातसौरभादयः काव्यग्रन्थाः वेदोपनिषद्गीतादिभाष्यग्रन्थाश्च प्रणीताः। काश्याः पण्डितसभया पण्डितराजोपाधिना समलंकृतोऽयमाचार्यः साम्प्रतं गुर्जरप्रदेशराजधान्यामहमदाबादनाम्न्यां निवसति। साकेतमण्डलान्तर्गतस्थ - फ़ैज़ाबादजनपदवास्तव्यो न्यायव्याकरणशास्त्रयोरद्भुतं पाण्डित्यमधिगतः पण्डितवरः सूर्यनारायणशुक्लो न्यायसिद्धान्तमुक्तावलीव्याख्यां मयूखनाम्नीं, वाक्यपदीयव्याख्यां चेति टीकाग्रन्थद्वयं, पाणिनिवादरत्नाख्यं च मौलिकमेकं ग्रन्थं प्रणिनाय।

गोरक्षनाथादिसिद्धमहापुरुषैः प्राचीनकालत एव पाविते गोरक्षपुरनाम्नि मण्डले जातानां संस्कृतमनीषिणामपि भूयसी संख्या वर्तते। अर्वाचीनकाले भट्टेन मथुरानाथेन गौविन्दवैभवं नाम श्रीकृष्णभक्तिपरकं काव्यमेकं विरचितम्। एतन्मण्डलस्थदेवरियाख्यजनपदवास्तव्यः काशीनाथद्विवेदी रुक्मिणीहरणाख्यम् अत्यन्तललितं महाकाव्यं प्रणीतवानस्या एव शताब्द्याः पूर्वार्धे। अत्रैव जातः उमापतिद्विवेदी पारिजातहरणाख्यस्य महाकाव्यस्य कर्ता। दिष्ट्येदानीमपि ध्रियतेऽयं महाकविः। अत्रैव जातेनोमाशङ्करशर्मणा छत्रपतिविजयाख्यं महाकाव्यमेकं प्रणीतम्। गोरक्षपुरस्थस्य गोरक्षनाथसंस्कृत-विद्यापीठस्य वर्तमानप्राचार्येण श्रीश्यामवर्णद्विवेदिमहोदयेन विशालभारतं नाम महाकाव्यं रचितम्। अस्यैव पूर्वभागो जवाहरदिग्विजयाख्यः प्रकाशितः। शिवाभ्युदयनामकं नाटकमपि प्रणीतमनेन किन्तु अप्रकाशितद्यावधि। व्युत्पत्तिविनोद इत्यपरा चापि कृतिरस्य विदुषः। गोरक्षपुरजनपदवास्तव्यः ‘राम’ इत्युपनाम्ना प्रथितेन श्रीरामनारायणदत्तशास्त्रिणा हरिवल्लभास्तोत्रं राधास्तुतिपरकमतिमधुरं विरचितम्। गोरक्षपुरनिकटस्थे आज़मगढ - जनपदे जातेन ‘श्रीश’ इत्युपनाम्ना विख्यातेनेशदत्तपाण्डेयेन प्रतापविजयं नाम खण्डकाव्यं प्रणीतम्।

वाराणसीमण्डलन्तार्गत-गाजीपुरजनपदे जातेन रामरूपपाठकेन शाकद्वीपिना चित्रकाव्यात्मकं काव्यमेकं प्रणीतम्। महामहोपाध्यायेन पण्डितप्रवरेण शिवकुमारमिश्रमहोदयेन भारतविश्रुतेन अयमेव जनपदः स्वजनुषा समलंकृतः। काश्यामधीतविद्येन तत्रैवाजीवनमध्यापनकार्यं वैशिष्ट्येन कृतम्। ऊनविंशशताब्द्याः

उत्तरार्धे विंशशताब्द्याश्च पूर्वार्धे विद्यमानेनानेन स्वनाम्ना धन्येन मनीषिणा लक्ष्मीश्वरप्रतापाख्यं महाकाव्यं यतीन्द्रजीवनचरिताख्यं च खण्डकाव्यं लिखिते। स्वकीयेन वैदुष्यपूर्णेनाध्यापनेन प्रभावोत्पादकेन संस्कृतभाषणेन च महान्तमुपकारं कृतवानयं कृती संस्कृतभाषायास्तद्वाङ्मयस्य च। अन्ये चापि कवयो विद्वांसः आचार्याश्चात्र बभूवुः, किन्तु विस्तरभिया तेषामुल्लेखाद् विरम्यते।

भगवतः श्रीकृष्णस्य लीलाभूमिर्मधुपुरी बहोः कालाद् अनेकान् विद्यावदातचेतसः सारासारविचारक्षमान् आचार्यान्, स्वकीयैः रसमयैः काव्यनिबन्धनैः सहृदयहृदयावर्जकान् महाकवींश्च जनयामास। अत्रैव निम्बार्कसम्प्रदायप्रवर्तकः निम्बार्काचार्यः एकादशशताब्द्यां वैक्रम्यां जातः। अनेन वेदान्तपारिजातसौरभं, वेदान्तकामधेनुः, रहस्यषोडशी, प्रपन्नकल्पवल्ली, गीताभाष्यं, प्रपत्तिचिन्तामणिः, सदाचारप्रकाश इत्यनेके सिद्धान्तप्रतिपादकाः ग्रन्थाः प्रणीताः। एतच्छिष्यः श्रीनिवासाचार्यः पारिजातसौरभभाष्यं, ख्यातिनिर्णयः, कठोपनिषद्भाष्यम्, एवम् अन्यांश्च अनेकान् ग्रन्थान् रचितवान् इति प्रथा, किन्तु नैते सर्वे ग्रन्था इदानीमुपलभ्यन्ते। वेदान्तकौस्तुभो नामास्य अक्षयकीर्त्तिस्तम्भभूतः निम्बार्कसिद्धान्तपरः परमप्रसिद्धो ग्रन्थः। इममेवाधिकृत्य कश्चित् शोधप्रबन्धः अस्मिन्नेव वर्षे दिल्लीविश्वविद्यालये पी. एच. डी. उपाधिना समलंकृतः। अन्येऽपि परश्शताः निम्बार्कसिद्धान्ताचार्या औदुम्बर - पुरुषोत्तम - सुन्दरभट्ट - सुदर्शनादयोऽत्र बभूवुः, अनेकांश्च ग्रन्थान् विरचयामासुः।

चैतन्यसम्प्रदायीया आचार्याः सनातनरूपजीवाख्याः गोस्वामिनः अत्रस्थे वृन्दावने साधनरताः स्वकीया अमरकृतीः कृतवन्तः। तत्र श्रीमद्भागवतस्य बृहद्वैष्णवतोषिणीत्याख्या व्याख्या सनातनगोस्वामिना विहिता। जीवगोस्वामिना क्रमादिषट्सन्दर्भा भागवतव्याख्यानसम्बद्धाः प्रणीताः। उज्ज्वलनीलमणि - भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धुसदृशानि ग्रन्थरत्नानि सिद्धान्तपराणि विरचयद्भिः एभिः गोस्वामिभिः कियानुपकारः कृतो जीवलोकस्य जिज्ञासुलोकस्य चेति को वक्तुं पारयेत्। अस्यैव चैतन्यसम्प्रदायस्य श्रीबलदेवविद्याभूषणः गोविन्दभाष्यादीनामनेकेषां ग्रन्थानां निर्माता। रामानुज - सम्प्रदायीया रङ्गदेशिकस्वामिनः ऊनविंशविक्रमशताब्द्या उत्तरार्धे तमिलनाडे लब्धजन्मानोऽपि काश्यां प्राप्तविद्याः समग्रं जीवनं

वृन्दावने गमितवन्तः । एभिः कृतानि अनेकानि ग्रन्थरत्नानि वर्तन्ते यथा श्रीवचनभूषणम्, प्रमेयशेखरम् , प्रपन्नपरित्राणम्, व्यामोहविद्रावणम् , अर्थपञ्चकम् , अर्चिरादिमार्गः, दुर्जनकरिपञ्चानन इति। अन्ये च पराङ्कुशाचार्य-रामप्रपन्नाचार्य - सुदर्शनाचार्यादय अनेकान् ग्रन्थान् विरचितवन्तः ऊनविंशविंशशताब्द्योः ।

वल्लभसम्प्रदायप्रवर्तकः महाप्रभुवल्लभाचार्य इमामेव वृन्दावनभूमिमलंचकार ख्रिस्तीयपञ्चदशशताब्द्या उत्तरपादे । अनेन कृतानि विदुषां विदितचराणि बहूनि ग्रन्थरत्नानि नात्र चर्चामपेक्षन्ते । अस्यैव सम्प्रदायस्यानुयायिना हितहरिवंशगोस्वामिना श्रीमद्राधासुधानिधिनामकं ग्रन्थरत्नं विरचितम् । यमुनाष्टकमप्येतस्यैव कृतिः । श्रीप्रबोधानन्दनामापर आचार्यः सङ्गीतमाधवं, हितहरिवंशाष्टकम्, निकुञ्जविलासस्तवश्चेति ग्रन्थान् विरचितवान् । अन्ये च बहवः वरचन्द्र - कृष्णचन्द्र - वृन्दावनदास - व्रजलाल - रङ्गीलाल - प्रियादासादय आचार्या अस्मिन् सम्प्रदाये दीक्षिता अस्य सम्प्रदायस्य भूयसीं श्रीसंवृद्धिं कृतवन्तः स्वकीयाभिरनेकाभिः कृतिभिः । तत्र गोस्वामिकृष्णचन्द्रेण कर्णानन्दः, आशास्तवः, बृहद्राधाभक्तिमञ्जूषा, राधानुनयविनोदकाव्यम् , अन्ये च बहवो ग्रन्थाः प्रणीताः । गोस्वामिव्रजलालः मनःप्रबोधस्य प्रेमचन्द्रोदयनाटकस्य च प्रणेता । गोस्वामी रङ्गीलालः लघुभक्तिहंस-राधाभक्तिहंस - राधाभक्तिलहरीणां कर्ता। प्रियादासेन भगवत्प्रकाशः, विलक्षणभक्तिमीमांसा, राधाकृष्णविवाहः, परकीयाभावखण्डनम् , राधाभक्तिमञ्जूषेति बहवः सिद्धान्तपरा अन्यविधाश्चोपादेयग्रन्थाः प्रणीताः । श्रीशङ्करदत्ताख्येन वल्लभसम्प्रदायाचार्येण अलंकारशङ्कराख्यः काव्यशास्त्रीयो ग्रन्थः, राधिकामुखवर्णनं महाकाव्यं, हरिवंशहंसं नाटकं च प्रणीतानि। एवमनेन विवरणेन सुस्पष्टं यद् व्रजभूमिः चिरकालादारभ्य अद्यावधि अनेकेषां विभिन्नसम्प्रदायानुयायिनामाचार्याणां कवीनां च साधनभूमिः ।

एभ्यः साम्प्रदायिकेभ्योऽन्यैरपि कैश्चित् महत्त्वपूर्णा रचनाः कृताः । तेषु मधुपुर्याः सामराजदीक्षितः षोडशशताब्द्युत्तरार्धे वर्तमानस्त्रिपुरसुन्दरीमानसस्तोत्र-पूजारत्न-अक्षरगुम्फ-आर्यात्रिशती - श्रृङ्गारामृतलहरीप्रभृतीन् ग्रन्थान् प्रणिनाय । तेष्वन्तिमो लक्षणपरको ग्रन्थः । सामराजपुत्रः कामराजदीक्षितः श्रृङ्गारकलिकात्रिशतीं काव्येन्दुप्रकाशं चेति ग्रन्थद्वयं ग्रथितवान् । कामराजपुत्रो व्रजराज-

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दीक्षितः सप्तदशशताब्द्याः पूर्वार्धे जातो रसिकरञ्जनं, वल्लभाख्यां नाटिकां, शृङ्गारशतकं, षडृतुवर्णनं च कृतीः कृतवान् । ख्रिस्तीये १७५८ वर्षे ब्रजनाथतैलङ्गेन वृन्दावनस्थेन मनोदूतं नामातिमनोरमं काव्यं निर्मितम् । अस्मिन् शत्रुभिर्निग्नीक्रियमाणा द्रौपदी स्वकीयं मनोदूतं कृत्वा भगवतः कृष्णस्य सन्निधौ प्रेषयति । आगराजनपदान्तर्गतवटेश्वरस्थेन रघुपतिशास्त्रिणा पद्मावतीपरिणयचम्पूः गोपीगीतं चेति काव्यद्वयं प्रणीतम् । विंशशताब्द्याः प्रथितो ग्रन्थकारो वृन्दावनस्थगुरुकुलस्योपकुलपतिर्भूतपूर्व आचार्यप्रवरो द्विजेन्द्रनाथशास्त्रिमहोदयः । उत्तरप्रदेशशासनेन पुरस्कृतः साहित्येतिहासविषयकः संस्कृतसाहित्यविमर्शाख्यो महोपादेयो ग्रन्थस्तेन विरचितः । अस्य पठनेन अध्ययनेन च युवानः कनीयांसश्च सरलां संस्कृतभाषां शिक्षितुं पारयन्ति । अस्यान्याः काव्यकृतयः कालिदासभारती, बाणभारती, भारतभारती, भारतीयसंस्कृतिश्च वर्तन्ते । स्वराज्यविजयाख्यं चास्य महत्त्वपूर्णं महाकाव्यम् । वृन्दावनगुरुकुलस्थेन अन्येन सिद्धविद्येन आचार्यविश्वेश्वरेण हिन्दीभाषया काव्यप्रकाश - ध्वन्यालोक - तर्कभाषादीनां प्राञ्जल - व्याख्या विरचिताः, सर्वाश्चैताः प्रकाशिता । एभिः व्याख्यानग्रन्थैः महानुपकारः जायते संस्कृतशास्त्रप्रविविक्षूणां विद्यार्थिनाम् अन्येषां च जिज्ञासूनाम् । संस्कृतभाषया निबद्धौ नीतिशास्त्रं, मनोविज्ञानमीमांसा चेति ग्रन्थावतीवोपादेयौ । एतावपि प्रकाशितौ वर्तेते । अस्याप्रकाशितः ग्रन्थः खगोलप्रकाशाख्यो वर्तते । मधुपुरीस्थेन शालग्रामशास्त्रिणालंकारकल्पद्रुमो, भारतीयकृषकः, सुरभारतीसन्देशः, आयुर्वेदमहत्त्वं चेतिग्रन्था निर्मिताः, अखिलानन्दशर्मणा च दयानन्ददिग्विजयाख्यं काव्यं कृतम् ।

एतत्परिसरे विद्यमानेष्वन्येष्वपि जनपदेषु अनेके आचार्याः कविवराश्च अजायन्त । तत्र अखिलानन्दशर्मपाठकः बदायूंजनपदीयः वर्तमानशताब्द्याः पूर्वार्धे भारतभूषणेत्यादिपदवीभिर्भूषितः संस्कृतभाषया हिन्दीभाषया च बहून् ग्रन्थान् विरचितवान् महान्तं चोपकारं विहितवान् संस्कृतजगतो हिन्दुधर्मस्य च । तत्र संस्कृतभाषया निबद्धासु कृतिषु सनातनधर्मविजयाख्यं महाकाव्यं सर्वथा विजयतेतराम् । शतपथब्राह्मणालोचनं, अथर्ववेदालोचनं, वेदत्रयीसमालोचनं, वेदभाष्यालोचनं, संस्कारविधिविमर्शः अन्ये च बहवो ग्रन्था अनेन प्रणीताः ।

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पिङ्गलच्छन्दःसूत्राणां काव्यालंकारसूत्राणां च भाष्यमनेन विरचितम्। सत्यार्थप्रकाशालोचनमप्यस्यैव कृतिः। सनाढ्यगौरवादर्शः, सनाढ्यविजयकाव्यं सनाढ्य-विजयपताका, सनाढ्यविजयचम्पूः, ब्राह्मणमहत्त्वादर्शश्चाप्यस्य जातीयमहत्त्वप्रतिपादनपरा ग्रन्थाः।

बुलन्दशहर-जनपदस्य खुर्जानिवासिना परमविदुषा आचार्यब्रह्मानन्दशुक्लमहोदयेन श्रीनेहरुचरितं नाम सुललितं अष्टादशसर्गात्मकं विरचितं महाकाव्यं, प्रकाशितं चेदम्। तेनैव कृतं श्रीगान्धिचरितं खण्डकाव्यमपि वर्तते। फरुखाबादजनपदान्तर्गततिरवास्थानवासिना श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणद्विवेदिना ऋतुविलसितं नाम काव्यं, स्वर्णेष्टकीयं नाम नाटकं, त्रिभाण्डघट्टकं नाम भाणः, प्रसिद्धं च पुरुसिकन्दरीयं संस्कृत-हिन्दीमिश्रितं काव्यं साधु विरचितानि। वागीश्वरीस्तवराजस्तर्करत्नावली आगमविश्वदर्शनं चेत्यन्यान्यस्य कृतयः। अस्यैव जनपदस्य कायमगंजनामके स्थाने अस्या एव शताब्द्याः पूर्वार्धे जातः श्रीहरिदत्तपालीवालः निर्भयापरनामा बहूनि ग्रन्थरत्नानि विरचितवान्। तेषु पद्यमोदतरङ्गिणीत्याख्या कृतिः प्रकाशिता वर्तते। हरदोईजनपदमण्डनायमानः महामहोपाध्यायः ऊनविंशशताब्द्याः पूर्वार्धे जातः मथुराप्रसाददीक्षितः प्रायेण विंशतिग्रन्थानां प्रणेता। अस्य वीरप्रतापं, पृथ्वीराजविजयं, गान्धिविजयं, भारतविजयम्, भक्तसुदर्शनं चेत्येतानि नाटकानि सुप्रसिद्धानि। एटाजनपदान्तर्गतसोरो(प्राचीनशूकरक्षेत्रस्याधुनिकं नाम)-स्थाने ऊनविंशशताब्द्या उत्तरार्धे जातो दशरथद्विवेदी व्याकरणसम्बद्धं कातन्त्रचन्द्रिका-श्लोकबद्धलघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदीत्येतद्द्वयम्, आयुर्वेदविषयकं सर्पचिकित्सा-विषोपविषमीमांसेति ग्रन्थद्वयं, स्मृतिविषयकं विधानमार्तण्डाख्यं ग्रन्थं, वियोगिनीवल्लभसमस्यापूर्तिनामकं च काव्यद्वयं प्रणिनाय। एतदतिरिक्तं पिंगलच्छन्दःसूत्रभाष्य-काव्यालंकारसूत्रभाष्य-भगवद्भक्तिरहस्यसंस्कारविधिपर्यालोचनप्रभृतीन् ग्रन्थानपि निर्मितवान्। एटाजनपदान्तर्गतेन विष्णुदत्तशुक्लेन सौलोचनीयं गङ्गेति च काव्ये प्रणीते। अस्यैव जनपदस्य निवासी युवावस्थां भजमानः आचार्यरामकिशोरमिश्रो गीतजवाहरं, किशोरकाव्यं, किशोरगीतं, बालचरितम् अष्टो(न्यो?)क्तिशतकम् च, अनेकानि चान्यानि काव्यानि प्रणीतवान्। अनेन कृतमङ्गुष्ठदानं नाम नाटकं प्रकाशितं वर्तते

विद्योत्तमा चास्यान्यद्रूपकम्। पद्मपुरस्कारेण पुरस्कृतोऽस्य ‘अन्तर्दाहः’ सुललितं कथाकाव्यम् (‘उपन्यास’), पारेगङ्गम् चान्यत् काव्यम् अनयैव सरण्या लिखितम्। कथानिकापञ्चकम् इत्येकः कथासङ्ग्रहोऽपि वर्तते।

भारतप्रसिद्धा गङ्गायमुनयोः सङ्गमे विराजमाना प्रयागनगरी तत्परिसरभूमिश्च चिरकालादनेकेषामाचार्यप्रवराणां कृतधियां विदुषां कवीनां च कार्यस्थलीति निबन्धादावेव प्रतिपादितम्। भरद्वाजः ऋषिः अस्या एव प्रयागभूमेः अनुपमा विभूतिः। अद्यापि तस्याश्रमभूमिः भरद्वाजाश्रमनाम्ना प्रसिद्धा अनेकेषां तीर्थयात्रिणां दिग्दिगन्तागतानामाकर्षणकेन्द्रम्। अस्मिन्नेव प्रयागमण्डले प्रायेण शतवर्षपूर्वं जातेन ब्रह्मदेवमिश्रेण मूर्तिपूजामण्डनं विधवोद्वाहनिषेधः, पतिव्रतादर्शः, असवर्णविवाहनिषेधश्चेति ग्रन्थाः विरचिताः। अत्रैव मण्डले शिवरामपाण्डेयेन विदुषा हनुमत्काव्यं, हनुमद्विजयं, रावणपुरवधं चेति महाकाव्यत्रितयं प्रणीतम्। एतदतिरिक्तं एड्वर्ड्राज्याभिषेकदरबारं, जार्जाभिषेकदरबारं, दिल्लीप्रभावं चेति काव्यत्रितयमप्यनेनैव प्रणीतम्। अस्यामेव भूमौ स्वनाम्ना निखिलमपि भारतमलंकुर्वाणो महामहोपाध्यायः सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रः श्रीहरिहरकृपालुद्विवेदिमहाभागः ख्रिस्तीयोनविंशशताब्द्या उत्तरार्धे जन्म लेभे। बिहारप्रदेशान्तर्गता तद्राजधानीभूता पटनानगरी अनेन विद्वत्प्रवरेण स्वकार्यस्थलीत्वेनाङ्गीकृता। तत्रैव निवसतानेन लेखनाध्यापनादिकार्यं बहुविधं विहितम्। रामेश्वरकीर्तिकौमुदीति तस्य प्रसिद्धं खण्डकाव्यम्। महामहोपाध्यायः महामहिमगङ्गानाथझामहाभागः स्वजन्मना मैथिलभुवमलंकुर्वाणोऽपि स्वीयं समस्तं वैदुषिकं साहित्यिकं च जीवनं प्रायेण प्रयागे एव गमितवान्। अनेन प्रणीता बहवो ग्रन्था आङ्ग्लभाषानुवादरूपा अद्यापि महान्तमुपकारं कुर्वन्ति सुधियां संस्कृतज्ञानां विदुषां च। एतत्कृता न्यायभाष्यस्य खद्योतनाम्नी टीका सुप्रथिता विद्वत्सु। ऊनविंशशताब्द्या उत्तरार्धे जाता अत्रत्या अन्ये विद्वांस आचार्याश्च क्षेमकरणदासगङ्गाप्रसादोपाध्यायादयोऽनेकान् उपादेयान् ग्रन्थान् रचितवन्तः। क्षेमकरणदासमहोदयेन अथर्ववेदभाष्यं, गोपथब्राह्मणभाष्यं च लिखिते प्रकाशिते च। श्रीगङ्गाप्रसादोपाध्यायेन परमविदुषा आर्योदयाख्यं महाकाव्यं प्रणीतम्। इलाहाबादजनपदान्तर्गतबुद्धिपुरी[१] समीपस्थस्य चरवेतिनामकस्य ग्रामस्य निवासी श्रीराम-

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1, ‘सराय अकिल्’ इत्यस्य संस्कृतं नाम तन्निवासिभिर्मनीबिभिरिदानीं कृतम्।

प्रसादः पाणिनिसोपानं नाम व्याकरणशास्त्रीयं ग्रन्थं निर्मितवान्, तत्रत्यः शिवबालकशुक्लश्च जयदेववैष्णवकीर्तिलताख्यं रोचकं महाकाव्यम्। प्रयागात् प्रत्यक्स्थितस्य फतेहपुरजनपदस्यैकडलाख्यग्रामे १७०० वैक्रमसंवत्सरे त्रिविक्रमत्रिवेदी जनिं लेभे, स च १७३१ संवत्सरे स्वकीयं श्रीरामकीर्तिकुमुदमालाख्यम् अतिरमणीयं काव्यं रचितवान्। १८७४ वैक्रमाब्दे दुर्गाप्रसादत्रिपाठी तद्वंशजः एतट्टीकां, एवं च १८७५ वैक्रमाब्दे ज्यौतिषविषयकं जातकशेखरं नाम ग्रन्थं रचितवान्। प्रणिनाय विंशतिशताब्द्यां चास्यामेव श्रीरामकुबेरमालवीयो मालवीयमहाकाव्यम्। प्रयागविश्वविद्यालयस्थसंस्कृतविभागीयो राजेन्द्रमिश्राख्यः सर्वथाभिनवः युवा कविः स्वकीयाभिः कृतिभिः संस्कृतसाहित्यं हिन्दीसाहित्यं चानुदिनमलंकुर्वन् विद्यते। अस्य नाट्यपञ्चगव्यनामा एकाङ्कनाटकसङ्ग्रहः अस्मिन्नेव मासे प्रकाश्यतां गतः। अस्यान्ये काव्यग्रन्था अद्यापि प्रकाश्यतामपेक्षन्ते-आर्यान्योक्तिशतकं, भारतदण्डकं, वाग्वधूटी, नवाष्टमालिका, वामनावतरणं चेत्यादयः। अन्येन प्रयागस्थेन मधुकरशास्त्रिणा नवयुवकेन स्वकीयः 'पाणिनिशिक्षायाः शिक्षान्तरैः सह समीक्षा' इति शोधप्रबन्धः निबद्धः प्रकाश्यमानो वर्तते साम्प्रतम्।

संस्कृतभाषोपकारका अन्येऽपि बहवो ग्रन्था लिखिता लिख्यन्ते चेदानीमपि। विस्तरभिया नैवोल्लिखितास्तेऽत्र। संस्कृतप्रचारप्रसारसाधनभूता अनेकाः पत्रपत्रिका अपि काले काले अस्मिन् प्रदेशे प्रकाशिताः, साम्प्रतमपि च प्रकाश्यन्ते, किन्तु तासां विवरणानि अस्मादेव कारणादत्र नैव दत्तानि। आसु मधुपुर्याः 'सद्धर्मः', प्रयागस्य 'शारदा', साकेतस्य 'संस्कृतम्' च सुप्रसिद्धाः। साम्प्रतं प्रयागात् प्रभातशास्त्रिणा सम्पाद्यमाना संगमनीति त्रैमासिकी पत्रिका काव्यशास्त्रादिविवेचनपरा अनवरतरूपेण प्रकाश्यते। अस्या उपयोगितामुपादेयतां वास्याध्येतारो जानन्त्येव। एवं पार्यते वक्तुं यदुत्तरप्रदेशेन संस्कृतभाषायाः संस्कृतवाङ्मयस्य च श्रीसंवर्धने वैभववर्धने च भूयान् योगः प्रदत्तः, प्रदीयते च साम्प्रतमपि। अस्य मूल्यांकनम् अनेन संक्षिप्तेन विवरणेन कथंकारं कर्तुं शक्यते जयतु सुरगवी! जयन्तु च तदुपासकास्तदध्येतारस्तदनुरागिणश्च सज्जनाः!

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CONTRIBUTION OF JAINISM TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE–SUMMARY

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Though the Jainas began their literary activity with Prakrit, in course of time they attempted successfully all the forms of Sanskrit literature. To quote the words of Dr. Winternitz "there is scarcely a province of Indian literature in which the Jainas have not been able to hold their own. Above all, they have developed a voluminous narrative literature, they have written epics and novels, they have composed dramas and hymns; sometimes they have written in the simple language of the people; at other times they have competed, with highly elaborate poems, with the best masters of ornate court poetry, and they have produced important works of scholarship" (*A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 483).

Small or medium-sized works in Sanskrit on various topics were composed by the Jaina authors since very early times. Siddharṣi's *Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā* (906 A.D.), a *Dharmakathā* or religious novel, is the first long Sanskrit work composed by a Jaina author and it shows how by that time the Jainas found it necessary to write in Sanskrit instead of Prakrit in order to appeal to the whole world of Indian scholarship. The Jainas have made remarkable contribution to Sanskrit literature during the last one thousand years and more.

Just like the Gāthā-Sanskrit of the Buddhist texts, termed by Dr. Edgerton as 'Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit', another peculiar type of mixed Sanskrit was cultivated by mediaeval Jaina writers, mostly in Western India, and the said medium was called 'Jaina Sanskrit' by Prof. M. Bloomfield and others and 'Vernacular Sanskrit' by Dr. Hertel. A vast literature of commentaries, narratives, historical *Prabandhas*, Theology, Cosmology and allied subjects was composed in this 'Jaina Sanskrit' as contrasted with the Classical Sanskrit in which also the Jaina writers have shown remarkable proficiency.

This paper attempts to show how the literary and scholastic medium of Sanskrit was gradually adopted by Jainism, and how in course of time Sanskrit achieved the pride of place among Jaina scholars, and Prakrit, being the language of the Canon, remained the language of the rituals and was always highly respected, though indifferently cultivated as times went on.

CONTRIBUTION OF MADHVA'S SCHOOL TO OTHER BRANCHES OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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It is generally recognised that by the eleventh century A.D. the creative period in the history of Sanskrit literature was on the decline. The Muslim invasions and the gradual establishment of Muslim power in different parts and the rise of the modern Indian languages were factors which contributed among other things to this decline. After the migration of Buddhism from India and the adoption of Ardhamāgadhī as medium for their literary purposes by the Jainas, the main responsibility for developing Sanskrit literature in various directions had to be borne by the followers of the Brahminical faith. The prospects of a renaissance of Sanskrit literature were always closely connected with the resurrection of the Hindu kingdoms. This is illustrated by the way in which the establishment of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in Karnatak led to the revival of Vedic studies through the birth of the great commentaries of Sāyaṇācārya. The establishment of the great Vedāntic schools in the same way gave birth to a new development in the field of philosophy. The main and the most absorbing interest of the writers belonging to these new schools of Vedānta was of course philosophical, doctrinal and polemical. The authors of the Advaita school have had a lead of four to five centuries over the other schools. The contribution of the writers of the Vedāntic school of Madhvācārya (1238-1317) to purely philosophical literature has been surveyed by me in the two volumes of my *History of Dvaita School of Vedānta and Its Literature*, published in 1960-61. I shall confine my attention here to the important contributions of the writers of this school to other branches of Sanskrit literature. Thanks to the advantage of their distribution over a wider area in the country and of numbers, we find evidence of interest in general literature and 'Sāmānya Śāstras' cultivated in a greater measure among the writers of the Advaita school, while this interest becomes canalised in the service of their own school at the hands of the writers of the Dvaita school. This is increasingly true in the case of the writers of the remaining schools.

Contribution to Vedic Studies and Interpretation

Madhva was himself a pioneer in reviving the old forgotten ārṣa-tradition of interpretation of the Vedic hymns from the purely

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"Adhyātma" point of view foreshadowed in the famous utterances of the *Ṛg Veda* such as:

> Ye devānām nāmadhā eka eva (X. 82.3)
> Indram mitram varuṇam agnim āhuḥ

* * *

> Ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti (I. 164, 46)

in a *systematic way*. After the ascendancy of Pūrva Mimāṁsā, the Adhyātma tradition of Vedic interpretation seems to have become defunct. The Adhiyajña and Adhidaiva approaches to the hymns had monopolized the attention. The effect of this was to bring down the precious contents of the Vedic hymns to nothing more than ritualism and polytheism or Kathenotheism. Madhva raised the status of the Vedic hymns by crowning the Ādhyātmic interpretation as the primary aim and objective of Vedic lore. The other approaches were accommodated as secondary objectives. He thus formulated a theory of three fold interpretation of the Vedic hymns:

ऋगर्थश्च त्रिविधो भवति — एकस्तावत् प्रसिद्धाग्न्यादिपरः। अपरः तदन्तर्गतेश्वरलक्षणः। अन्योऽध्यात्मरूपः। तत्त्रितयपरं चेदं भाष्यम् (Jaya *Tirtha*, *Ṛg-Bhāṣya Ṭikā* p. 3.)

आत्मनि शरीरे इत्यध्यात्मम् (Chalari's com.)

The meaning of the Ṛcas is threefold. The first is in terms of the deities and other principles in their accepted senses. The second interprets them in terms of the Supreme Being as present in them. The third interprets the hymns in such a way as to bring out how the Supreme Being makes Its presence felt in the microcosmic plane or man's psycho-physical existence.

Madhva has worked out this threefold scheme of Vedic interpretation, succinctly but systematically, in a special commentary on the first three Adhyāyas of the first Aṣṭaka of the *Ṛg Veda* comprising the first forty Sūktas of the first Maṇḍala. He has also indicated the methodology of his scheme. He has also similarly worked out the Ādhyātmic interpretation of the Mahānāmnī-hymns in another work, the *Karmanirṇaya*. He has further applied this same principle of interpretation to the whole of the Samanvayādhyāya of the *Brahmasūtras*, bringing the Ādhibhautika and other speculations in the Upaniṣads within the framework of the higher interpretation. Madhva's com. on the forty Sūktas of the *Ṛg Veda* has been elucidated by Jayatīrtha (14th cent.) and by Rāghavendra Tīrtha in his *Ṛgarthamañjarī*. These have been spoken of in terms of the highest esteem as a dicovery of the ārṣa tradition in the commentaries on the Vedas published by the Aravindashram, Pondicherry. The monotheistic interpretation of the Vedas by Svāmi Dayānanda Sarasvati and the mystic interpretations of Aurobindo Ghosh are also deeply indebted to the lead given by Madhva.

Nirukta

While making use of the works of Yāska and others for purposes of Veda-nirukti, Madhva has made copious use of the principle of syllabic interpretation so often referred to by Yāska himself. He has also given his own scheme of Devatas and Ṛṣis without prejudice to those of the *Bṛhaddevatā* and other sources. The device of deriving words from a combination of more than one root-element is also followed by Madhva Dual and plural terms of divinities are understood as referring to forms of the Supreme present in the respective divinities like Mitrāvaruṇā, Marutaḥ, Rudrāsah. A few of the etymologies given by Madhva may be of interest here : व्यञ्जनात् बीजम् ।

Mitraḥ	Mitvā trātīti mitro'yam.
Varuṇaḥ	Āvṛṇotīti Varuṇaḥ tamasā ajñānto'pi vā /

He has not relied solely on Yāska. He makes use of another work on Vedic etymology called *Vyāsonirukta*, not extant now.[1]

Lost Vedic Śākhās

In his *BSB* Madhva has given the number of Vedic Śākhās of the four Vedas as 24, 101, 1000, 12. In his c. on the *Gītā*, the *B. S.* and other works he has cited texts from a number of non-extant

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[1] The scope and purpose of this work may be gathered from the following quotation Madhva has given from it :

सर्वे वेदाश्च नामानि तावा एता ऋचस्तथा ।
इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमित्याद्यात्र च प्रमापरा ॥

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Śākhās, such as Ayāsya (S.V), Pippalāda (S.V), Bhāllaveya (S.V), Bābhravya (S.V.), Bāṣkala (R.V.). Väsiṣṭha (S.V.), Sauparṇa (R.V.) and Madhucchandasa (R.V.). Khila Śrutis under the names of Āgniveśya, Indradyumna, Udara-Śāṇḍilya, Uddālakāyana, Kamaṭha. Lāṣāyaṇa, Kauṣārava, Kauṇḍinya, Kauṇṭharavya, Gaupavana, Cākrāyaṇa, Pārāśaryāyaṇa, Paiṅgī, Pautrāyaṇa, Prācīnaśāla, Māṭhara, Maudgalya Śārkarākṣya, Śāṇḍilya and Hiraṇyanābha. The Bhāllaveya is mentioned by Sureśvara and Paiṅgī by Śaṅkara also. Some of the above names occur in the *Aitareya*, *Chāndogya* and *Bṛh. Ups.* Madhva refers also to the Vādhūla śākhā of the Taittirīyas. Vādhūla is the name of a Gotra-ṛṣi among some Brahman families in S. India.

Vyākaraṇa

Besides the Sūtras of Pāṇini and the *Mahābhāṣya* Madhva has relied on the Mahāvyākaraṇa Sūtras from which he has made a few citations like the following :

(i) सुप्तिङुपग्रहलिङ्गनराणां कालहलच्स्वरकर्तृयङां च ।
व्यत्ययमिच्छति शास्त्रकृदेषां सोऽपि च सिद्ध्यति बाहुलकेन ॥

(ii) सप्तसु प्रथमा (iii) आधिक्येऽधिकम्

Lexica

With his passion for going beyond the conventional meanings of words occurring in philosophical texts and finding one more suitable to the context, Madhva has drawn from a large number of Kośas not known to us from other writers. These pertain to different branches of specialised Śāstras also. From a Sūda-śāstra for instance he cites the use of the words *viśada*, *sthira*, *nirhārī* to denote the different kinds of sweetness of milk, ghee, and jack-fruit. Distinguishing the terms *undana* and *syandana* as applied to water he quotes : from a *Kośa*.

'उन्दनं बिन्दुमात्रः स्यात् स्यन्दनं स्रवणं स्मृतम्' इत्यभिधानम् ।

Nāmamahodadhi is a lexicon he quotes very often ; *Śabdanirṇaya* is another.

Darśanas

Though making ample use of the conceptions of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, their categories and definitions in the discussion of

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philosophical problems, Madhva prefers to derive his theory of Pramāṇas and Prameyas from a logico-philosophical treatise called *Brahmatarka* from which he has given more than 700 quotations in his works. Among the most important positions taken by this work are: (1) the definition of Pramāṇa as "Yathārtha" in a succinct way in the sense of valid knowledge and the means of such knowledge; (2) the use of two distinct terms "Kevalapramāṇa" and "Anupramāṇa" to distinguish between the two meanings, (3) the acceptance of the validity of memory within the meaning of Pramāṇa, (4) the acceptance of "Sākṣin" as Jñānagrāhaka and Jñānaprāmāṇyagrāhaka; (5) the infallibilty of Sakṣijñāna[1] and (6) it being the Upajīvyapramāṇa according to प्रत्यक्षस्योपजीव्यत्वेन प्राबल्यम्. The ontological principle of "Viśeṣas" is also derived by Madhva from the *Brahmatarka*. Viśeṣa bridges the gulf between substance and attributes and operates as the principle of unity in difference. It is with its help that we have distinction of reference even where there is no distinction of essence.

In his short Vedāntic work, the *Tattvoddyota*, Madhva has cited eight Kārikās from a Buddhistic source which is not now available. The verses deal with the nature of Śūnya and other connected ideas.

Madhva himself has made but slight use of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā nyāyas. The principles of Mīmāṁsā have however been very largely used in the exposition of the Siddhānta interpretations in the Brahmasūtras and the defence of many Siddhānta positions such as 'Pratyakṣasya upajīvyatayā prābalyam' and in the interpretation of many monistic texts, in conformity with Sākṣipratyakṣa and Bhedānubhava, in the writings of Vyāsatīrtha and his commentator Rāmācārya (in his *Taraṅgiṇī*.). In his *Tarkatāṇḍava*, Vyāsatīrtha has argued a strong case for the thesis of Upasaṁhāra-prābalya in the light of Mimāṁsā nyāyas. His pupil Vijayīndra Tirtha (1542–1595) has established this thesis in a separate work on the subject *Upasaṁhāravijaya*, which is a refutation of the position taken by Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Upakramaparākrama*.

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1. सुदृढो निर्णयो यत्र ज्ञेयं तत्साक्षिदर्शनम् (AV).

Or what in Descarte's words is presented to the mind so clearly and distinctly that one could have no occasion to doubt it.

Among the contributions made by the North Indian followers of Madhva system may be mentioned the sprightly metrical Prakaraṇa work *Māvāvāda-Śatadūṣaṇī* by Gauḍa Pūrṇānanda Cakravartin published in the J.R.A S. New Series XV. 1883. pp. 137–73 and the *Madhvamukhālaṁkāra* or *Mārutamaṇḍana* of Vanamāli Mis'ra of Brindāvan (17th cent.). Vanamāli Mis'ra is also the author of the famous *Taraṅgiṇī-saurabha*, a refutation of the *Brahmānandiya*. The works of Viṣṇudāsācārya (*Vādaratnāvali*), Vyāsatīrtha, Rāmācārya (*Taraṅgiṇi*), Vijayīndra, and Rāghavendra (*Candrikā-prakāśa* and c. on *Tarkatāṇḍava*) disclose a high level of erudition in Pūrvamīmāmsā, Vyākaraṇa and Nyāya S'āstras. Jayatīrtha's *Nyāyasudhā* displays profound mastery of the Ṣaḍ-darśanas, both orthodox and heterodox. Kṛṣṇāvadhūta Paṇḍita (1834–1909), a follower of Madhva Sampradāya, has given us works on Tarka, Vyākaraṇa and Alaṁkāra Śāstras. His *Advaitanavanīta* is a very useful compendium on Advaita doctrine. He wrote also similar works *Viśiṣṭādvaitanavanīta* and *Madhvamatasarvasva*. He wrote also the *Mandāramarandacampū*.

Kāvya, Nāṭaka and Alaṁkāra

It was perhaps natural that for some centuries from the time of Madhva the interest of his followers lay mainly in logic and philosophy and did not turn to general literature. The pursuit of Kāvya literature could not however be altogether kept out. It was bound to be cultivated at least for purposes of providing 'religious Kāvyas' celebrating the life of the founder and his eminent disciples, and to sustain the interest of the masses in the old mythological traditions with suitable re-orientations to serve the needs of the school. In manner and matter the 'religious Kavyas' of the Vedāntic school share the same features and differ to the same extent from the 'purely' literary Kāvyas of Kālidāsa or Bhāravi.

The earliest specimen of Kāvya from the Dvaita school is the *Uṣāharaṇa* of Trivikrama Paṇḍita, a native of Kāvu village near the modern town of Kasargod (now in Kerala State). Trivikrama was the court-poet of Jayasimha, ruler of Kumbla (S. Canara) and a Shivalli Brahmin of the Angirasa gotra and a member of the Pejjattāya clan. His *Uṣāharaṇa* in eight cantos celebrates the love of Uṣā, the beautiful daughter of Bāṇāsura, with Aniruddha. Trivikrama later became a disciple of Madhva after holding a disputation with him. After his conversion to Madhva's Darśana, he wrote a c. on Madhva's *B.S.B.*

Trivikrama's son Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita is famous not only for his *Madhvavijaya*, a Mahākāvya in 16 cantos, which is the earliest biography of Madhva but for a few other works falling under the class of Kāvyas. They are the *Saṁgraha-Rāmāyaṇa*, a Kāvya in six kāṇḍas summarising the narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with distinctive orientations suited to the point of view of Madhva's doctrine as crystallized in his *Mahābhārata-tātparyanirṇaya*. The *Śubhodaya* (ptd.) is an allegorical Kāvya of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, in five Kāṇḍas, each divided into Vargas or groups of ten verses. Each Varga is in a different metre. The work is a philosophical allegory depicting the transmigratory career of King Śubha (the individual soul) caught in the blandishments of the temptress Abhikāminī (Prakṛti) and his ultimate emergence (*udaya*) from the snares of Prakṛti by the grace of God. The details of the allegory are vividly portrayed. The characters are representations of spiritual values and psycho-physical principles. The author shows great skill in versification and the use of *bandhas*, *ekākṣara*, *ekācka*, *niroṣṭhya* etc. *Pārijātaharaṇa* is anothor kāvya of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita dealing with the story of the 'theft' of the celestial tree by Kṛṣṇa at the request of Satyabhāmā. The author revels in *yamakas*. The work is preserved in a much-injured Nandināgari manuscript at the Madras Oriental Mss. Library.

Somanātha Kavi (*c.* 1530) has the unique distinction of being the author of a front-rank Campū Kāvya which can stand comparison with the best of this class for beauty of language and wealth of imagery. Unlike the mythological Campūs, this is a biographical work dealing with the life and career of one of the most eminent personalities of the Madhva school, the great Vyāsatīrtha, the guru of Emperor Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar. Somanātha, as his name indicates, did not belong to the school of Madhva. His work has been published.

Vijayīndra Tīrtha (1514–95), the favourite pupil of Vyāsatīrtha, played a significant role in the fortunes of the Dvaita system, in the Cola maṇḍala. He was a contemporary of Appayya Dīkṣita and had frequent disputations with him on doctrinal issues. There was something specially congenial to the cultivation of the fine arts, of poetry, literature and drama (besides philosophy) in the heyday of the Vijayanagar and Nāyak rule in the South. In addition to his chief interests in logic and philosophy andreligion, Vijayīndra was able to devote attention to *belles lettres*. His poetic works are *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya*, a drama dealing with the love and marriage of Subhadrā with Arjuna. This is preserved in a Nandinagari fragment. Another is *Ubhayagrāsarāhūdaya*, an allegorical drama as a counterblast to the *Prabodhacandrodaya* and *Samkalpasūryodaya* The work is referred to in the *Sāhityasāmrājya* of Sudhīndra.

Vādirāja Tīrtha (1480–1600) is known for his metrical masterpiece on Vedānta, the *Yuktimallikā* in about 6000 verses. He was a gifted poet. He commanded a fine alliterative style and was a master of apt expression and expressive analogies from life and literature. His poetic works are the *Rukmiṇīśa-vijaya*, a Mahākāvya in 19 cantos celebrating the life of Krishna from boyhood and ending with his marriage with Rukmiṇī. The author introduces *double entendre*, Citrabandhas, ekākṣara, yamakas etc. His *Sarasabhāratīvilāsa* is a religious Kāvya in 700 verses establishing the hierarchic position of S'rī, Brahmā, Vāṇī, Prāṇa and Bhāratī constituting the holy trinity (Paraśuklatrayaṁ) of Madhva theology, in the light of authorities The work shows a superb command of alliterative style in Sanskrit.

The foremost writer of the Dvaita school in Alaṁkāra is Sudhīndra Tīrtha (1596--1623), the pupil and successor of Vijayīndra Tīrtha. His *Alaṁkāra-mañjarī* is a manual of Alaṁkāras, preserved in Tanjore in ms. It was commented upon by a successor of his, Sumatīndra in his *Madudhāra*, also preserved in ms. *Alaṁkāra nikaṣa* is another work of Sudhīndra as an offset to Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*. It contains verses with prose explanations. Sudhīndra's masterpiece is the *Sāhitya-sāmrājya*, which is an exposition of *Raghunāthabhūpāltya*, a panegyric poem on Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore (1614–33) by his court-poet Kṛṣṇādhvarin. In the course of commenting on this work Sudhīndra surveyā the highways and byways of Alaṁkāra Sāstra, and examines the various theories of Rasa, Dhvani, Rīti, Anumāna, Aucitya etc. The facts that he was a Pontiff of a religious and philosophical school and the author of a original work, a householder belonging to a different school invest this work with

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additional interest, and shed light on the liberal outlook of the times. *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya* is his dramatic work in six acts, preserved in the Maṭha at Nanjangud. The author has given a new orientation to the epic story by cutting out Arjuna's disguise of himself as a Tridaṇḍi ascetic. He provides an opportunity for the meeting of Arjuna and Subhadrā at the open court of Dvārakā on the occasion of a tournament to which Arjuna is invited. Subhadrā is made to give a Vīṇā-recital at the time.

Smṛti and Dharma Śāstra

Besides being guided by well-known Smṛtis and Dharmaśāstras accepted by Hindu community at large, the Madhva school has produced a few works dealing with special aspects of ācāra connected with the life of the community as such The important works in this field are the *Sadācāra Smṛti* of Madhva himself which was commented upon by Viśvanātha Vyāsa of Puntamba in Maharashtra, in the 16th cent. The other is the *Smṛtyarthasāgara* (ptd.) which deals in four Taraṅgas with Lāka, Āśauca, Āhnika and Vāstu Śuddhi, fasts, pollutions, daily rites and purificatory ceremonies. The author Chalāri Nṛsimhācārya belongs to the middle of the 17th cent. Viṣṇu Tīrtha, the younger brother of Madhva, was the author of a *Sannyāsa-paddhati* dealing with the duties and ceremonial codes of Sannyāsins.

Purāṇic Literature

To Madhva belongs the distinction of being the first Vedāntic Sampradāya Ācārya to have written a metrical epitome and exposition of the *Mahābhārata* and its philosophical bases, as they stand illustrated by the Epic narative. This is the earliest work in Sanskrit dealing with the intriguing question of the 'Meaning of the Mahābhārata'. The first Editor of the Critical Edition of the Epic by the B.O.R.I. has paid a handsome tribute to Madhva for the insight with which he has presented his theory of triple interpretation of the Epic, the *Manvādi*, *Āstīkādi* and *Uparicarādi*, as the moral, the historical and the philosophical interpretation of its meaning. The first direct commentary on the *Mahābhārata* elucidating the verses was undertaken by Vādiraja Tīrtha (1480–1600) in his learned work, the *Lakṣālaṁkāra*. He cites many Kośas throwing

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light on the archaic terms in the Epic. He culls Pratīkas of verses which are of great value in studying different recensions of the Epic. He comments on the variant readings also. Madhva has made an equally valuable contribution to Purāṇic literature by his critical notes and commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which is the earliest available commentary on the Purāṇa. The commentary draws profusely on the Pāñcarātra Samhitās for explanation of the verses here. Many commentaries on Madhva's *Bhāgavata-tātparya* have been produced from within his school. Apart from this we have another famous commentary on the *Bhāgavata* from Madhva's own school. This is the *Padārthatnāvalī*, a voluminous commentary on the *Bhāgavata* in 35000 granthas by Vijayadhvaja Tīrtha (c. 1410–60). He belonged to the Tuluva region in Karnataka and was the Pontiff of the Pejavar Mutt. His commentary has been printed twice and has been a source of inspiration to the Bengal School of Vaishnavism. Jīva Gosvāmin refers to Vijayadhvaja's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* with great respect. The commentary was earlier than Śrīdhara's. Vijayadhvaja refers to other commentaries such as those of Śuka Tīrtha and one by his predecessor Vijaya Tīrtha also.

A commentary on the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* (II–VI) was written by Satyadharma Tīrtha (1798–1830). He was Pontiff of the Uttarādi Mutt. Extracts from this c. have been incuded in the Kumbakonam Edn. of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, published by T. R. Krishnacharya (1910). Sāgara Rāmācārya (c. 1700) wrote a *Sannīti-Rāmāyaṇa*, a short Kāvya emphasising the practical morals derived from the Epic. The author belonged to the Gauḍa-Sārasvata group of Madhva Sampradāya.

Travel

Vādirāja Tīrtha's *Tīrthaprabandha* is a unique metrical work giving an account of various Hindu temples and places of pilgrimage (including holy rivers and tīrthas) all over India visited by the author in the 16th century. The work is similar in this respect to the Devāram and Prabandha songs in Tamil literature commemorating various Kṣetras. The descriptions have great poetic charm. The work is divided into four sections, northern, eastern, southern and western.

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Stotra

There is an abundance of this class of literature pertaining to the Dvaita school. The most important of these are Madhva's own *Dvādaśa-Stotra* and *Kṛṣṇāmrta-mahārṇava* which is an anthology of verses collected from the purāṇas and other floating literature. Vādirāja's *Daśāvātara Stotra* in the Aśvadhāṭī-metre is noteworthy for its mettlesome metre, with splendid alliteration. Vidyādhirāja's (1388–1412) c. on the *Viṣṇusahasranāma stotra* is a very lucid and important c. on the original which gives many interesting *niruktis* of the various names, with their derivation. Sumatīndra Tirtha (1692–1725) wrote a *Jayaghoṣaṇā*, a panegyric poem belonging to the genre of "Prabhandha" literature, in his pre-Pontifical days, eulogising Sahaji (1684–1710), the Maratha ruler of Tanjore. It has five sections (i) Jayaghoṣaṇā (ii) Birudāvali, (iii) Prasaṅga (iv) Gathā and (v) Cāṭuślokas.

CONTRIBUTION OF SRI DAYANAND SARASVATI AND THE GURUKULS TO SANSKRIT

महर्षि दयानन्द तथा गुरुकुलों का शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में योग दान महर्षि द्वारा शिक्षा में क्रान्ति

SRI RAGHUVIR SINGH SASTRI,
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१६-वीं सदी में भारत के अन्धकारपूर्ण अन्तरिक्ष में जिन महानुभावों ने जागृति की ज्योति जलायी उनमे महर्षि दयानन्द का सन्देश बहुत व्यापक एवं प्रभावी था। वे युगप्रवर्तक ऋषि थे, जिन्होने शिक्षा, राजनीति, समाज - संगठन आदि सब क्षेत्रों में नवीन विचारों का सन्देश दिया। किस प्रकार भारत अपने प्राचीन गौरव को प्राप्त कर संसार का अग्रणी बने, इस सम्बन्ध में निश्चित विचार उन्होने "सत्यार्थ प्रकाश" आदि अपने अमर ग्रन्थों में प्रकट किये हैं। ये विचार न केवल भारत के लिये उपयोगी हैं अपितु सम्पूर्ण संसार को अशान्ति और कलह के मार्ग से हटा कर सुख समृद्धि के पथ पर ले जा सकते हैं।

ऋषि दयानन्द ने अपने समय में प्रचलित शिक्षा पद्धति में अनेक दोष अनुभव कर प्राचीन आर्ष शिक्षा प्रणाली का प्रतिपादन किया। उसे उन्होने "गुरुकुल - शिक्षा - प्रणाली" का नाम दिया। उस समय भारत में शिक्षा की मुख्यतः दो पद्धतियां प्रचलित थीं। एक भारत के ब्रिटिश शासकों द्वारा प्रारम्भ की गयी थी और दूसरी पुरानी परम्परा के अनुसार पण्डितमण्डली में प्रचलित थी। सरकार द्वारा प्रचलित प्रणाली भारत के राष्ट्रीय तथा धार्मिक आदर्शों के प्रतिकूल थी। उसमें भारत की भाषा, धर्म, सभ्यता, साहित्य तथा संस्कृति की सर्वथा उपेक्षा की गयी थी। पण्डित - मण्डली की शिक्षा पद्धति समय की आवश्यकताओं को पूर्ण नहीं करती थी। उसमें वर्तमान युग के ज्ञान - विज्ञानों को कोई स्थान प्राप्त न था। चरित्र - निर्माण तथा जीवन - साफल्य के लिये ब्रह्मचर्य, त्याग, तपस्या आदि जिन आदर्शों का पालन आवश्यक है उनकी और दोनों में से कोई भी प्रणाली समुचित ध्यान

नहीं दे रही थी। महर्षि ने अनुभव किया कि भारत में प्राचीन गुरुकुल प्रणाली का पुनरुद्धार कर इन दोषों को दूर किया जाना चाहिये। इसी लिये उन्होने शिक्षा के निम्न लिखित आदर्श और सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादित किये:—

१. यह राजनियम और जाति नियम होना चाहिये कि पांचवें अथवा आठवें वर्ष से आगे कोई अपने लड़को और लड़कियों को घर में न रख सके। पाठशाला में अवश्य भेज देवें। जो न भेजे वह दण्डनीय हो।

२. लड़कों और लड़कियों के गुरुकुल पृथक पृथक हों।

३. उनमें वे ब्रह्मचर्य पूर्वक रहते हुए विद्याध्ययन करें। २५ वर्ष बालक का और १६ वर्ष से पूर्व कन्या का विवाह न हो सके।

४. गुरुकुलों में सबको तुल्य वस्त्र, खान-पान, आसन आवास दिये जायें चाहे वह राजकुमार व राजकुमारी हो, चाहे दरिद्र की सन्तान हो। सब के साथ एक जैसा व्यवहार किया जावे। सबको तपस्वी होना चाहिये।

५. गुरुकुलों में गुरु और शिष्य पिता-पुत्र के समान रहें।

६. विद्या पढ़ने के स्थान गुरुकुल शहर व ग्रामों से दूर एकान्त में हों।

७. शिक्षा में वेद, वेदांग आदि को प्रमुख स्थान दिया जावे। साथ ही राज-विद्या, संगीत, शिल्प विद्या, व्यापार शास्त्र, गणित, ज्योतिष, भूगोल, खगोल, यन्त्र कला, आयुर्वेद, धनुर्वेद, आदि का भी यथोचित रूप में अभ्यास कराया जाये।

८. शिक्षा ग्रहण करने एवं वेद, वेदांगादि को पढ़ने का अधिकार ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य, शूद्र तथा स्त्री-पुरुष सभी को है। वर्ण, जन्म, जाति, लिंग आदि के आधार पर किसी को उससे वंचित नहीं किया जासकता।

९. राज्य के द्वारा एक विद्यार्थि सभा की स्थापना होनी चाहिए, जिसके नियंत्रण और सुप्रबन्ध में सर्वत्र विद्या का प्रसार हो तथा कोई अप्रशिक्षित न रहे।

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महर्षि ने अपने ये विचार मुख्यतः "सत्यार्थप्रकाश" में प्रतिपादित किये हैं। उनके वेदभाष्य में भी शिक्षा विषयक अनेक महत्त्वपूर्ण संकेत प्राप्त होते हैं, जिनमें से कुछ यहाँ उद्धृत किये जाते हैं :—

१. गुरुभिर्गुरुपत्नीभिश्च वेदोपवेदवेदाङ्गोपाङ्गशिक्षया देहेन्द्रियान्तः-करणात्मनः शुद्धिशरीरपुष्टिप्राणसंतुष्टीः प्रदाय सर्वे कुमाराः सर्वाः कन्याश्च सद्गुणेषु प्रवर्तयितव्या इति। (यजुर्वेदभाष्य ६, १४)।

२. सर्वेषां विदुषां विदुषीणां च योग्यतास्ति सर्वेभ्यो बालकेभ्यः कन्याभ्यश्चाहर्निशं विद्यादानं राज्ञां धनिनां च पदार्थैः स्वजीविकां च कुर्युः (वही ७, ३३)।

३. एके विद्वांसोऽन्वहं विद्यार्थिनः पाठयेयुः, अपरे विपश्चितो विद्वांसः प्रतिमासमध्येतॄणां परीक्षणं च कुर्युः। तत्कृत्वाध्यापकाः प्रतीततीव्रबुद्धीन् परिश्रमं कुर्वतोऽध्येतॄनतिश्रमेण पाठयेयुरिति (वही ७, ३४)।

४. यावदष्टवार्षिकाः पुत्राः पुत्र्यश्च भवेयुस्तावन्मातापितरौ तान् सुशिक्षयेताम्, अत ऊर्ध्वं ब्रह्मचर्यं ग्राहयित्वा विद्याध्ययनाय स्वगृहादतिदूरे आप्तानां विदुषां विदुषीणां च पाठशालासु प्रेषयेताम्। अत्र यावतो धनस्य व्ययः कर्तुं योग्योऽस्ति तावन्तं कुर्यातम्। न हि सन्तानानां विद्यादानमन्तरा कश्चिदुपकारो धर्मश्चास्ति। तस्मादेतत् सततं समाचरेताम् (वही ११, ५८)।

५. कुमाराः पुरुषशालां कुमार्यश्च स्त्रीशालां गत्वा ब्रह्मचर्यं विधाय सुशीलतया विद्याः पाकविधिं च गृह्णीयुः। मद्यमांसालस्यातिनिद्रां विहायाध्यापक-सेवानुकूलताभ्यां वर्तित्वा सुव्रतानि धरेयुः। (वही ११, ५६)

जो लोग पाश्चात्य सभ्यता और संस्कृति का गतानुगतिकता से अनुसरण किये जारहे थे उन्हें ऋषि दयानन्द ने पुनः भारतीय सभ्यता, संस्कृति तथा साहित्य के प्रति निष्ठावान् होने का सन्देश दिया। संस्कृत भाषा में लिखित भारतीय प्राचीन साहित्य में जो धर्म, दर्शन एवं ज्ञान - विज्ञान का

भण्डार निहित है उसकी ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट करते हुए ऋषि ने उनके अध्ययन - अध्यापन और प्रचार - प्रसार पर बल दिया। बालक को आरम्भ से ही संस्कृत भाषा का अभ्यास कराने का उन्होंने विधान किया तथा उसके सम्पूर्ण शिक्षा क्रम में वेदादि शास्त्रों को संनिविष्ट किया। स्वयं भी उन्होने अपने ग्रन्थों द्वारा तथा वाणी द्वारा संस्कृत की श्रीवृद्धि एवं प्रसार में कुछ उठा नहीं रखा। अपने प्रचार काल में प्रारम्भ में वे संस्कृत भाषा में ही अपने भाषण, शास्त्रार्थ आदि करते थे, यद्यपि बाद में सामान्य जनता तक अपना सन्देश पहुंचाने की दृष्टि से ब्राह्म समाज के प्रसिद्ध नेता श्री केशवचन्द्र सेन के सत्परामर्श से उन्होंने अपने प्रचार कार्य का माध्यम हिन्दी भाषा को बना लिया था। मातृ भाषा गुजराती होते हुए भी भाषणों और ग्रन्थों में संस्कृत तथा हिन्दी का प्रयोग करना उनके इन भाषाओं के प्रति प्रेम को ही सूचित करता है।

ऋषि दयानन्द की संस्कृत सेवा का सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य उनका वेदभाष्य है। उनसे पूर्व भी आचार्य स्कन्द स्वामी, वेंकट माधव, आनन्दतीर्थ, आत्मानन्द, सायणाचार्य आदि के संस्कृत भाष्य तथा विल्सन, मैक्समूलर आदि के सटिप्पण अंग्रेजी अनुवाद विद्यमान थे। यद्यपि ये भाष्य बड़े परिश्रम पूर्वक लिखे गये थे और वेदार्थ के ज्ञान में कुछ अंशों में सहायक भी होते थे, तथापि ऋषि ने देखा कि इनसे वेदों का गौरव पूर्ण रूप से हमारे सामने नहीं आता। श्री सायणाचार्य आदि के वेद भाष्य मुख्य रूप से कर्मकाण्डपरक थे, जिनसे वेदों का अध्यात्म, राजनीति आदि परक अर्थ विशद नहीं होता था। दूसरा और विल्सन आदि के भाष्य वेदों के सम्बन्ध में भारतीय परम्परा की सर्वदा उपेक्षा करके उनमें बलात् कल्पित ऐतिहासिक सामग्री के अनुसंधान का प्रयत्न करने के कारण विशेष महत्त्व नहीं रखते थे। स्वामी दयानन्द ने ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थ, उपनिषद् निरुक्त आदि का अनुसरण करते हुए जो वेदभाष्य किया उसमें एक व्यापक तथा विशाल दृष्टिकोण को अपनाया। उनका भाष्य यजुर्वेद वाजसनेयी माध्यन्दिन संहिता सम्पूर्ण तथा ऋग्वेद सप्तम मण्डल, सूक्त ६२ के द्वितीय मन्त्र तक हैं। इस प्रकार उनका

किया हुआ चारों वेदों के एक बड़े भाग का संस्कृत-हिन्दी भाष्य हमें उपलब्ध है। संक्षेप में उनके भाष्य में निम्न लिखित प्रमुख विशेषताएं है।

१. वेद मन्त्रों को केवल याज्ञिक कर्मकाण्ड तक सीमित न रख कर उनके ईश्वर, जीवात्मा, प्राण, मन, बुद्ध, राजा, सेनापति, आचार्य, वैद्य, अध्यापक, सूर्य, चन्द्र, विद्युत, अग्नि आदि परक अर्थ भी दर्शायें गये हैं। यह अर्थ प्रक्रिया स्वामी जी की अपनी कल्पित नहीं किन्तु निरुक्त आदि से अनुमोदित है। शतपथ ब्राह्मण, उपनिषद्, निरुक्त आदि में भी कई मन्त्रों के एक से अधिक अर्थ दर्शाये गये थे। स्वयं श्री सायणाचार्य ने भी मुख्यत: कर्मकाण्ड परक अर्थ करते हुए भी कई मन्त्रों के अध्यात्मपरक अर्थ भी विशद किये हैं। आचार्य आत्मानन्द ने अस्यवामीय-सूक्त के सब मंत्रों का अध्यात्मकपरक ही अर्थ किया था। अध्यात्म, अधिभूत, अधिदेव, अधियज्ञ, आदि अर्थ करने की परम्परा भी स्वामी जी से पूर्व विद्यमान थी। स्वामी जी ने अपने भाष्य में उसी परम्परा को पुनरुज्जीवित करके वेदों को न केवल कर्मकाण्डियों के लिये अपितु सर्वजनों के लिये उपयोगी बना दिया।

२. स्वामी जी की इस वेदार्थ शैली से वेदों में अध्यात्म विद्या, राज विद्या, शिल्प शास्त्र, चिकित्सा शास्त्र, शिक्षा शास्त्र, युद्ध विद्या, गार्हस्थ्य शास्त्र, गणित, ज्योतिष, कृषि आदि विविध विद्याओं के दर्शन हमें होने लगते हैं। अपनी रुचि के अनुकूल प्रत्येक व्यक्ति वेदों से सन्देश ग्रहण कर सकता है।

३. वेदों में आए हुए ऋषियों, राजाओं, नगरों, नदियों आदि के नामों को ऋषि भाष्य में रूढ न मान कर यौगिक माना गया है। सायणाचार्य ने भी "बब्बर प्रावाहणि" आदि ऐतिहासिक प्रतीत होने वाले नामों को अपनी भाष्य पुस्तिका में ऐतिहासिक न मान कर वायु आदि के अर्थ में योगिक या योगरूढ माना था, यद्यपि भाष्य में सर्वत्र इस प्रक्रिया का उन्होंने अनुसरण नहीं किया। निरुक्त में भी अनेक स्थलों पर ऐतिहासिक अर्थ का निराकरण कर अपना नैरुक्त अर्थ प्रतिपादित किया गया है। उदाहरणार्थ वृत्र के सम्बन्ध में कहा है कि ऐतिहासिक के अनुसार यह त्वष्टा का पुत्र एक असुर

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पुत्र था, किन्तु नैरुक्तों के अनुसार यह मेध का नाम है। इसी प्रक्रिया का आश्रय लेकर महर्षि दयानन्द ने भी अनेक ऐतिहासिक प्रतीत होने वाले स्थलों का सुन्दर शिक्षाप्रद अर्थ अपने भाष्य में प्रदर्शित किया है।

४. इतर भाष्यकारों ने वेद के कई स्थलों के अश्लील, अस्वाभाविक तथा ईश्वरीय नियम के विरुद्ध अर्थ किये थे। स्वामी जी ने उनके सभ्य, सुसंस्कृत तथा शिक्षाप्रद अर्थ दर्शाकर वेदों का गौरव अक्षुण्ण रखा है।

५. स्वामी दयानन्द जी की धारणा है कि वेदमन्त्रों में विनियोगकारों ने जो विनियोग दर्शाये हैं उनका वेद मन्त्रों के साथ कोई नित्य सम्बन्ध नहीं है। उनसे स्वतन्त्र होकर भी वेदो के अर्थ किये जा सकते हैं। अपने यजुर्वेद भाष्य में उन्होने सर्वत्र इसी स्वतन्त्र प्रक्रिया का अनुसरण किया है, जिसे आज अन्य वेदभाष्यकार भी अपना रहे हैं।

यद्यपि प्रारम्भ में विद्वन्मण्डली ने वेदार्थ में महर्षि के इन क्रान्तिकारी परामर्शों को स्वीकार करने में संकोच दिखाये, तथापि आज इन्हें सर्वसम्मत नहीं तो बहुसम्मत होने का गौरव तो अवश्य प्राप्त है। वेदभाष्य के अतिरिक्त ऋषि दयानन्द द्वारा लिखित सत्यार्थप्रकाश, संस्कारविधि, पञ्चमहायज्ञविधि, ऋग्वेदादिभाष्यभूमिका, आर्याभिविनय, गोकरुणानिधि, चतुर्वेदविषयसूची आदि ग्रन्थ भी उनकी संस्कृत एवं हिन्दी की आदर्श सेवा के परिचायक हैं। बालकों का संस्कृत भाषा में प्रवेश कराने के लिये तथा संस्कृत व्याकरण में व्यवहारोपयोगी दक्षता प्राप्त करने के लिये उन्होंने संस्कृत वाक्य प्रबोध तथा वेदाङ्ग प्रकाश के आख्यातिक, नामिक, सन्धिविषय आदि १४ खण्ड भी लिखे हैं। अपने जीवन काल में उन्होंने संस्कृत अध्ययन-अध्यापन के लिये कई संस्कृत पाठशालाओं की भी स्थापना की थी।

गुरुकुलों का प्रारम्भ और विकास

महर्षि दयानन्द ने जिस प्राचीन गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणाली का पुनरुज्जीवित करने का स्वप्न लिया था उसे सर्वप्रथम क्रियारूप में परिणत करने

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का श्रेय महात्मा मुंशीराम को है। जो बाद में स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द के नाम से विख्यात हुए। महर्षि के इस आदर्श के अनुकूल कि गुरुकुल नगरों से दूर एकान्त में होने चाहिये तथा "उपहारे च गिरीणां संगमे च नदीनाम्। धिया विप्रो अजायत।" (यजु. २६, १५) इस वेद मन्त्र की ध्वनि के अनुसार उन्होंने हरिद्वार के निकट हिमालय की उपत्यका में गंगा के तट पर आज से लगभग ७१ वर्ष पूर्व सन् १९०० में गुरुकुल कांगड़ी की स्थापना की। थोड़े से छात्रों, इने-गिने निष्ठावान् अध्यापकों तथा फूस की झोंपड़ियों से प्रारम्भ हुआ, यह गुरुकुल आज एक विशाल विश्वविद्यालय का रूप धारण कर चुका है। भारत की स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति से पूर्व यह सरकार से कुछ भी आर्थिक सहायता न लेता हुआ केवल अपने आदर्शों के बल पर तथा गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणाली में रुचि लेने वाली जनता के आशीर्वाद पर जीवित रहा है। इसे बड़े-बड़े महापुरुषों का वरदान प्राप्त होता रहा है। इसके नवस्नातकों को दीक्षान्तोत्सव के मंच से महात्मा गान्धी, रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर, पं. मदनमोहन मालवीय, डॉ. भगवान दास, सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल, बाबू राजेन्द्र प्रसाद, डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द, डा. राधाकृष्णन् आदि विद्वानों तथा नेताओं का प्रेरणाप्रद उपदेश प्राप्त हुआ है। इसे लार्ड मेस्टन, लार्ड इस्लिग्टन, लार्ड चैम्सफोर्ड, भि. मायर्न एच फिलिप्स, भि. सी. डी. थाम्प्सन, प्रो. रेनु आदि विदेशी विद्वानों से भी संस्तुति प्राप्त हुई है। समस्त हितैषियों का आशीर्वाद प्राप्त कर स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के पश्चात् अब सरकार से मी आंशिक अनुदान पाता हुआ यह गुरुकुल पुष्पित तथा फलित हो रहा है।

इस विश्वविद्यालय में प्रारम्भिक कक्षाओं से लेकर शोध उपाधि तक की समुचित व्यवस्था है। वैदिक साहित्य तथा संस्कृत विषय पाठ्य-क्रम में अनिवार्य हैं। इनके साथ दर्शन शास्त्र, इतिहास, मनोविज्ञान, भौतिक विज्ञान, गणित, हिन्दी, अंग्रेजी, हिन्दी साहित्य आदि आधुनिक विषयों को भी स्थान दिया गया है। सम्प्रति यहां विद्यालय विभाग, वेद महाविद्यालय, कला महाविद्यालय, आयुर्वेद महाविद्यालय तथा विज्ञान महाविद्यालय का प्रबन्ध है। विद्यालय विभाग के सभी छात्र आश्रम प्रणाली से गुरुकुल में ही निवास

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करते हैं, जिनमें सभी प्रान्तों के छात्र हैं तथा कभी कभी विदेशी छात्र भी आजाते हैं। वेदानुसंधान विभाग, प्रकाशन विभाग, पुरातत्त्व संग्रहालय तथा गुरुकुल कांगड़ी फ़ार्मसी भी यहां के आकर्षण हैं।

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी के सफल परीक्षण के पश्चात् गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणाली की ओर जनता की बढ़ती हुई रुचि को देख कर अन्य भी अनेक गुरुकुल खोले गये। इनमें गुरुकुल बृन्दावन, गुरुकुल महाविद्यालय ज्वलापुर, गुरुकुल कुरुक्षेत्र, श्रीमद्दयानन्दार्षविद्यापीठ गुरुकुल फज्जर, गुरुकुल सूपा (नवसारी), गुरुकुल मैंसवाल (रोहतक), गुरुकुल मटिण्डू (रोहतक), गुरुकुल चित्तौड़गढ़, गुरुकुल इन्द्रप्रस्थ, गुरुकुल सिंहपुरा (रोहतक), गुरुकुल कुम्भा खेड़ा (हिसार), गुरुकुल आर्य नगर (हिसार), गुरुकुल टटेसर (दिल्ली), गुरुकुल गदपुरी (गुड़गायं), गुरुकुल सिकन्दराबाद (बुलन्दशहर), गुरुकुल घटकेश्वर (हैदराबाद), गुरुकुल घरोण्डा, गुरुकुल एटा, गुरुकुल बदायूं, गुरुकुल वैद्यनाथधाम (विहार), गुरुकुल होशंगाबाद (मध्य-प्रदेश) आदि प्रमुख हैं। कन्याओं की शिक्षा के लिये अनेक कन्या गुरुकुलों की भी स्थापना हुई। सन् १९२३ में महात्मा मुंशीराम द्वारा ही गुरुकुल कांगड़ी से सम्बद्ध कन्या गुरुकुल देहरादून स्थापित हुआ जिसमें आज आश्रम प्रणाली से रहती हुई ३०० से अधिक कन्यायें विद्याध्ययन कर रही हैं। इन्हें अन्य विषयों के अतिरिक्त सिलाई, कढ़ाई, पाकशाला, संगीत आदि कन्योपयोगी विषय भी पढ़ाये जाते हैं। तथा ये खेल-कूद, व्यायाम, संभाषण, अभिनय आदि का भी अभ्यास करती हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त कन्या गुरुकुल हाथरस, कन्या गुरुकुल बड़ोदा, कन्यामहाविद्यालय जालनधर, कन्या गुरुकुल नरेला, कन्या गुरुकुल खानपुर, रानी लक्ष्मीबाई कन्या गुरुकुल (ग्वालियर), कन्या गुरुकुल दाधिया (राजस्थान), कन्या गुरुकुल पोरबन्दर, कन्या गुरुकुल कनखल आदि भी उल्लेखनीय हैं। कन्या शिक्षा को प्रोत्साहित करने का प्रमुख श्रेय महर्षि दयानन्द को ही है। उनसे पूर्व ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न हो चुकी थी कि कन्याओं को शिक्षा देना तथा वेदादि को पढ़ाना श्रुतिविरुद्ध समझा जाता था। उन्होंने कन्या शिक्षा को श्रुत्यनुकूल तथा आवश्यक बतलाते हुए कन्या पाठशालाएं तथा कन्या

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गुरुकुल खोलने की प्रेरणा दी। उसी के प्रभाव से आज नगर-नगर में कन्या पाठशालाएं, कन्या गुरुकुल और कन्या महाविद्यालय विद्यमान हैं तथा कन्याओं के वेदादि के अध्ययन पर भी कोई प्रतिबन्ध नहीं है। संस्कृत एवं वैदिक साहित्य के अध्ययन के लिये प्रति जन-सामान्य में रुचि तथा आकर्षण पैदा करना ऋषि दयानन्द और गुरुकुलों की विशेष देन है।

गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणाली की कतिपय आधारभूत विशेषताएं

गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणाली की कुछ महत्वपूर्ण विशेषताएं निम्न लिखित हैं जिनका वर्तमान गुरुकुल अनुसरण करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं।

१. लगभग ७-८ वर्ष की आयु तक बालक घर में रहता हुआ माता-पिता से विद्या प्राप्त करता है। उसके पश्चात् अनिवार्य रूप से उसे घर छोड़ कर गुरुकुल चला जाना होता है। गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणाली में ऐसी छूट नहीं है कि बालक-बालिकाएं विद्यालयों में पढ़ कर पुनः घर आ जाया करें। वे अपना छोटा घर छोड़ कर विशाल घर गुरुकुल में प्रवेश करते हैं। जैसा "कुल" शब्द से सूचित होता है, गुरुकुल गुरुओं और शिष्यों का एक सम्मिलित परिवार है। बालक इस परिवार का एक अंग होता है। इस प्रकार गुरुकुल बालक-बालिकाओं के लिये विद्यालय तथा परिवार दोनों का कार्य करता है। यही आश्रम-प्रणाली है।

२. सम्बन्ध की घनिष्ठता :—गुरुकुल में गुरु और शिष्य का पिता-पुत्र के तुल्य परस्पर घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध अभीष्ठ होता है। धर्म शास्त्र में कहा है कि माता-पिता तो केवल शरीर को जन्म देते है, आचार्य विद्या से उसे नया जन्म देता है और यह जन्म प्रथम जन्म की अपेक्षा अधिक श्रेष्ठ है।

स हि (आचार्यः) विद्यातस्तं जनयति। तच्छ्रेष्ठं जन्म। शरीरमेव तु मातापितरौ जनयतः। आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र १, १, १, १६-१८

अथर्ववेद में कहा है कि आचार्य उपनयन संस्कार करके बालक को अपने गर्भ में धारण करता है। जब तक स्नातक बन कर वह द्विज नहीं हो जाता तब तक आचार्य के गर्भ में ही रहता है। गर्भ में रखना शिष्य के साथ आचार्य के गहरे सम्बन्ध को ही सूचित करता है। जैसे गर्भावस्था में बालक के समस्त शारीरिक और मानसिक पोषण का उत्तरदायित्व माता पर होता है वैसे ही गुरुकुल में शिष्य की सर्वाधिक पुष्टि का उत्तरदायी आचार्य होता है।

आचार्य उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कृणुते गर्भमन्तः।
तं रात्रीस्तिस्र उदरे बिभर्ति तं जातं द्रष्टुमभिसंयन्ति देवाः॥

अथर्व. ११, ५, ३

३. आचार निर्माण :—आचार्य का कार्य केवल विद्या पढ़ाना नहीं है। वह विद्या के साथ साथ आचार की शिक्षा भी देता है। तथा शिष्य को सदाचार का ग्रहण कराने, समस्त पदार्थों का ज्ञान हस्तामलकवत् उसके संमुख प्रकट कर देने और शिष्य की बुद्धि का विकास करने के कारण ही आचार्य कहाता है :—

आचार्यः कस्मात्? आचारं ग्राहयति, आचिनोत्यर्थान्, आचिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा। (निरुक्त १, ४)

आचार्य का इतना बड़ा उत्तरदायित्व गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणालि में ही पूर्ण हो सकता है। जिस शिक्षा पद्धति में गुरु और शिष्य का सम्पर्क केवल विद्यालय तक ही सीमित हो उससे नहीं।

४. समान व्यवहार :—समस्त बालक-बालिकाओं के साथ समानता का व्यवहार भी गुरुकुल शिक्षा-प्रणाली का एक आदर्श है। गुरुकुलों में रहने वाले छात्र अपने वर्णगत, जातिगत, सम्पत्तिगत आदि भेदभावों को भुला कर सहोदर भाइयों के समान निवास करते हैं। ऋग्वेद में समता के लिये किया गया यह वर्णन उनमें पूर्णतः चरितार्थ होता है :—अज्येष्ठासो अकनिष्ठास एते सं भ्रातरो वावृधुः सौभगाय (ऋग् ५, ६०, ५)।

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आचार्य संदीपनि के आश्रम में कृष्ण-सुदामा के समान उनमें धनी गरीब का भेदभाव नहीं होता। किसी को राजकुमार या राजकुमारी होने के कारण भोजन-आच्छादन आदि की अधिक सुविधाएं प्राप्त हो और किसी को निर्धन होने के कारण उससे वंचित होना पड़े यह गुरुकुल के आदर्श के विरुद्ध है।

५. सादगी तपस्या और ब्रह्मचर्य :—सादा रहन-सहन, उच्च विचारा ब्रह्मचर्य और तपस्या का जीवन गुरुकुल शिक्षा पद्धति की आधारभित्ति है, स्मृति शास्त्रों में जो विद्यार्थी के लिये मधु, मांस, गन्ध, माल्य, अभ्यंग, उपानच्छत्रधारण आदि का निषेध किया गया है तथा सब काम अपने हाथ से करने का विधान किया गया है वह सादे रहन सहन का ही प्रतीक है। अथर्ववेद के ब्रह्मचर्य सूक्त में ब्रह्मचर्य की महिमा वर्णित करते हुए ब्रह्मचारी को तपस्या पूर्वक निवास करने के लिये कहा गया है :—ब्रह्मचारी सलिलस्य पृष्ठे तपोऽतिष्ठत्। धर्मसूत्रों तथा स्मृतियों में भी प्रथम आश्रम के लिये ब्रह्मचर्य और तपस्या को विशेष महत्व दिया गया है। गुरुकुल के ब्रह्मचारी की दिनचर्या में शास्त्रों में, ब्राह्म मुहूर्त में जागरण, शीतल जल से स्नान, व्यायाम, सन्ध्या, अग्निहोत्र, पुष्टिकर सादा भोजन, गुरुसेवा आदि का विधान उसके शरीर, मन और मस्तिष्क को स्वस्थ रखने वाला है।

६. निःशुल्क शिक्षा :—गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणाली का छात्र आर्थिक चिन्ता से मुक्त होता है। वह शिक्षा शुल्कों के भार से पोड़ित नहीं होता। गुरुकुल के आदर्श में प्रत्येक छात्र की शिक्षा निःशुल्क होती है। राष्ट्र और समाज में सब छात्रों को शिक्षा प्राप्ति की समान सुविधा प्राप्त होती है। शिक्षालय का भार राष्ट्र या समाज वहन करता है। प्राचीन गुरुकुलों में तो भरण पोषण का व्यय भी छात्रों या उनके पिताओं से नहीं लिया जाता था। एतदर्थ गुरुकुलों को राजकीय सहायता प्राप्त होती थी या छात्र भिक्षावृत्ति से अपना और अपने गुरुकुलों दोनों का निर्वाह करते थे। निर्धन छात्रों को ही शिक्षा के लिए जाना पड़ता हो ऐसा नहीं था, प्रत्युत जिस गुरुकुल में भिक्षावृत्ति का

नियम होना था, वहां राजकुमार और दरिद्र सभी को भिक्षा मांगनी होती थी। आज के युग में यह किया जा सकता है कि केवल खान-पान आदि का व्यय छात्रों या अभिभावकों से लिया जाए, पर शिक्षा आज भी निःशुल्क होनी चाहिये।

७. पाठ्य विषयों की व्यापकता :—गुरुकुल की शिक्षा एकांगी नहीं होती थी अपितु उसमें सभी उपयोगी विषयों का समावेश रहता है। प्राचीन गुरुकुलों में परा और अपरा दोनों विद्याएं पढाई जाती थीं। छान्दोग्योपनिषद् से ज्ञात होता है कि नारद जब सनत्कुमार के पास आत्मविद्या की प्राप्ति के लिये गये उससे पूर्व वे चारों वेद, इतिहास, पुरातत्त्व, गणित, देव विद्या, निधि विद्या, तर्क शास्त्र, नीति शास्त्र, भौतिक शास्त्र, धनुर्वेद, ज्योतिष आदि अनेक विद्याओं को गुरुओं से सीख चुके थे। विद्यार्थी के ज्ञान में नूतन और पुरातन का समन्वय होना उचित है। कालिदास के शब्दों में 'पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि सर्वं नवमित्यवद्यम्।' अत एव गुरुकुलों में जहां वेद, वेदांग, लौकिक संस्कृत साहित्य, भारतीय दर्शन आदि विषयों की अनिवार्यता रहती है, वहां साथ ही इतिहास, अर्थशास्त्र, मनोविज्ञान, हिन्दी साहित्य, गणित, भौतिक विज्ञान, चिकित्सा शास्त्र आदि विषयों को भी पाठ्यक्रम में स्थान दिया जाता है।

८. परीक्षा पद्धति :—गुरुकुलों में शिक्षा प्रणाली के गुरु छात्रों के निकट सम्पर्क में रहने के कारण उनकी शैक्षणिक योग्यता, आचार-विचार, गुण, दोष आदि से पूर्णतः परिचित रहते थे अतः उनकी परीक्षा पद्धति भी आधुनिक परीक्षा प्रणाली के दोषों से मुक्त रहती थी। वे एक बार की परीक्षा से छात्रों का भाग्य निर्णय नहीं करते थे अपितु उनकी परीक्षा वर्ष भर चलती रहती थी।

गुरुकुलों की साहित्य सेवा

गुरुकुलों के शिक्षकों तथा स्नातकों ने विविध क्षेत्रों में उल्लेखनीय साहित्य सेवा की है। इनमें से कुछ प्रकाशन गुरुकुलों से ही हुए हैं तथा कुछ अन्य स्थानों से।

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वैदिक साहित्य में वेदादि ग्रन्थों के भाष्य, अनुवाद, व्याख्या, कोश आदि का निर्माण हुआ है। विदेशी विद्वानों द्वारा लिखे गये वेद विषयक अंग्रेजी ग्रन्थों के अनुवाद भी प्रकाशित हुए हैं। वैदिक समस्याओं पर अनेक स्वतंत्र ग्रन्थ भी लिखे गये हैं तथा वेदों के शिक्षक और प्रचारक भी तैयार हुए हैं। भाष्यों में जयदेव विद्यालंकार रचित चतुर्वेद भाष्य एवं माधव की ऋग्वेदानुक्रमणी का भाष्य, बुद्धदेव विद्यालंकार कृत अथर्ववेद तथा शतपथ ब्राह्मण का आंशिक भाष्य, धर्मदेव विद्यामार्तण्ड रचित ऋग्वेद तथा सामवेद का हिन्दी-अंग्रेज़ी भाष्य, चन्द्रमणि विद्यालंकार का निरुक्तभाष्य, हरिशरण सिद्धान्तालंकार का अप्रकाशित चतुर्वेद भाष्य, हरिश्चन्द्र विद्यालंकार का साम-भाष्य तथा स्वामी ब्रह्ममुनि का यजुर्वेद के भाष्य हैं। डा० सूर्य कान्त ने वैदिक कोश का प्रणयन तथा मेकडानल कृत मैतालजी एवं कीथ कृत दि रिलिजन अण्ड फिलासफी आफ दी वेदाज़ का हिन्दी अनुवाद किया है। वेद व्याख्या ग्रन्थों में विश्वनाथ विद्यालंकार कृत वैदिक गृहस्थ आश्रम, अभय विद्यालंकार कृत वैदिक विनय, ब्राह्मण की गौ और वैदिक ब्रह्मचर्य गीत, प्रियव्रत वेदवाचस्पति रचित वेदोद्यान के चुने हुए फूल, वरुण की नौका, वेद का राष्ट्रीय गीत, तथा भगवद्दत्त वेदालंकार के ऋतु देवता, वैदिक स्वप्न विज्ञान, वैदिक आध्यात्म विद्या, विष्णु देवता आदिग्रन्थ तथा डा० रामनाथ वेदालंकार कृत वेदों की वर्णन शैलियां नामक शोध प्रबन्ध उल्लेखनीय हैं। कुछ सैद्धान्तिक ग्रन्थ भी लिखे गये हैं, यथा विश्वनाथ विद्यालंकार कृत "वैदिक पशु यज्ञमीमांसा", धर्मदेव विद्यामार्तण्ड रचित "स्त्रियों का वेदाध्ययन" और "वैदिक कर्मकाण्ड में अधिकार", देवराज विद्यावाचस्पति कृत "अग्निहोत्र", शिवशंकर काव्यतीर्थ का 'वैदिक इतिहासार्थ निर्णय', डा० निरूपण विद्यालंकार कृत "भारतीय धर्म शास्त्रों में शूद्रों की स्थिति" आदि गुरुकुल कांगडी तथा गुरुकुल बृन्दावन के अनुसंधान विभागों से भी वैदिक ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित हुए हैं।

गुरुकुलों एवं गुरुकुलों के स्नातकों ने संस्कृत व्याकरण, संस्कृत साहित्य, संस्कृत दर्शन एवं हिन्दी साहित्य सर्जन में भी योग दान दिया है। गुरुकुल कांगडी से आचार्य पं. गंगादत्त विरचित पाणिनीयाष्टकं दो

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भागों में प्रकाशित हुआ है। इस के अतिरिक्त महाभाष्य के पस्पशाह्निक, अंगाधिकार आदि प्रकरण तथा छात्रोपयोगी ग्रन्थ, नामिक, आख्यातिक, सन्धि विषय, शब्दरूपावली, धातुरूपावली, संस्कृत प्रवेश शिक्षा, साहित्य पुष्पांजलि, साहित्य सुधासंग्रह आदि निकले हैं। गुरुकुल फज्जर से पांच जिल्दों में उद्द्योत प्रदीप टीकाओं तथा विमर्श टिप्पणी सहित सम्पूर्ण पातञ्जल महाभाष्य ५ जिल्दों में प्रकाशित हुआ है। साहित्य के क्षेत्र में इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति, वागीश्वर विद्यालंकार, सत्यदेव विद्यालंकार, सत्यकाम विद्यालंकार, चन्द्रगुप्त विद्यालंकार, शंकर देव विद्यालंकार, डा. हरिवंश कोचर आदि ने अच्छी ख्याति प्राप्त की है। गुरुकुल महाविद्यालय ज्वालापुर के स्नातक डा. हरिदत्त शास्त्री, डा. सूर्य कान्त, डा. कपिल देव द्विवेदी, पं. उदय धीर शास्त्री आदि के वेद, व्याकरण, दर्शन एवं साहित्य के ग्रन्थों का सर्वत्र सम्मान हुआ है। गुरुकुल वृन्दावन के स्नातक आचार्य विशेश्वर सिद्धान्त शिरोमणि ने संस्कृत काव्य शास्त्र तथा दर्शन शास्त्र के अनेक ग्रन्थों की प्रामाणिक टीकाओं के प्रणायन का प्रशंसनीय कार्य किया है, जिसमें अभिनवभारती, काव्यालंकार-सूत्रवृत्ति, वक्रोक्तिजीवित तथा उदयन कुसुमाञ्जलि प्रमुख हैं। इस गुरुकुल की उपज डा. विजयेन्द्र स्नातक तथा डा. धर्मेन्द्र नाथ शास्त्री भी प्रख्यात साहित्यकार एवं समालोचक हैं। महाकवि स्वर्गीय आचार्य मेवाक्त शास्त्री की भी संस्कृत साहित्य को अनुपम देन है जिन्होंने दयानन्द दिग्विजय महाकाव्य, कुमुदिनीचन्द्र उपन्यास, प्रकृतिसौन्दर्य नाटक तथा दयानन्दलहरी आदि गीति काव्यों की रचना की है, जिसमें सहृदयजनों को कालिदास की कविता का आस्वादन होता है। इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति ने "भारतैतिह्यं" नामक एक संस्कृत महाकाव्य लिखा है। धर्मदेव विद्यामार्तण्ड तथा जनमेजय विद्यालंकार संस्कृत कविताओं पर सरकार से पुरस्कृत हुए हैं।

प्रामाणिक इतिहास के ग्रन्थों के लेखन की ओर भी गुरुकुलों ने रुचि प्रदर्शित की है। गुरुकुल कांगड़ी से आचार्य रामदेव द्वारा लिखित भारतवर्ष का इतिहास बृहदाकार तीन जिल्दों में प्रकाशित हुआ है। जिसमें भारतीय आदर्श सभ्यता, संस्कृत एवं इतिहास का प्रामाणिक सही चित्रण

हुआ है। इन्द्रविद्या वाचस्पति, प्राणनाथ विद्यालङ्कार, जयचन्द्र विद्यालङ्कार, सत्यकेतु विद्यालङ्कार, चन्द्रगुप्त विद्यालङ्कार, पृथ्वीसिंह मेहता, हरिदत्त वेदालङ्कार आदि गुरुकुलीय विद्वानों द्वारा लिखित इतिहास, राजनीतिशास्त्र, एवं अर्थशास्त्र सम्बधी ग्रन्थ अनेक संस्थाओं द्वारा पुरस्कृत तथा सम्मानित हुए हैं। गुरुकुल झज्जर से हरियाणा के इतिहास पर आचार्य भगवान देव द्वारा लिखित "हरियाणा के वीर यौधेय", "वीर भूमि हरियाणा" आदि ग्रन्थों का प्रकाशन हुआ है।

आयुर्वेद विज्ञान पर भी गुरुकुलों के स्नातकों ने साहित्य लिखा है। इसमें चरक, सुश्रुत, अष्टाङ्गहृदय आदि प्राचीन आयुर्वेदिक ग्रन्थों के अनुवाद जयदेव विद्यालङ्कार, अत्रिदेव विद्यालङ्कार, सत्यदेव विद्यालङ्कार, निरञ्जनदेव आयुर्वेदालङ्कार, रणजीतराय आयुर्वेदालङ्कार, रामेश वेदी आयुर्वेदालङ्कार, ब्रह्मदत्त आयुर्वेदालङ्कार आदि प्रमुख हैं।

गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणाली के आदर्शों को हम आधुनिक गुरुकुल में क्रियान्वित करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे है, यद्यपि यह कहना कठिन है कि हम उसमें पूर्णतः सफल हो चुके हैं। आज शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में स्वदेश तथा विदेशों में जो न्यूनताएं दृष्टिगोचर हो रही हैं वे गुरुकुलीय शिक्षा के आदर्शों को अपना कर पर्याप्त अंशो में दूर की जा सकती हैं ऐसा हमारा विश्वास है।

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CONTRIBUTION OF NEPAL TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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Regarding the origin and etymological meaning of the word 'Nepal' scholars are still divided in their opinions, though the word has been in vogue from very early times, as seen in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (4th century B.C.) using this word in the sense of a country. Whether this territory, for which the word Nepal has been used, was protected by sage Ne or Nimi and therefore this has come to be called Nepal; or the heavenly cow (Kāmadhenu) 'Ne,' could find out the liṅga of Lord Paśupati and get this (territory) protected, and hence has been called Nepal; or the country followed the right course and ethics, hence was called Nayapāla from which Nepal was derived; or from the Tibetan word 'Salpo' (country of wool), by metathesis, it became 'pāla' and being joined with 'Ne' (pure and habitable), it became 'Nepal; or the Kirati word 'Nepa' meaning a 'central country' or 'a sacred country', a place of pilgrimage, gave rise to the word Nepal, cannot be finally settled. Whatever may be the significance of the name, we have to treat here the literary achievements of the area of Kathmandu and its vicinity.

Literature of ancient Nepal is available in the form of inscription in Sanskrit language. During the reign of the Lichchavi kings Sanskrit was the official and literary language. From *c.* Ist century A D. to XIIth century A. D., Sanskrit occupied the privileged position of being used in literature and inscription. During the reign of the few rulers of the Soma dynasty before the emergence of the Lichchavi, Sanskrit was perhaps the main language. Even after this period Sanskrit occupied a prominent place in literature and inscription.

It is very difficult to write about the literature produced in Nepal from the earliest time down to the present age as several works are still in ms. lying in the local libraries or with individuals.

Funding by IKS-MoE

The Sanskrit used in Licchavi inscriptions is pure, simple and graceful. [1]Mānadeva's Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa inscription is in the Gupta character. This inscription, composed in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and describing the pathetic and heroic sentiments, is of high literary value.

This kind of inscriptional Sanskrit composition, relating to other Lichchavi kings is found abundantly. Amśuvarman, who has been described in his inscriptions as Sāmanta, Mahā Sāmanta, Mahārāja and Mahārājādhirāja, was a great scholar. It is said that *he himself wrote a grammar in Sanskrit* which has not yet come to light.

While king S'aṅkaradeva was ruling, Rāghavasiṁha composed a work *Dharmaputrikā* relating to Śaivism. The colophon of the work indicates that Rāghavasiṁha dwelt in Yaṅgvala (Indragṛha) where he finished this work in 1069 A.D.

During the reign of Mahārājā Rudradeva (1157–76 A.D.) Bhikṣupūjita Śrījñāna wrote *Dharmasamuccaya* and Vaidya Govindas'īla composed *Yogasārasamuccaya*. *Kālottaratantra*, *Śivadharma Śāstra* and *Piṅgalāmata* are among the works of the same period.

Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, a work of Buddhism, which describes the different perfections in the doctrine of Buddhism, was copied here during 1008-15 A.D.

Mahārāja Guṇakāmadeva, who was also known as Lakṣmī-Kāmadeva, got written a work called *Catuṣpīṭhasādhanasamuccaya* in 1045 A.D.

The *Mitapadapañjikā* relating to Buddhism was also composed here. It is proved by the literature of the time that though Vaiṣṇavism was the prominent faith of the age, Buddhism was also highly regarded and there was no religious intolerance. Due to political instability here during the 12th and 13th centuries, no literary work of this age, worth mentioning, has been found.

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1. Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa inscription, S. K. 386. R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, Part I, pp. 2–5.

Funding by IKS-MoE

In the first half of the 14th century, Jayārimalladeva was reigning here. Śrī Jayasiṁha or Jayasiṁgavarmā was Prime Minister (Pradhāna Mahāpātra) of the king. He was a resident of Śrinhola Vihāra in North Bihar. Poet Jayaṭa, who was called Kavi-kamala-bhāskara, wrote in Sanskrit a drama, *Mahīrāvaṇa-vadhopākhyāna* to fulfil the curiosity of Jayasiṁha. This drama was completed in 1337 A.D. The verse and prose of this work prove that poet Jayaṭa's title *Kavikamala-bhāskara* was quite justified. He composed another drama, *Hariścandropākhyāna* in order to fulfil the desire of Jayasiṁha.

In the second half of the 14th century when Jayasthiti Malla became the feudal lord of Bhaktapur, Jayaṭa, the poet, became his minister in 1380 A.D. This is mirrored in the commentary *Nyāyavikāsinī* on the *Mānavanyāyaśāstra* by Mānika. This commentary was written at the initiative of Jayaṭa. The scribing of the *Mānavanyāyaśāstra* of Maharṣi Nārada was completed in 1169 A.D., Māgha śukla trayodaśī. In the same month a Dharma Saṃhitā, *Paitāmahī Divya Sudhi* was also copied.

Jayasthiti Malla, heir to the Karnata and Malla dynasties, ruled here from 1352 to 1395 A.D. During his peaceful reign there were not only religious, social and political reforms, but also production of several literary works. Mānika composed a drama *Rāghavānanda* in 1377 A.D. Another drama of his, *Bhairavānanda*, composed in *c*. 1385 A.D., proves his versatile genius. This drama was enacted in Bhaktapur on the occasion of Jayadharma Malla's marriage. From the literary point of view this drama is of a high order. After the death of his wife, Rajalla Devi, Jayasthiti Malla, in 1388 A.D., got composed and engraved an inscription which combines literary merits along with historical facts.

Poet Dharmagupta, the son of Rāmadāsa, a well known scholar and preceptor of the Nepal Kings, wrote a drama *Rāmāṅkanāṭikā* in graceful Sanskrit. In this drama Dharmagupta describes himself as *Vidyārṇava* (ocean of learning) and *Bālavāgīśvara*. Besides this, he wrote two other plays, *Rāmāyaṇa Nāṭaka* and *Rāmābhiṣeka Nāṭaka*. In these three dramas there is similarity in plot, also in style and language.

The inscriptions, copper-plate and gold plate edicts and other records of the rulers of Serja in Jumala, particularly those of Prithvī Malla and Ripu Malla (14th century) are valuable from the literary point of view. Some inscriptions have been written in pure classical Sanskrit in the style of Daṇḍin and Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa and some in a mixture of Sanskrit and Nepali.

Rūpamañjarīpariṇaya, a drama, was written by poet Śubharāja, son of Paṇḍita Abhayarāja between 1460 to 1470 A.D. The available portion of this work proves sufficiently the greatness of S'ubharāja as a dramatist. Some time about 1480 A.D. the same poet composed the Sanskrit drama *Pāṇḍavavijaya* which was presented to the audience on the auspicious occasion of the marriage of Mādhava Malla. Śubharāja in the prologue to this drama, mentions himself as a śūdra by descent. This shows that teaching of Sanskrit was available to all people at that time, irrespective of caste-considerations.

Among the rulers of the Malla dynasty, King Jagajjyotirmalla of Bhaktapur was himself an eminent scholar and was proficient in music and the arts. He wrote several works and his court-poets also composed many. He wrote a commentary *Svarodayadīpikā* on *Narapatijayacaryā* and another on *Nāgarasarvasva*, a work on *Kāmaśāstra*. He was also the author of *Ślokasārasaṅgraha*, and *Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha*. The Maithili Pandit Vangamaṇi Jha, the protege of King Jagajjyotirmalla, composed the *Kṛṣṇacaritakāvya* and a commentary *Saṅgītabhāskara* along with the king.

Sumati Jaya Jitāmitra Malla (1663–96 A.D.), son of Jagat Prakāśa Malla, a noble son of a worthy father, was well versed in Sanskrit, Maithili and Newari.

In the latter part of this century, when Pratāpa Malla was ruling over Kāntipūr, Mahārāja Kumāra Māndhāta Siṁha, who was proficient in music and arts and well versed in śāstras, composed a valuable work, *Gītakeśava* in 12 cantos in 1678 A.D.

Pratāpa Mallā, the king of Kāntipūr (1639–89 A.D.), was himself an eminent scholar and poet and well conversant with the musical art. He has written several works. His inscriptions too have a literary value. The inscription composed by him, which is placed to the south of the temple of Tulajā Bhavānī, justifies his arrogance when he designates himself *Kavīndra* and *Saṅgītārṇava-*

pārāga. This was inscribed in 1642 A.D. His other inscription which is engraved on stone and placed before the entrance of the Kṛṣṇa temple in Hanuman Dhoka, is of a high literary order. Jaya Pratāpa Malla, the great poet, composed *Nṛtyeśvaradaśaka* in graceful verses in which Lord Śiva has been eulogized in the form of Ardhanārīs'vara (half male and half female); he has also composed a panegyric called *Narasimha-Avatāra stotra* in very beautiful and ornamental Sanskrit. The Tulādānaśilāstambhatoraṇa inscription installed in the southern part of the Paśupati temple, shows his great scholarship and poetic genius.

The Maithili poet Kāśīnātha composed in Sanskrit *Yaduvaṁśa Mahākāvya* in 10 cantos on the pattern of *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. The poet has achieved great success in this work, combining grammatical and poetical excellences in a great measure.

During the reign of the rulers of the Malla dynasty more than one hundred dramas were written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Maithilī languages ; of these, *Muditakuvalayāśva*, *Rāmāyaṇa nāṭaka*, *Kṛṣṇacaritra Nāṭaka*, *Indravijaya*, *Uṣāharaṇa* and *Abhinay(v)a-prabodhacandrodaya*, are worth mentioning.

The *Cakrapāṇicarcā* of Cakrapāṇi S'armā, the harbinger of the triumph of the great Mahārāja Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Saha is an important work from historical and literary points of view. This work was written in 1753 A.D.

When almost the whole of this country came under the rule of Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa Saha in 1768–69 A.D., a new urge came in the field of literary activity. Poet Lalita Vallabha wrote two great poems, *Bhaktavijaya* in 1769 A.D. and *Pṛthvīndravarṇanodaya* in 1770 A.D., both relating to the victory of the great king. These works are not only important from historical point of view, but they contain immense literary values as well. Poet Lakṣmaṇa's *Kavitānikaṣopala*, written in the same age, presents a beautiful description of the victory of Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa Saha and Pratāpa Sāha.

Poet Rāmabhadra, son of Karṇakaropādhyāya, composed *Praśastiratna* in 1779 A.D., eulogizing the rulers of the Saha dynasty.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Jayaratnākara Nāṭaka was written by S'aktivallabha Aryala in 1792 A.D. It describes the heroism of Raṇabahadura Saha. The author calls himself 'Padya-koṭīśvara', a composer of one crore verses.

The poet Bhānubhaktācarya (1814-1889 A.D.) wrote the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the first epic in Nepali along with *Vadhūśikṣā*, *Bhaktamālā*, *Praśnottara* etc.

Geravana Yuddha Vikrama Saha wrote *Vājirahasya* in Sanskrit.

During the reign of Mahārāja Rājendra Vīra Vikrama Sāha (1816–1847 A.D.), the inscription engraved on silver-plates, which were placed on the doors of the Paśupati Temple in 1834 A.D., is of good poetic quality. The composition of the Maithili Pandit Kulānanda Jha, which was inscribed on stone-slabs and placed on the wall of Paśupati Dharma S'ālā, is of value from cultural and literary point of view. Another work, *Vijayatilakakāvya* by poet Agnidhara is of the same age. It describes the triumph of the rulers of the Saha-dynasty, beginning from Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa Sāha down to Rājendra Vīra Vikrama Sāha.

Mahābuddhopāsaka Bhikṣu Sundarananda composed *Rājendranimantraṇa*, a prose work in the elaborate form of Sanskrit Gauḍī style. This shows his wide range of scholarship. *Triratnasaundaryagāthā* containing 244 verses, (of which only 20 are now found) is the work of the same author. This was written on the advice of Bhīmasena Thapa.

Vāṇī Vilāsa (1770-1831 A.D.), son of Pandit Rāmhṛdaya, composed *Vāgmatīstotra* and an inscription along with eulogy of Bhīmasena Thapa, which is engraved on the pillar, placed on the northern bank of the river Vāgmatī. The metre, style, poetic quality (guṇa), sentiments and figures of speech found in his works justify his fame as a great poet. Over and above these works Vāṇī Vilāsa wrote *Praśastiratnāvalī*, *Vāṇīvilāsa-siddhānta*, *Durgākṛtyakaumudī*, *Puraścaraṇa*, *Prayogaratnadīpikā*, *Vedāntasārasaṅgraha*, *Navaratnayugalastotra*, *Dūrgāstotra*, *Gaṅgāstotra* and *Bhujaṅgaprayāta Stotra*.

Vidyābhūṣaṇa Kulacandra Gautama has enriched Sanskrit literature with his several devotional works, *Śrīmadbhāgavatamañjarī*, *Harivarivasyā*, *Vandanayugala*, *Kṛṣṇakarṇābharaṇa* etc.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Pandit Chabilala Sūri's Sanskrit works *Virakti-taraṅgiṇī*, *Sundaracaritanāṭaka*, *Kuśalavodayanāṭaka* and *Vṛttālaṅkāra*, written in 1895, 1898 and 1907 A.D. respectively, elicited the praise of Max Muller.

Pandit Ram Chandra Sharma Joshi has composed *Paśupati-stotra* and *Guhyakālīstotra* which were published in 1908 A.D. Though the work is small in volume, it is rich in thought and graceful in diction.

In the present century also Nepal has contributed to Sanskrit literature which deserves mention.

The *Ādarśarāghava*, a devotional work written in Sanskrit and Nepali separately by Pandit Raja Somanātha Śarmā, shows literary merits and the versatility of the poet. This work is enough to justify his title of *Paṇḍitarāja*. He has also written a faithful Sanskrit commentary on the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

Pandit Mādhava Prasād Devakoṭa of Palpa Tanasena has shown his poetic gifts in his Sanskrit works *Gaṇeśagaurava*, *Bhāratīvaibhava* and *Aśrunirjhara* which were published in 1953 A.D.

Pūrṇa Prasāda Brāhmaṇa in his work *Viśvedevāḥ* has briefly described in pure, simple and graceful Sanskrit the lives and deeds of Rāmakṛṣṇa, Buddha, Christ, Florence Nightingale, Lenin and Mahatma Gandhi. His another Sanskrit poem *Satyahariścandra* in 12 cantos, is also worth mentioning.

Śrīrāmacaritāmṛta in 7 cantos, published in 1928 A.D., *Gaṇeśavaibhava* and *Aparokṣānubhūti*, written by Dadhirama Sarma, are the works relating to religious and philosophic discourses. These works show Sarma's range and depth of knowledge and mastery over Sanskrit.

Pandeya Sri Jayaraja Sarma has composed *Dharmaśataka*, *Arthaśataka* and *Vivekaśataka*. The style and metre (Pṛthvī) enhance the beauty of the composition.

Pariṇāma, a Sanskrit drama in 7 acts, written by Pandita Cūḍānātha Bhaṭṭarai, presents a new social theme and thinking.

Funding by IKS-MoE

Bhāratīyanararatnasamuccaya by Somesvara Sarma Vyasa, *Sāmrājyalaharī*, a panegyric poem on goddess Durgā by Pandit Buddhi Sagara Parajuli, *Śrīśānticarita*, a small poem by Yogi Narahari Nātha are works of the present generation which deserve words of praise.

On the present Nepal king, Srī Mahendra Vira Vikrama Saha Deva, several long and short poems have been composed by Sanskrit scholars of the present age. *Pṛthvīmahendra Mahākāvya* of Śrī Hari Prasad Śarmā, *Mahendrodaya*, a historical Mahākāvya of Śrī Bharata Rāja Śarmā, *Mahendrapratāpodaya* of Śrī Jībanātha Jhā, *Ādarśamahendra Campū* of Kavirāja Hemanta Rama Bhattarai etc. are Sanskrit works of distinction. In these the writers have very well adjusted historical facts with literary qualities.

In the present article "Contribution of Nepal to Sanskrit Literature" several works relating to Vedic Religion, Buddhism and Tāntricism, written in Nepal have not been covered. Mainly literary works have been mentioned here.

The preservation of rare and valuable manuscripts in the National Archives of Nepal is praiseworthy. More than six thousand Sanskrit manuscripts have been preserved. The preservation of these manuscripts shows an ardent love of the Royal family and the scholars of Nepal for Sanskrit. Sanskrit scholars of the world will remain thankful to the Royal family and the scholars of this country for this preservation.

CONTRIBUTION OF NEPAL TO SANSKRIT (A.D. 700--1400)–SUMMARY

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Eighteenth century scholars discovered the Nepalese contributions made in Sanskrit through the ages. Their works also show that one of the significant branches of knowledge originating from the pool of the Central Asian intellectual ferment passed through Nepal, via Peking, Lhasa, Kantipura (Kathmandu), eastern India and from there spread to the South-east Asian countries. The formation of a similar pool of intellectual ferment over Sanskrit scholarship in Nepal set the trans-Himalayan centres of learning agog and scholars belonging to different language-groups rushed to Kantipura for Sanskrit learning. This process of proliferation of Nepalese Sanskrit rose up to the pinnacle of its values during the early medieval period when Islam invaded India and a large number of Buddhist scholars fled to Nepal bag and baggage. Brahmanical and Buddhist shrines multiplied. Buddhist *Vihāras* started humming with the gathering of the monks and scholars. Now trans-Himalayan Buddhists became interested more in Nepal which had treasured the vast wealth of Sanskrit literature. Royal and private donors struck their stone-memoirs in Sanskrit and dedicated them to Buddhist deities. Work of transliteration, translation, copying and original writing was done on a new scale with a new desire to transmit to the trans-Himalayan countries. Buddhism took the Great Vehicle of Buddhism in Sanskrit to Lhasa, Peking, Mongolia, Korea and Japan. Land-routes via eastern Chinese coast and straits of Malacca for reaching eastern India for the purpose of learning Sanskrit were deserted and from the beginning of the thirteenth century all land-routes from trans-Himalayan Asian countries terminated in Nepal for visiting Indian Buddhist centres. A new front of Nepalese contributions to Sanskrit was opened with the process of carrying Nepalese art traditions to northern countries and terms and talents of Sanskrit scholarship could obtain an aesthetic publicity, because all art pieces of the Buddhist pantheon are based on certain authentic Buddhist texts. The *Sādhanamālā*, the *Karmavibhaṅga*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* are the eminent Buddhist texts preserved in Nepal which constituted the basis of art productions from Mongolia to Java.

SANSKRIT STUDIES IN CEYLON

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The culture and civilisation of the Sinhalese from the earliest times shows unmistakable influences of Indian elements which were introduced to Ceylon by the earliest Aryan immigrants to the island. Among the most dominant factors that shaped the culture of the country Sanskrit and Pāli, in their linguistic and literary context, have played a significant role in not merely enriching and strengthening the Sinhala language during various phases of its evolution but also in furnishing developed literary models that inspired the growth of the indigenous literature. In the early period of such Indian influence Pāli was more dominant as the medium through which the Buddhist scriptures were transmitted. During this period Hindu culture, propagated mostly through the Brahmin advisers and priests in courtly circles, did not enjoy great prestige and at first met with opposition from the orthodox Buddhist faith. It was due to a rift in the Buddhist fraternity of monks that Sanskrit, which had been used in the scriptures of Mahāyāna Buddhism, was first introduced as a religious medium in Ceylon. The Sthaviravāda school adhered to the Pāli Canon of the Buddha from the beginning, but in the latter part of the 3rd century A.D., the opposing school of the Abhayagiri fraternity, who based their 'heretical' doctrines on the Mahāyāna Canon, used Buddhist Sanskrit texts.[1] The study of Buddhist doctrines in Sanskrit and the interpretation of Mahāyāna Buddhism presented in this medium could, therefore, be considered the earliest attempt made to introduce literary Sanskrit in Ceylon.

From this period onwards the influence of Sanskrit was pronounced and covered several spheres of literary and creative activities leading to the production of poetical and prose works, the compilation of manuals and treatises on such subjects as metre, prosody, poetics, lexicography and grammar and the composition of astrological, medical and technical text books. Sanskrit thus exercised a decisive influence on the development of secular literature

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[1] D. Pannasara, *Sanskrit Literature Extant Among the Sinhalese*, pp. 16–17.

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whereas Pāli continued to be the medium of the sacred literature. Sinhala literature is full of references made not only to Buddhist monks but to Sinhalese kings as well, who had mastered the Sanskrit language and were proficient in Vedic and Purāṇic lore. It is also recorded that the hostility shown by the orthodox Mahāvihāra monks towards Sanskrit gradually subsided and during the time of the Polonnaru period in the island's history increasing attention was paid, as a result of their changed attitude, to many aspects of Sanskrit studies and not merely to the religious texts.[1] The Polonnaru period is noted for its revived interest in the study of Sanskrit which, apart from being used by the scholar-monks in their original Sanskrit compositions, also influenced the growth of a hybrid style of Sanskritized Pāli, used in Pāli compositions of the period.[2]

A mixed Sinhalese style[3] using a mixture of Sinhalese and Sanskrit words became the accepted form for Sinhalese writers who used it to display their knowiedge of Sanskrit and confer prestige on their literary works. The inscriptions popularised the style further and by the Polonnaru period the Sanskrit vocabulary and idiom had the indigenous style of writing.

It is evident from the above use of Sanskrit in several periods that in spite of the opposition to it on religious grounds it was considered indispensable for all secular learning. Sanskrit with its developed linguistic and literary structure offered a strong and efficient base for the education of the young in the traditional system of learning. Before the modern school system was established in Ceylon and even when it began to function, it was to the village temple that the children were first taken to be initiated into the letters of the mixed alphabet (of Sanskrit and Sinhalese letters). In the traditional method, after the mastery of the alphabet the young student acquired proficiency in reading, pronunciation and spelling by being made to learn difficult Sanskrit words, followed by daily recitation of Sanskrit *ślokas* mainly

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1. *Op. cit.* p. 31.
2. *The History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon Press Board), 1960, Vol. I, Pt. II. p. 588.
3. See S. Saparamadu, "The Sinhalese Language and Literature of the Polonnaru Period", *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. IV. (1954 & 1955), pp. 100–101.

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drawn from local compositions in Sanskrit such as *Buddhagadya*, *Sakaskaḍa*, *Vyāsakāra*, *Navaratna* and the quartet of *śatakas*, *Anuruddhaśataka*, *Nāmāṣṭaśataka*, *Bauddhaśataka* and *Sūryaśataka*. These *śatakas* were particularly chosen not merely for their value as texts to be memorised in language–study but also for their didactic value in furnishing easily remembered maxims. The familiarity with the Sanskrit vocabulary and the lofty ethical thoughts contained in the stanzas in the temple–tradition of learning constituted an elementary education in Sanskrit which often stimulated interest in the derived languages of Pāli and Sinhalese. These texts were for the most part eulogies of the Buddha, written by Buddhist scholar-monks for the purpose of strengthening the faith of the young while introducing them to the Sanskrit language.

The study of Sanskrit was not only confined to the primary stage of education but extended to supplement the study of Pāli, Sinhalese and even Prākṛt in the *Pirivenas* or monastic institutions which the Buddhist clergy conducted. Sanskrit became a compulsory subject in their curriculum because it served as the medium through which a knowledge of the arts, philosophy, literature and astrology were gained in the traditional system. The rapid progress made in Buddhist education under the leadership of erudite prelates led to the establishment of the two principal *Pirivenas*, viz. the Vidyodaya Pirivena in Colombo, in 1873, and the Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena in Kelaniya, in 1875, to promote Buddhist education and Oriental learning. Sanskrit received greater recognition and enjoyed high prestige in the *Pirivena*-curriculum. The founders of these Institutes were outstanding Oriental scholars, Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala, Ven. Ratmalane Sri Dharmaloka and Ven. Sri Dharmarama, who had themselves contributed in no small measure to the advancement of Sanskrit scholarship in Ceylon at the time. With the expansion of *Pirivena* (monastic) - education and the establishment of similar institutions in other parts of Ceylon it became necessary to regulate the system of education and introduce a common syllabus and an examination scheme. The Oriental Studies Society which was then set up (and is still functioning) to promote and supervise Higher Education in Oriental Studies marks another phase in the development of *Pirivena* - education. By 1920, the *Pirivena* - curriculum which commenced with Pāli, Sinhalese and Sanskrit had been broadened to include Logic, Grammar, Metrics, Poetics based on Sanskrit and also on Prākṛt. Pāli, Sinhalese and Prākṛt together with Sanskrit formed a popular group of subjects offered by students in these monastic institutes who graduated through a series of examinations leading to the Final Examination on which they were awarded the Pandit's Diploma. In 1959, further expansion of the curriculum was made providing for the specialised study of Sanskrit, Indian Philosophy, Poetics etc. as principal subjects. The conferment of University status to these two *Pirivenas* in the same year, which were thereupon named the Vidyodaya University of Ceylon and the Vidyālaṅkāra University of Ceylon, was the culmination of the process of recognition accorded to the traditional system of education, providing thereby a large number of students, most of whom were Buddhist monks, with an opportunity to graduate in Sanskrit and allied subjects on the same terms as students in the University of Ceylon.

Although Sanskrit studies had been fostered and kept alive in the traditional system, yet a critical approach and the use of research methods were generally not evident in the work of these institutions. It is necessary therefore to direct our attention to the University College, founded in 1921, in order to assess the progress made in scholarship and research work in Sanskrit. Sanskrit studies developed in the University College, Colombo, in association with Pāli studies as a result of the agitation for the recognition of Oriental Studies at the under-graduate level by several Buddhist educationists. Buddhist schools had, like the *Pirivenas*, stimulated interest in Oriental studies and the pressing need to provide for Higher Education in these subjects led to the creation of a Department of Oriental Languages first, to be later expanded into Departments with Chairs for each subject. Sanskrit together with Pāli held a pre-eminent position as classical languages and enjoyed the same prestige as Latin and Greek among the Western languages. For nearly two decades since the establishment of the Chair for Sanskrit in 1944, Sanskrit Studies developed in the University of Ceylon with the provision for specialisation in many aspects of the language, literature and connected aspects of Indian philosophy and ancient Indian history, open to students who were attracted to the subject in large numbers.

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A marked feature of University studies in Sanskrit in this period was the special emphasis laid on the critical approach to Oriental studies and in this respect the substantial contribution of Western and modern Indian scholarship was an unfailing guide and a sure source of inspiration for the development of post-graduate research in Sanskrit and Pāli and Sinhalese as well. It was during this period that Ceylonese scholars acquired a mature and critical outlook and began to contribute through their publications and research work to the advancement of Buddhist and Sinhalese studies in the wake of the progress of Sanskrit scholarship here and abroad.

Another important feature which promoted the study of Sanskrit was the introduction of *Svabhāṣā* (Sinhala and Tamil) as the languages of the administration and as the media of instruction in the schools and the Universities. The two *Pirivena* Universities, mentioned earlier, were established for the purpose of imparting higher education in Sinhala and Tamil and consequently the study of the classical languages, which were taught through the medium of English, became accesible to a larger number of students who were educated in the mother-tongue. The increasing demand for text-books, background reading and reference material in *Svabhāṣā* gave rise to an output of translations and original works on a variety of subjects. Due to these efforts we have today a substantial number of books on Sanskrit literature, grammar, Indian philosophy, Indian history, as well as editions of Sanskrit texts in Sinhala.

The influence of Sanskrit on Sinhala at this stage when it was being increasingly used as the administrative and educational medium was considerable. A knowledge of Sanskrit was essential not only to the translators and authors of books but also to the compilers of glossaries and technical terms on a variety of topics in arts and science subjects. Just as the Hindi glossaries relied heavily on Sanskrit terms in coining equivalents, the Sinhala glossaries borrowed Sanskrit words or adapted them into Sinhala.

The interest in Sinhala literary criticism consequent to the rise of a creative literature in the fields of fiction and drama also drew much support from the study of Sanskrit poetics and the theories of literary criticism such as *rasa* and *dhvani*. The Sinhalese literature of the past had inherited the alaṅkārist tradition of Daṇḍin and his school as testified by the 13th century work, the *Siyabaslakara*, a literal translation of the *Kāvyādarśa*, which probably served as a handbook for the guidance of Sinhala poets and writers. But in recent time critics have grown out of the narrow alaṅkārist conception of poetry and attempted to evaluate literature and creative writing more critically, paying greater attention to the critical concepts of Sanskrit poetics. Sanskrit critics like Bharata, Abhinavagupta and Ānandavardhana are held in high esteem and their views and arguments are often commented upon in many books and journals devoted to literary and dramatic criticism.

Particularly noteworthy is the influence of Sanskrit drama on the resurgent Sinhala drama. Of late some of the outstanding Sanskrit dramatic works like the *Śākuntala*, *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Ratnāvalī* have been rendered into Sinhala in the verse-cum-prose form as in the original with the laudable aim of introducing students of drama to good dramatic literature and the conventions and technique of the Indian theatre. Stage-productions of these plays based on these translations have also been greatly appreciated.

The tradition of studying medicine (*āyurveda*) and astrology (*jyotiṣa śāstra*) through Sanskrit texts has continued without interruption to this day. The College of Āyurvedic medicine as well as the Āyurvedic Institutes and the physicians in the island have always valued Sanskrit and advanced their knowledge of the subject by their mastery of standard Sanskrit works. For their astrological knowledge too, the Sinhalese are heavily indebted to the Indian authorities and the Ceylonese text-book, *Daivajñakāmadhenu* of the 13th century A.D. is proof of the genius and scholarship displayed by eminent specialists of the subject. Traditional astrologers have to acquire such a thorough knowledge of the Sanskrit texts as to impress there clients with quotations from various sources and inspire their confidence. The Sinhalese also borrowed and adapted much of the theoretical knowledge in architecture and sculpture laid down in the Indian *śilpa* texts. Among Ceylon's own Sanskrit contributions in these fields, the *Śāriputra*, which deals with iconometry, and the *Vaijayantatantra*, a compendium on architectural and sculptural theory, are outstanding.

Without even a brief account of the history of Sanskrit studies in the North (Jaffna) our narrative would be incomplete, As early as 1823, attempts were made by a group of American Christian missionaries who were interested in imparting Christian education and propagating the study of English, to use Sanskrit as a basic subject for the purpose of training native preachers and assistants. The Jaffna College Report of 1830 refers to the following subjects taught in a seminary in Jaffna: "Observations of the Sanskrit language, the Vedānta system of Philosophy, Hindu Astronomy, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Manusmṛti* and a knowledge of the standard works in Classical Sanskrit." From this period onwards teaching of these subjects led to increasing attention being paid to the study of Sanskrit and Philosophy at the school level. In 1872, when the Seminary was converted into Jaffna College, Sanskrit studies received due recognition in the curriculum but after some time the interest diminished while the emphasis on Western Classical studies and especially Latin, ultimately resulted in the neglect of Sanskrit. Sanskrit studies were, however, revived after 1948 after the Collegiate Department of Jaffna College began to prepare students for the London External Degree Examinations which provided for Sanskrit to be offered as one of the Classical Languages.

The Parameśvara College in Tirunelvely, founded in 1921, had as its principal aim the education of Tamil boys "combining the best of British learning with the wisdom of the sages of India and the classics of its literatures in Tamil and Sanskrit." A sound knowledge of Sanskrit and Tamil studies was sought to be imparted by the school which secured the services of Indian *śāstris* for teaching the subject. Many other schools like Jaffna Hindu College and even Girls' Colleges like Lady Ramanathan College developed Sanskrit studies in recent times.[5]

As the value of Sanskrit for the promotion of Tamil studies was realised Sanskrit religious works were translated into Tamil. The establishment of the Jaffna Oriental Studies Society in 1919, for the simultaneous development of Tamil and Sanskrit studies was a significant event. The Śaiva Paripālana Sabhā has taken an active interest in the promotion of Vedic and Āgamic studies. The

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[5] I am indebted to the *Report of the General Secretary* by M. D. Balasubramanyam, published in the *Proceedings of the First Sanskrit Conference* (1954), North Ceylon Sanskrit Association, pp. 32–43, for the facts given here.

S'aivaite adherents have faithfully kept the Āgamic scriptures alive and their priests have continued the tradition of learning the Vedas and imparting the sacred lore to the chosen pupils for generations.

Before concluding this survey it is necessary to refer to the present position of Sanskrit studies in Ceylon. Although Sanskrit has been held in high esteem for its cultural and literary value among both the Sinhalese and Tamil communities, as seen above, Sanskrit studies are at a very low ebb now. For a long time it has been neglected in the schools because of the reluctance of students to offer classical languages which do not earn a job after graduation and consequently teachers of the subjects are hard to come by. Governments have pursued a policy of discouraging the study of these languages in the schools giving priority to studies which only help in the development of science and technology considered vital for the development of the country's economy. Quite recently a Committee reporting on "Reorganisation of Higher Education" (Colombo, June 1971) called for a rationalisation of Department and diversification of Arts Studies with an emphasis on job-oriented courses, recommending also that subjects in the Arts and Humanities should be confined to one Campus. Sanskrit was highlighted as a subject which had too few students to require separate Departments in each University. The (New) University of Ceylon, Act No. 1. 1972, which was passed by Parliament seeks to implement the recommendations of the Report and re-locate the Humanities, Languages and Buddhist studies in one Campus, in isolation, denying the students the freedom on inter-disciplinary choice from the wide range of Arts subjects available to them earlier. The protests and criticisms raised against this retrograde step have gone unheeded and it appears that Sanskrit together with the Humanities is in peril in the new vocation-oriented, educational system with an over-weighted emphasis on Science and Technology. It is the fervent hope of all those who value the Humanities and the liberal education they provide that the planners and policy-makers of Education would realise the intellectual value of Sanskrit Studies and give it due recognition in the School and University curricula so that Sanskrit will contribute even more to the enrichment of our culture and civilization and forge bonds of unity and harmony among the major communities in Ceylon.

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STUDY OF SANSKRIT IN SOUTH–EAST ASIA

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It is a trite saying, but none the less very true, that he does not know India who knows India alone. For, one of the most interesting aspects of Indian culture is the deep impact it made upon the growth and development of culture in a large part of the great continent of Asia which may not be unfairly compared with the civilising influence of ancient Greece over the rest of Europe.

The main agent of this influence was the vast Sanskrit literature which was carried into the various regions in South-East Asia by the Indians who visited or permanently settled there as traders, adventurers, missionaries, fortune-seekers, etc. I propose to deal with this subject in respect of Indo-China and Indonesia.

We have positive evidence that there was a very high degree of Sanskrit scholarship all over these wide regions namely, Malay Peninsula, Siam or Thailand, Kambuja or Cambodia, Laos, and Champa, now called Vietnam in Indo-China, as well as in the various islands of the Indian Archipelago, also called East Indies and Indonesia, specially Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo.

But before discussing these evidences it is necessary to state very briefly the circumstances which led to the intercourse between India and these lands beyond the sea.

As in all ages and countries, the prospect of acquiring wealth first tempted the Indian traders and merchants to explore unknown territories beyond their own frontiers. The lands and islands beyond the sea and the hills on the east were reputed to possess fabulous quantities of gold and precious minerals and were called by them Suvarṇabhūmi or Subarṇadvīpa, the land of gold. The spices of the east were also as great an attraction as they proved to be fifteen centuries later. In short, the Indians were attracted to the east by the same allurements which proved so irresistible to the Arabs in the ninth and tenth and to the Europeans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D.

No doubt other forces were at work to speed up the pace of emigration. The missionary zeal of the Brahmans and Buddhists, pressure caused by increasing population and invasion of foreign hordes, and the spirit of adventure of the Kṣatriya princes and nobles were added to the commercial enterprise of the merchants and caused a steady flow of Indian emigrants to various parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the East Indies. Many of these emigrants settled permanently in these foreign lands. They married women of the localities and the influence of their superior culture gradually Hinduised the society. This imperceptible but gradual penetration, often aided by active missionary propaganda, gradually spread Hindu religion, art, literature and social ideas in all directions. Sometimes a military adventurer seized the political power and established a Hindu Kingdom. The fusion between the Indian settlers and the Hinduised local people was so complete that it is not always possible to distinguish between the two. The latter assumed Hindu names and adopted Sanskrit or Pali language and Hindu religion, manners and customs, while the Indians imbibed local habits and social usages and merged themselves into the local communities. Thus grew up the Indian colonial kingdom which were constantly strengthened by fresh streams of immigration from the motherland.

A contemporary account of a small State in Malay Peninsula by an eye-witness shows such a colony in the making and throws interesting light upon the whole process. It is named Tuen-suin by the Chinese. " Its market was a meeting ground between the east and the west, frequented every day by more than ten thousand men, including merchants from India, Parthia and more distant kingdoms, who come in large number to carry on trade and commerce in rare objects and precious merchandise. It contains five hundred merchant families, two hundred Buddhists and more than thousand Brahmans of India. The people of Tuen-suin follow their religion and give them their daughters in marriage, as most of these Brahmans settle in the country and do not go away. Day and night they read sacred scriptures and make offerings of white vases, perfumes and flowers to the gods. "

Archaeological discoveries prove beyond doubt that most of the peoples in South-east Asia, described above, had the neolithic culture when they came under the influence of Hinduism. It was the case in Sumatra and Java in Indonesia, and Annam, Cambodia and Malay Peninsula in Indo-China. Even in distant Celebes, a bronze image of Buddha of the Amarāvatī school was found at Sempaga just above the neolithic strata.

It seems to be almost a universal law that when an inferior civilisation comes into contact with a superior one, it gradually tends to be merged into the latter, the rate and the extent of the process being determined solely by the capacity of the one to assimilate, and of the other to absorb. When the Hindus first settled in Suvarṇabhūmi and came into close association with her peoples, this process immediately set in, and produced the inevitable result.

The rulers of most of the States that flourished in South-East Asia during the first fifteen centuries of the Christian Era bore Indian names derived from Sanskrit, and must have been either Indian settlers and their descendants, or Indianised local people, most of whom were probably born of mixed marriages between them and the Indians. In any case the court language was Sanskrit which thus became the language of the elite. This was undoubtedly the chief cause of the extensive cultivation of Sanskrit language and literature, at least among the higher classes of people. This was further promoted by the periodical visits of distinguished Indian scholars to South-East Asia and of her scholars to India, of which we have got many specific instances, and to which references will be made later.

I may now proceed to discuss the actual evidence of the study of Sanskrit in Indo-China furnished by (1) Original Sanskrit Texts; (2) Sanskrit Inscriptions; and (3) Inscriptions in local dialects.

I. Original Sanskrit Texts

A. A text called the *Purāṇārtha* is referred to in the Myson Stelae Inscription of Jaya Harivarman I, King of Champā, dated 1079 Śaka. It says that the identity of King Śivānandana with Uroja is confirmed by the *Purāṇārtha* "which is looked upon as a mine (lit. mountain) of useful information in this world." The Dong

Duong Stelae Inscription of Indravarman II, dated 797 Śaka, describes how Uroja, apparently the first King of Champā, was sent to the earth by Śiva himself. Evidently the *Purāṇārtha* was a text of the Purāṇa type written in Champā.

Similarly we know from the inscriptions in Indo-China, notably in Cambodia, that there were quite a large number of Sanskrit texts also in this region. Apart from well-known works to be mentioned later scholars have been able to identify some texts bearing slightly different names. Reference is, for example, made to the *Parameśvara* in S'aivite contexts in several inscriptions in Cambodia and it has been identified with the *Pārameśvarāgama* which the Lingāyats mention as one of the fundamental texts, on which the founder of the sect, Basava of the 12th century, relied. The text was probably composed in the 8th century.

The four Śāstras, Vināśikha, Nayottara, Saṁmoha and Śiraścheda are mentioned in a long inscription as the basis of the cult of Devarāja founded during the reign of Jayavarman who established an independent kingdom in Kambuja after it was under foreign rule for a long time. Jayavarman invited a Brāhmaṇa named Hiraṇyadāma, versed in magic, in order to perform some Tāntric rites so that Kambujadeśa might no longer be dependent on Java and have a paramount ruler of its own. This Brāhmaṇa performed the Tāntrik rites and instituted the cult of Devarāja which continued to be the State religion for at least 250 years, of which an account is given in the inscription composed in good Sanskrit containing 130 verses. The texts, mentioned above, which formed the basis of this cult have been identified by Dr. P. C. Bagchi. According to him " the *Nayottara* was probably the same as the *Naya*-and *Uttara-sūtras* which form a part of *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, now preserved in a ms. of the 8th century A.D., and probably composed in the 6th-7th centuries A.D. The *Śiraścheda* was in all probability the same as the original *Jayadratha-yāmala* and the *Vināśikha* seems to have been a supplement to it. The original *Saṁmoha*, on which the later Tantras of that name were based, still remains to be discovered. All these texts have a pronounced Śaivite Tāntrik character,

II. Sanskrit Inscriptions.

By far the best evidence of the high degree of Sanskrit scholarship in Indo-China is furnished by the large number of Sanskrit inscriptions which have survived the ravages of time.

1. A Sanskrit inscription of the fourth century A.D. has been found at Mung Si Tep near Pechaburi in Siam along with Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava images.

2. A large number of Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to the 4th or 5th century A.D. have been discovered in different parts of Malay Peninsula. Two of these deserve special mention. One of these, inscribed on a clay tablet, contains three Sanskrit stanzas, probably part of a Sūtra of the Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna. Another refers to the Mahānāvika (Captain) Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamṛttikā, six miles south-west of Murshidabad in Bengal.

3. A very interesting inscription has been found at Laos describing in verse the sacred character of the holy place, Kurukṣetra set up in this region.

4. About 125 Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in the region now called Viet Nam, but which bore the name of Campā in ancient times.

5. The largest number of inscriptions have been found in what is now known as Cambodia, but known to the Hindus as Kambujadeśa. In 1953 I published the text of about 200 Sanskrit inscriptions which were known till then. But many have been discovered since. The French scholar Coedes has published them all.

As the inscriptions of Kambuja furnish the best evidence of the cultivation of Sanskrit language and literature in Indo-China. I now proceed to give a somewhat detailed account of them mainly from this point of view.

The oldest inscription discovered so far is that issued by Kulaprabhāvatī, the chief queen (*agramahiṣī*) of Jayavarman who ruled from about 475 to 514 A.D. It contains five Sanskrit verses of which four are in Śārdulavikrīḍita metre. The queen is thus described:

S'akrasyeva S'acī nṛpasya dayitā Svāheva saptārciṣaḥ |
Rudrāṇīva Harasya lokaviditā sā Śrīriva Śrīpateḥ ||

The motive behind the pious foundation is thus described :

Jñātvā bhogam-anitya-budbudasamaṁ sa......|
Ārāmaṁ sa-taṭākam-ālayayutaṁ...... ||

Any one who reads these verses must be convinced that those who composed them were no novices and that the cultivation of Sanskrit in this region must have begun centuries ago. The latest Sanskrit inscription in Kambuja was issued by a king who had ascended the throne in 1327 A.D. It may thus be safely concluded that the study of Sanskrit in Kambuja had a long history of about 1000 years behind it. It may also be easily imagined that the Sanskrit inscriptions numbering more than 200, known today, probably represent only a small part of the total number, as many must have been lost during this long period.

Generally speaking, the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja are composed in beautiful and almost flawless Kāvya style, and some of them run to great lengths. Four inscriptions of King Yaśovarman contain respectively 50, 75, 93 and 108 verses each and there are many containing more than twenty. An inscription of Rājendravarman contains 218 and another 298 verses and each of these may be regarded as a small Kāvya, much bigger than the *Meghadūta*, and the second is much more than double its size and bigger than the *Gītagovinda*. Almost all the Sanskrit metres have been sucessfully used in these verses and they exhibit a thorough acquaintance with the most developed rules and conventions of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody.

Attention may be drawn to the following characteristic features of the literary style noticed in these inscriptions :

1. Play on the different meanings of the same word. This is illustrated in three verses of the Han Chei Temple Inscription. In verse 8 *kara* is used in the sense of 'hand' and 'rays of the sun.' Similarly the words *kalā* and *rāga* are used in the two following verses :

Avāpya ṣoḍasakalāśśaśāṅko yāti pūrṇatām |
Asaṁkhyā api yo labdhvā na paryāpta kadācana || 15

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Rāgān dadhati bhūpānāñcūḍā-ratna-marīcayaḥ |
Yasya pāda-nakheṣvevamanāgasi na cetasi || 18

2. There are numerous examples of Anuprāsa i.e. repetition of the same word, or letter in one and the same verse.

The following would serve as examples :

A. Dharmapriyā dharmam imaṁ rakshatādharmarākṣasāt |

B. Smarāridevyā vijitaṁ smarasya vikṛṣṭacāpasya śarais sahāṅge||
Bhasmīkṛte yā sma kṛte ruṣeva smarābhidheyaṁ kurute smarārim |

C. Bhūpendro bhūpatirbhūmi-bhūṣaṇo bhūribhāṇubhāḥ

D. Guṇair agaṇitair gorairapi Gaurīgurum̐ girim |
Yo gauravan nu gamayed gaṇanā kānyasadguṇe ||

3. Stereotyped expressions as used in Indian inscriptions :

A. Āsīd āsindhubhūpāla-maulilālitaśāsanaḥ |

B. Dviṣadvidhvaṁsino yasya yāne balavimardajaṁ |
rajo jitvārkatejāṁsi.

4. Use of long compounds :

A. Śrībhartā śaṅkhacakrāsiśaravasumatīśakticāpāṅkapāṇiḥ

B. Vanyadvipendrāhatasindhurasthavīrendracāmpādhipa-
rājasiṁhaḥ

Coedes has drawn attention to the fact that the constant use of very long compounds, *atyukti* or exaggeration and *anuprāsa* are, according to Sanskrit rhetoricians, the marks of the *Gauḍī rīti* or the style of composition in Gauḍadeśa (Bengal), and he thinks that the Vat Thipedi Inscription of King Īs'ānavarman II dated 832 (S'aka), which shows all these characteristics, was probably composed by one who was trained in Gauḍa. This view, if accepted, would prove a very close and continued intercourse between India and Indo-China. This is also proved, in the opinion of Coedes, by the presence of the Box-headed and the so-called Nāgarī alphabets used in Eastern India in the Kambuja inscriptions at a time when the alphabets generally used were local forms developed from the early Brāhmī alphabets of India.

The Inscriptions themselves thus offer the best and most direct evidence of the study and deep knowledge of Sanskrit in

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Indo-China. But they also contain indirect evidence of the same to which a brief reference may be made under different categories.

I. Reference to proficiency in different branches of Sanskrit literature :

The inscriptions of Kambuja contain frequent references to kings, officials and other individuals as highly proficient in different branches of Sanskrit literature. These include the (1) four Vedas in general, and specifically the *Ṛg*, *Yajus*, *Sāman* and *Atharvaveda*, sometimes referred to as Mantras, Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras of the Taittirīya School ; (2) Six Vedāṅgas ; (3) Six systems of philosophy in general and specifically Yoga, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, and Vedānta; (4) Grammar, with special reference to Pāṇini and Patañjali ; (5) Dharmaśāstras, specifically Manu and Yājñavalkya ; (6) Arthaśāstra ; (7) Astronomy ; (8) Astrology *(Horāśāstra)* ; (9) Dhanurveda ; (10) Gāndharvaveda (Music) ; (11) Religious literature of the Buddhists, Pāśupata and Pañcarātra sects, S'aiva Tantras.

With reference to Grammar there are allusions to *prakṛti*, *pratyaya*, *ādeśa*, *guṇa*, *vṛddhi*, and *āgama*. It is said of S'rīnivāsa-kavi, who had served under two kings that this "Brāhmaṇa had become in his illustrious country the most celebrated of those who knew the Veda" and he was "full of zeal for reciting the Veda" and "the master of the four Vedas." It is difficult to say whether this Brāhmaṇa was a fresh immigrant from India or a local Brāhmaṇa.

The longest Sanskrit inscription containing 298 verses engraved on a stele at Pre Rup, and dated 883 Śaka uses the following metres : S'loka, Vaṁśasthā, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Upajāti, Vasantatilaka, Mālinī, Mandākrāntā, S'ārdūlavikrīḍita, Sragdharā, and Āryā. Apart from allusions to Epic and Purāṇik legends and mythology there are references to *Atharvaveda*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Mahābhārata*, respectively in verses 64, 207, and 83 while Pāṇini is referred to in no less than six verses. No less than four verses (164, 199, 211, 290) are distinct echoes of four verses of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, repeating sometimes the very words used by poet Kālidāsa. A new Kāvya named *Manohara* seems to be referred to in v. 221 and the Yogācāra system is mentioned in v. 275. Other inscriptions refer to Pravarasena and Mayūra as the authors of the *Setubandha* and *Sūryaśataka* and to Guṇāḍhya as a writer in Prākṛt with allusion to the legend about him contained in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

Reference is also made to Vātsyāyana as the author of *Kāmasūtra* and Viśālākṣa as the author of a treatise on Nīti. The medical treatise of Suśruta is also mentioned. An indirect reference is made to Pāṇini in the following verse in Phnom Sandak inscription of King Yaśovarman, dated 817 Śaka:

Saddharma-nirater-yasya padaṁ rājyena cakrire |
Upasargāḥ kriyāyoge te prāg dhātor-muner-iva ||

The two following verses in Prasat Komnap inscription of Yaśovarman are quotations from *Manu-Smṛti*:

Ācāryavad gṛhastho'pi mānanīyo bahuśrutaḥ |
Abhyāgataguṇānāñca parā vidyeti Mānavam ||

Vittaṁ bandhurvvayaḥ karma vidyā bhavati pañcamī |
Etāni mānyasthānāni garīyo yad yaduttaraṁ ||

The following verse in the Loley Inscription of King Yaśovarman contains a clever reference to Manu being the chief source of the *Yājñavalkya* (*Yogīśvara*) (*Saṁhitā*):

Prajānuśāsano dharmair Yogīśvaraparāyaṇam |
Rājanyavandyacaraṇo yo'bhūnmanurivāparaḥ ||

The Eastern Baray Inscription of Yaśovarman refers to the poet Bhāravi and probably also to Vasu(bandhu) (v. 31). Verse 69 refers, besides Guṇāḍhya and Viśālākṣa mentioned above, to Śūra having triumphed over a rival named Bhīmaka and perhaps also to Jina as the author of one of the Pūrvas named Kalyāṇa. If the latter supposition, on the authority of Barth, is accepted this would be the only reference to the prevalence of Jainism outside India.

Reference to *caturdaśaprakāra vidyā* in the Pre Rup Inscription (v. 135) probably signifies the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, the Purāṇa, the Mīmāṁsā, the Nyāya, and the Dharma.

The two epics were very popular in Indo-China and exercised profound influence on its literature, art and other aspects of culture, including social virtues and moral ideas. The Veal Kantel Inscrip-

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tion of the sixth century A.D. states that the Brāhmaṇa Somaśarman, the foremost among those who knew the *Sāmaveda*, whose wife, the sister of king Bhavavarman, was a second Arundhatī, built a temple of Tribhuvaneśvara. He presented (to the temple) a copy each of the texts of *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Purāṇa* and the complete *Mahābhārata* and made arrangements for the daily recitation of them. Another inscription found at Prasat Prah That and of the middle of the 7th century A.D. states that one Bhavajñāna deposited in a temple the manuscript of the Sambhava Adhyāya which forms a part of the Ādiparva of the *Mahābhārata*. The popularity of the epics is further indicated by frequent and copious references in inscriptions to the episodes described in them and the profuse illustration of these in the numerous sculptures of the famous Angkor Vat and other temples. But the best evidence of the very great esteem in which the *Rāmāyaṇa* was held in Indo-China is furnished by the Tra Kieu Inscription of King Prakāśadharma (c. 655-87 A.D.). It records the foundation of a temple in honour of Vālmīki who is described as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The inscriptions also furnish a striking evidence of the spread of Sanskrit scholarship in Indo-China by references to the accomplishments of kings and ministers. Thus we are told that the great conqueror and powerful Emperor Yaśovarman (c. 889-900 A.D.) himself composed a commentary on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and one of his ministers was an expert in Horāśāstra. The inscriptions in Champā (Viet Nam) refers to a number of learned kings. King Bhadravarman who reigned at the beginning of the fifth century A.D., is said to have been versed in the four Vedas. Jaya Indravarman I (c. 960-972 A.D.), we are told, was proficient in the well-known six systems of philosophy, as well as in Buddhist philosophy, Pāṇini's Grammar, with *Kāśikā*, and the Ākhyāna and the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivas. King Śrī Jaya Indravarman IV (1168-1180 A.D.) was versed in grammar, astrology, the Mahāyāna philosophy and the Dharmaśāstras, notably the Nāradīya and the Bhārgavīya. The extent of literary activity may be judged from the fact that when a Chinese general invaded Champā and sacked the capital city in 605 A.D. he carried away 1350 Buddhist works.

We learn from the inscriptions that the princes received their early training from eminent religious preceptors (*ācāryas*) and

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there are many instances where princes and other members of the royal family themselves became high priests and *ācāryas*.

One of the reasons for the maintenance of a high standard of Sanskrit scholarship in Indo-China is the regular intercourse of scholars belonging to India and Indo-China. This is indicated by casual references of visits of high personages from India to Indo-China and *vice versa*. We know from the Chinese records that the king of Cambodia sent an ambassador to India between 240-245 A.D. and he reached the mouth of the Ganges at the end of a year. A king of Champā, called Gaṅgārāja, abdicated the throne and went to India in order to die on the banks of the Ganges.

The inscriptions of Cambodia refer to a number of learned Brāhmaṇas who came from India (Āryades'a) and settled in Indo-China, some of them having married royal princesses. One of these, the Brāhmaṇa Divākara Bhaṭṭa, is said to have been born on the bank of the river Kālindī sacred by the association with the boyhood of Kṛṣṇa. But by far the most important instance of this kind is furnished by that of S'ivasoma, the grandson of a king, the maternal uncle of another king, and the guru of a third king, Indravarman. An inscription of this king found at Prasat Kandal Ḍom, contains the following verse about Śivasoma :

Yenādhītāni S'āstrāṇi Bhagavacchaṅkarāhvayāt |
Niśśeṣasūrimūrddhālimālālīḍhāṅghripaṅkajāt ||

It means that Śivasoma learnt the Śāstras from Bhagavat Śaṅkara whose lotus feet were touched by the heads of all the sages. The French scholar Coedes who edited this inscription rightly conjectured that the reference is undoubtedly to the famous Śaṅkarācārya of India and the word *Bhagavat* leaves no doubt on this point. But the real importance of this inscription from Indian point of view was missed by him. For, as I showed more than forty years ago, this inscription furnishes the only authoritative evidence of the date of S'aṅkarācārya, so far known to us. As Indravarman ruled from 877 to 889 A.D. his *Guru* S'ivasoma may be assumed to have visited S'aṅkarācārya about the middle of the ninth century A.D. It is not a little curious that the only authentic evidence for the date of Śaṅkarācārya, which has been a matter of keen controversy for a long period would be found in a Sanskrit inscription engraved thousands of miles away from India. Though the known actual examples of such intercourse between the scholars of India and Indo-China are very few in number, this alone may satisfactorily explain the thoroughness of the literary, religious, and spiritual culture of India imbibed by the people of Indo-China.

An indication of this thoroughness is furnished by the fact that Sanskrit scholarship was not confined to men but also extended to ladies. The best evidence of this is furnished by the Phimanaka inscription of Jayavarman VII, the Grand Monarch of Kambujadeśa, who ruled from 1181 to 1218 A.D. The inscription was composed by his second queen Indrādevī, who and her younger sister, the first queen of Jayavarman VII, were daughters of a Brāhmaṇa named Rudravarman and Rājendralakṣmī. The first queen had received her education from her elder sister but died before her, and the elder sister was then married by the King. This queen Indrādevī composed this inscription which is essentially an eulogy of her younger sister. We learn from the inscription that Indrādevī was a pious Buddhist and taught the Buddhist nuns of three convents. The inscription contains 102 Sanskrit verses in different metres including Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Upajāti, Vaṁśasthā, and Vasantatilakā. It testifies to her scholarship and knowledge of Sanskrit. The French scholar Coedes, who re-edited the inscription, remarks that the text is remarkably correct and the language is much simpler than the other inscriptions composed by princes and Paṇḍits. The statement in the above inscription that queen Indrādevī taught the Buddhist nuns in three convents is of more than passing interest. For, we have epigraphic evidence of numerous *Āśramas* or hermitages for men and these formed important centres for the propagation of knowledge. These *Āśramas* were homes of pious devotees who dedicated their lives to study and meditation. These were founded by kings and private persons with endowments to defray all necessary expenses. King Yaśovarman of Kambuja is said to have founded one hundred *Āśramas* for Brāhmaṇas, Vaiṣṇavas, S'aivas and Buddhists. Fortunately we have got no less than twelve inscriptions engraved on the stelae scattered over the whole of Cambodia laying down rules and regulations in almost identical terms for these *Āśramas*. There is no doubt that these stelae mark the sites of these *Āśramas*. These regulations, called *Śāsanas* are laid down in thirteen verses.

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The necessary qualifications of the inmates of these *Āśramas* are laid down as follows:

Brāhmaṇā vaiṣṇavāś śaivā janāś śiṣṭāśca śilinaḥ |
Śayīran sarvva evaite japadhyānasamanvitāḥ || 43

The endowments are described as follows:

Ratnakāñcanarūpyādi-gavāśva-mahiṣadvipāḥ |
Naranāryo dharārāmā yāni cānyāni kānicit || 37

Tāni sarvāṇi dattāni Śrīyaśovarmabhūbhujā |
Svāśrame'sminnahāryāṇi rājñāpi kimutetaraiḥ || 38

So the gems, gold, silver, cows, horses, elephants, men and women, land and gardens were granted in perpetuity which even the king, not to speak of others, could take back. Other rules were laid down to the effect that no one, except the king, could enter these *Āśramas* on a vehicle or with umbrella over his head. Provision was made for all kinds of guests, but bad characters were to be excluded.

One interesting fact, to which sufficient attention has not been given is that in each of the twelve stelae so far discovered, these ordinances or regulations are written in the current script on one side of the stelae and then repeated in a North Indian script on another side. I think this means that persons from North India visited these *Āśramas* and it is for these peoples that the rules were written in the script current in North India. For, though the scripts in which the inscriptions were usually written were originally derived from or were the same as the Indian alphabet, in the course of five or six centuries they had undergone a change as for example, in the case of Tamil or Telugu scripts, which though originally derived from Aśokan Brāhmī, would not be understood by a man of North India.

It is therefore a very reasonable inference from these records that there was a regular intellectual intercourse between India and Indo-China through these learned sages, and there can be hardly any doubt that these *Āśramas* served as an important agency for the spread of Sanskrit language and literature as well as Indian religious ideas and other aspects of Indian culture in Indo-China.

In addition to these *Āśramas* the temples also served as centres for the diffusion of Sanskrit and Indian culture. This will be evident from the following description of the endowments made by King Jayavarman VII mentioned above, to the Ta Prohm Temple alone.

Altogether 66,625 were employed in the service of the deities of the temple and 3,400 villages were given for defraying its expenses. There were 439 Professors and 970 scholars studying under them, making a total of 1409, whose daily food and other necessaries of life were supplied. The details of the articles supplied are given and we are told that there were 798 temples and 102 hospitals in the whole kingdom of Kambuja and the quantity of rice supplied was 117,200 *khārikās*, each *khārikā* being equivalent to three maunds and eight seers. It means that more than one thousand maunds of rice were consumed each day by the inmates of the temples. Needless to say that the other articles supplied were on the same scale.

We can now easily understand how Sanskrit and Indian culture obtained a firm footing in these distant lands thousands of miles across the sea and endured for more than a thousand years.

But even when the cultivation of Sanskrit declined and the local dialects were developed into literary forms, the influence of Sanskrit continued. For, though after the 14th century A.D. the local Khmer language took the place of Sanskrit as court language, and replaced Sanskrit in the inscriptions of Kambuja, there are abundant evidences of the continued influence of Sanskrit.

Thus we find frequent reference to Sanskrit literary works in Kambuja. We have so far collected evidence of the influence of Sanskrit from inscriptions written in that language. But even when the local Khmer dialect developed into literary form and it was used side by side with Sanskrit in epigraphic records, we find abundant evidence of the influence of Sanskrit in them. Thus several Khmer records contain the expression "*cāturvidy*(*a*).". One inscription, found at Bantei Srei, which contains 44 verses in Sanskrit and 11 lines in Khmer, refers in the Khmer portion to a Professor who recited the Vedas every day without interruption. Apart from proving the popularity of the Vedas the actual wordings of the passage are also of great interest. It reads as follows: "Adhyāpaka thve Vrahmasastra leṅ avicchinna pratidina". It shows that even in the tenth century A.D., when this inscription was composed, the Khmer language was profoundly influenced by Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, in the above expression only the words *thve* and *leṅ* are Khmer, but the words 'Vrahmasastra' is a slight modification of Brahmaśāstra, and the remaining three words, namely *adhyāpaka*, *avicchinna* and *pratidina* are pure Sanskrit. It shows the process of the gradual development of Khmer into a fully developed literary form with the loan-words from Sanskrit. A young scholar K. K. Sarkar has recently made a detailed study of the Sanskrit loanwords in Khmer and has classified these under the following categories with numerous instances under each.

1. Geographical names.

A great number of regions, cities, hills, villages, fields, etc. have Sanskrit names, with name-endings like -pura, -sthāna, -ālaya, -āśrama, āvāsa, -paṭṭana, -deśa, -āyatana, -niketana, -grāma, -taṭāka, -giri, -parvata, etc. The majority of the place-names are connected with the names of divinities, of kings, of dignitaries, and of other persons, such as Śivapura, S'ivapaṭṭana, Viṣṇupura, Viṣṇugrāma, Hariharālaya, Rājendrapura. Yaśodharapura , and Sūrya-parvata. There are many well-known Indian names, such as Aṅga, Kurukṣetra, Madhyadeśa, Nāgapaṭṭana, Kuśasthali, Puruṣapura, Vikramapura, and Āryadeśa which last may be the equivalent of Āryāvarta. An analysis of these Indian place-names shows that most of them are in Northern India. This as well as the use of North Indian script in some inscriptions recording rules of *Āśramas*, side by side with the current Khmer script, go counter to the view held by a section of scholars that the emigration to Indo-China was mostly from South India.

2. The names of kings up to the 14th century A.D. were purely. Sanskritic and so were the posthumous names applied to them such as Viṣṇuloka, Sadāśivapada, Brahmaloka, etc. which were intended to denote that the king after death has reached the abode (*loka*, *pada*) of the particular deity preceding these two suffixes. The Indian name-ending 'Varman' was almost universal in the case of Kings in Indo-China. The names of functionaries, professors, etc. were also in many cases purely Indian. Women bore names ending in 'pavitra' or 'tīrtha', an unknown thing in India though these words are purely Indian. The names of the priests often ended

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in Śiva, such as Sadāśiva, S'ikhāśiva, etc. Names of S'iva which are very rarely found in India were known in ancient Kambuja such as Utpanneśvara, Acaleśvara, and Āmrātakeśvara.

(3) Administrative Terms.

Reference may be made to the following administrative terms used in the Khmer inscriptions: Kulapati (Chief of Temple), Kramapāla (guardian of rules and regulations), Devaparicāra, Guṇadoṣadarśī, Rājakulamahāmantrī, Grāmapāla, Sāmantagajapati, Vasanapāla, Vastrapāla, Kāryādhipati, Rājakārya, Dharmādhikaraṇa, Vyavahāra, Vyāpāra, Apavāda (objection, opposition), etc. Somewhat unusual are the terms 'Pratyaya,' also found in the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal, and 'Pāñji' which is explained in the Sanskrit-English Dictionary of Monier Williams as 'a book in which receipts and expenditure are entered.'

In addition to the familiar administrative units, grāma, viṣaya, nagara, rāṣṭra and deśa, we have 'pramāṇa' in the sense of Province.

(4) Terms relating to Calendar.

The Śaka Era was used in the inscriptions, the earliest example being an epigraph dated 533 Śaka. The dates are expressed as follows: Yāte ṣaṭbhūta ṣacchata Śakaparigraha navamī roc jeṣṭha candradivasavāra uttarabhādra nakṣatra. The Sanskrit names of week-days are used though some curious forms are noted such as Vṛhaspatidinavāra, Buddhavāra, in place of Budhavāra, and Saṁkrānta in the sense of a New Year.

It has been estimated that in the local language used in Champā or Viet Nam, there are even now 700 Sanskrit words. Similarly there are 424 Sanskrit words in Malay.

Before concluding this discussion on the study of Sanskrit in Indo-China, reference in some detail may be made to a recently discovered inscription in Laos which is not generally known but contains a great deal of interest from several points of view.

The country known as Laos, lying to the north of Cambodia, has come into prominence during recent years as a battle-ground between the forces of U.S.A. and Viet Nam, but few Indians had

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ever before heard the name of this inhospitable region, covered by a tangle of mountain chains, clothed with dense forests, and traversed by the small tributaries of the Mekong river. Nearly two thousand years ago the Hindus penetrated into this region as evidenced by images and temples of Hindu gods and inscriptions written in Sanskrit and in Indian script. The inscription, mentioned above, is engraved on the four sides of a stone stele in a place called Vat Luong Kau. The inscription which is well preserved except on one side, is not dated but may be referred on palaeographic grounds to the second half of the fifth century A.D. The inscription begins with an invocation to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and then refers to the great king Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Devānīka and compares him with Yudhiṣṭhira, Indra, Dhanañjaya, Indradyumna, S'ibi, Mahāpuruṣa, Kaṇakapāṇḍya (?), the great Ocean and Meru. After referring to the various sacrifices performed by the king the inscription states that bearing in mind the great merits acquired by those who live, take bath, or die in a *Mahātīrtha* (a great place of pilgrimage), the king thought of setting up one, to be known as New Kurukṣetra. The reason for this selection is given in the next fifteen verses (vv. 8-22) eulogizing the virtues of Kurukṣetra. The texts of these verses are given in the Appendix.

These verses reminded me of isolated verses in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas containing similar eulogies. So when I found that verse XI of the inscription was defective inasmuch as the first three letters could not be clearly read owing to the damaged condition of the stone, I looked for similar verses in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* in order to find out if the true reading can be restored. After a great deal of reading I discovered to my surprise that the damaged verse is really one taken from the Āraṇyaka-parva of the *Mahābhārata*, Ch. 81.

Verse XI of the inscription, has been deciphered as follows:–

Ta(trai)vāpi Kurukṣetre vāsunā samudīritāḥ |
Mahāduṣkṛtakarmmāṇam nayanti paramām gatim ||

Verse 174 of the Āraṇyaka-parva reads as follows:

Pāṁsavo'pi Kurukṣetre vāyunā samudīritāḥ |
Api duṣkṛtakarmāṇaṁ nayanti paramāṁ gatim ||

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Now, the word which has been read as *vāsunā* in the inscription is clearly *vāyunā* in the estampage. The first two letters of the verse are very indistinct as the stone is damaged, and most probably they are *pāṁsa-*. Besides, the line in the inscription, as read, gives no sense, while the verse in the *Mahābhārata* offers very good meaning. I have no doubt, therefore, that the first line of the verse in the inscription exactly corresponded to the first line of the verse in the *Mahābhārata*. The difference in the second line—*api* in the *Mahābhārata* and *mahā* in the inscription—is a very minor one, and the letters read as *mahā* are also very indistinct.

The first line of verse XII of the inscription exactly corresponded to the first line of verse 176 of the *Mahābhārata*, while the second line of verse XII forms the second line of verse 175 of the *Mahābhārata*.

Verse XIII of the inscription corresponds to verse 173 of the *Mahābhārata*, which also occurs in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (Chapter 109, verse 3). This verse in the inscription has been read as follows :–

Pṛthivyāṁ naimiśaṁ puṇyamantarīkṣe tu puṣkaraṁ |
Nṛpāṇāmapi lokānāṁ Kurukṣetraṁ viśiṣyate ||

The *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have got the following verse :

Pṛthivyāṁ naimiśaṁ puṇyamantarikṣe tu puṣkaram |
Trayāṇāmapi lokānāṁ Kurukṣetraṁ viśiṣyate ||

As will be seen, the only difference is the first word in the second line. But it appears from the estampage of the record that the word read by the Editor as *nṛpāṇām* is really *trayāṇām*. The two verses may therefore be regarded as identical for all practical purposes and proclaim the superiority of Kurukṣetra over all other *tīrthas*. This suits the context very well in the record of Devānīka, for it justifies and explains the action of the King in creating a new Kurukṣetra. It is, however, not so in the case of the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Here, after listening to the eulogy of Prayāga-*tīrtha* from Mārkaṇḍeya, Yudhiṣṭhira cites the above verse and then asks him why, in view of this verse, he lauds up Prayāga,

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He even expresses the opinion that what Mārkaṇḍeya said was not, therefore, authentic or trustworthy. In reply Mārkaṇḍeya reiterates his view and justifies it.

The verse cited in the *Matsya Purāṇa* shows that there was a time when Kurukṣetra did really occupy the position of supremacy, but at the time when this Purāṇa received its present form, it lost that position. As a matter of fact the existing Purāṇas devote more eulogistic verses to Vārāṇasī, Prayāga, Gayā and even many less known places than they do in respect of Kurukṣetra. The *Mahābhārata*, however, shows by the number of verses devoted to Kurukṣetra, that it was, still the holy of the holies, as believed in Laos in the fifth century A.D.

The occurrence of three crucial verses of the inscription in the *Mahābhārata* and of one in the *Matsya Purāṇa* leaves no doubt that the eulogy of Kurukṣetra in Devānīka's record was based on some Indian authority. The invocation of the Trinity and the description of the King at the beginning of the record show the great familiarity of the Court *Paṇḍitas* of Devānīka with Sanskrit literature in general and religious-*cum*-ritualistic texts in particular. It is difficult to believe that they would have composed the verses in honour of Kurukṣetra without the authority of some Indian religious texts. The existence of such a '*Kurukṣetra Māhātmya*' is indicated by the common verses in the *Mahābhārata* and the inscription, specially the one which puts Kurukṣetra above all the other holy places of pilgrimage. If anybody can trace such a *Māhātmya* in Sanskrit, it would be an important contribution. For, we know that the record was composed in the second half of the fifth century A.D., and the text of the '*Kurukṣetra Māhātmya*' on the lines of the record may be easily presumed to have been composed at least not later than the fourth century A.D., which is generally assumed to be the beginning of Purāṇa literature.

But whether such texts are ever found in India or not, the inscription of King Devānīka holds out before us a very interesting evidence of the spread of Sanskrit language and literature and Hindu culture and civilization in the far distant Laos, a region which never excited any interest in the heart of modern Indians until very recent times.

APPENDIX

ये वसन्ति महातीर्थे तत्र ये च मृता नराः ।
स्तवनं ये च कुर्वन्ति तत्फलं प्राप्नुवन्तु ते ॥ ५ ॥

यत्तत् पुण्योपमफलं प्रभासादिपुराकृतेः ।
– नाम तदेवात्र भवतु धृतमद्य मे ॥ ६ ॥

ये देवा यज्ञमात्रार्थमागतारोहित दिवि ।
ब्रह्मोपेन्द्रेश्वराद्यास्ते तन्नाम प्रदिशन्तु वै ॥ ७ ॥

(इत्ये)वमादिप्रणिधी राज्ञश्चिन्तयतस्तदा ।
नामगतं कुरुक्षेत्र – प्यफलैसमम् ॥ ८ ॥

यत्पूर्वाभिहितं स्वर्ग्यं फलं देवर्षिकीर्त्तितम् ।
(कुरुक्षे)त्रे तदेवास्तु कुरुक्षेत्रे नवोत्थिते ॥ ९ ॥

ऋषिणा कुरुणा पूर्वं – क्षेत्रीकृतं सताम् ।
तस्मादिति कुरुक्षेत्रं ख्यातं तीर्थं महाफलम् ॥ १० ॥

त(त्रै)वापि कुरुक्षेत्रे वासुना समुदीहिताः ।
महादुष्कृतकर्माणं नयन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥ ११ ॥

कुरुक्षेत्रं गमिष्यामि कुरुक्षेत्रे वसाम्यहम् ।
ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥ १२ ॥

पृथिव्यां नैमिशं पुण्यमन्तरीक्षे तु पुष्करम् ।
नृपाणामपि लोकानां कुरुक्षेत्रं विशिष्यते ॥ १३ ॥

तन्नामकीर्त्तनेनापि केन ह्यासण्तमं कुलम् (?) ।
किं पुनर्ये तु सेवन्ते मनुजा धर्मबुद्धयः ॥ १४ ॥

अश्वमेधसहस्रस्य वाजपेयशतस्य च ।
गवां शतसहस्रस्य सम्यग् दत्तस्य यत्फलम् ॥ १५ ॥

तत्फलं तु कुरुक्षेत्रे कुर्वन्ति स्तवनादि ये ।
तत्राप्यहेतु दुष्प्रापं लभन्ते ते ध्रुवं फलम् ॥ १६ ॥

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इत्येवमादिकुशलं पूर्वभुक्तं सुहर्षिभिः ।
तदेवात्र कुरुक्षेत्रे लभन्तु बहवो ज(नाः) ॥ १७ ॥

यानि तीर्थसहस्राणां कुरुक्षेत्रे फलानि च ।
अत्र निश्शेषतस्ता(नि) सन्तु सन्निहितानि च ॥ १८ ॥

अर्द्धयोजनमायाममस्य तीर्थस्य कीर्त्ति(तम्) ।
यं यं प्रदेशमागम्य स महापापपावनः ॥ १९ ॥

ये शरीरपरित्यागं कुर्वन्ति स्तवनं च ये ।
ये तृष्णया च सेवन्ते पिबन्ति च समाहिताः ॥ २० ॥

येषामग्निमखादीनां दानानां नैकसम्पदाम् ।
फलानि यान्यशेषाणि प्राप्यन्तां तानि ते जनाः ॥ २१ ॥

पापिष्ठाखिलपुरुषा मुच्यन्त्यां वहुपापतः ।
किं पुनर्धर्मनिरता महातीर्थनिषेवणात् ॥ २२ ॥

SANSKRIT IN BALI

Tjok, Rai Sudharta, Denpasar, Bali

Bali is one of the 3,000 islands which make a country called Indonesia who has achieved her independence from the Dutch rule in the year 1945. The island of Bali lies on the east of Java. The meaning of the word "Java" is known already, e.g. a kind of grain which is similar to the shape of the island itself. But the meaning of the word "Bali" is not definitely agreed yet among scholars. Some said that since in Bali the Hindu religion stresses upon "offerings", the word "Bali" would mean "offerings". Another said that since at the western tip of Java there is a region called "Banten," before Bali island was cut off from Java mainland, it is appropriate if on its eastern tip the region is named "Bali" since the word "Banten" and "Bali" have the same meaning and hence both are symbolically regarded as the door-keepers (*dvāra-pālas*) of the kingdom of Singasari in Java mainland. Against these views R. Friedrich[1] said: "Bali is then not to be considered an "offering", but as *balin*, a strong powerful person, a hero. The name 'Bali' signifies thus, a hero, and the name of the country given in Usana Bali, *Bali*-angka, "the lap (birth-place) of heroes", is a very beautiful denomination of the holy land and one which expresses the bold spirit of the nation."

If we look at the history of Bali we can agree with R. Friedrich's opinion since at Bali not only the Hindu religion and way of life are ended until now but also its whole literature in Kawi (Old Javanese) as well as Sanskrit language, in prose and poetry forms. In the history of its literature in Indonesia, Kawi and Sanskrit languages have at least five periods:

1. West Java period.
2. Sumatran period.
3. Central Java period.
4. East Java period.
5. Bali period.

During West Java and Sumatran period about 7th cent. we find mostly proclamations and edicts made by kings written in excellent

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[1] *The Civilization and Culture of Bali*, R. Friedrich, p. 1

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Sanskrit which is far better than those of the East Java period. The oldest one was an edict written on a rock at Kedukan-bukit near Palembang (Sumatra) in 605 S'aka era (683 A.D.). After this edict there are about three edicts more e.g. at Talang-tua near Palembang in 606 S'aka, at Kota-kapur (Bangka) in 608 S'aka, at Karang-brahi on the bank of the Musi river in 608 Śaka.

The Central Java period can be represented by the *Kawi Rāmāyaṇa*, the oldest text known in poetry form (kekawin) which, according to M. Ghosh, is based upon the *Rāvaṇavadha* or *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and not directly on Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The East Java period can be represented by *Arjuna-wiwaha*, the oldest Kawi poetry in this period whose story is similar to Bhāravi's work *Kirātārjuniyam.* In this period, between king Airlangga's rule and king Jayabhaya's reign, many Kawi works were written, translated or adapted from Sanskrit works. On this literary activity Dr. Stutterheim said : "It is hard to under-estimate the importance of this move, because it inaugurated the actual Hinduisation of the Javanese people. So far the knowledge of Hinduism had been confined to those who had mastered Sanskrit, the priests and possibly some of the kings. But now the *Mahābhārata*'s contents were made understandable for everybody. One may form an idea of the consequences if one realises that even today many of the ideals in the higher Javanese thinking are still the same as those preached and practised in the *Mahābhārata*, which spread everywhere, with the help of the Wayang, and Indonesian version of a puppet-show which is most popular and very effective (and artistic) means of mass-communication. Soon also the subjects found in Sanskrit literature were used in the indigenous literature."[2]

Bali period

Bali, just like any other part of Indonesia, is inhabited by a branch of the great Austric family to which the Mundas of the Indian mainland also belong, besides those who inhabited Burma, Malay, Siam and Indo-China who emigrated to Indonesia about 1500 B.C. In the 8th century A.D. Bali was under the rule of

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[2] "Hinduism and Its Impact in Indonesia", Dr. W. F, Stutterheim, p. 17

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the Sailendra dynasties of Java. But during the 10th century, the power of the Javanese kings was diminishing, and thereby the Balinese royal dynasty of Varmadeva was ruling. But at the close of the 10th cent. Bali was again under the rule of Javanese dynasty, not on account of defeat but because of marriage-tie between a Balinese prince (Udayana) and a Javanese princess (Mahendradatta), from which union, king Airlangga was born (991-1050 A.D.), in whose period Kawi literature was flourishing. After Airlangga Bali was independent again from Java. But in 1284 A.D. Bali was again under Java (king Kṛtanagara of Singhasari) and finally after a short period of independency was under Majapahit dynasty in 1294–1478. After Majapahit, the East Java period, Java was invaded by Islam, but never Bali. Even the Dutch who had ruled Java since the 15th century, could conquer Bali completely only in the early 20th century by the fall of Klungkung in 1908. Even though the last stage of Javanese migration to Bali was due to Majapahit's collapse, cultural migration had started since Airlangga's period and ended by the coming of a Siwa priest from Java called Danghyang Nirartha, who is the forefather of all the priests in the present-day Bali, some of whom were his sons begotten by Javanese wives brought along to Bali and some of them were through his Balinese wives.

Both the alphabets of Java and Bali are derived from Pallava style of writing which was brought by the Hindus of South India at the beginning of our era. But because of some modifications in the Balinese script, the Javanese could not easily read it. The Javanese alphabet consists of 20 letters while Balinese has only 18 letters which, according to R. Friederich, are as much as the Polynesian organs originally required[3]; the second ḍ and ṭ are properly foreign to these languages." But it does not mean that Balinese changed deliberately any writing of Kawi and Sanskrit to suit their letters. Until now they mostly copied the Kawi and Sanskrit writing faithfully and even gave commentaries or meaning if they thought it necessary. Dr. Stutterheim observed: "It is from Bali and Lombok that manuscripts have come, which were able to enlighten us much about the history of Java, and it is, thanks to the perpetuation of the Hindu culture there, that they have been preserved; if Bali also had become Islamic,

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3, *Ibid.*, R. Friederich, p. 3.

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nothing might have remained of the often incomprehensible proclamations or documents. Now Bali is, as it were, a living museum."[4] The Javanese and the Balinese alphabets were supposed to be brought and originated by the coming of king Aji Saka to Indonesia. Even though the two alphabets differ in number but the story denoted by the alphabets are similar, and even here we can feel the heroic nature of the Balinese. The twenty letters of the Javanese are: *Ha-na ca-ra-ka, da-tta sa-wa-la, pa-da ja-ya-nja, ma-ga-ba-ta-nga.* It means: There were two servants (of king Aji Saka), to both were given certain letter or message, (true to the message) they fought each other heroically until both became corpses (were dead). This is the story of the Javanese letters. While the Balinese one with its 18 letters runs as follows: *Ha-na ca-ra-ka, ga-ta ma-nga-ba sa-wa-la, pa-da ja-ya-nja.* It means: There were two servants (of king Aji Saka), both went and brought certain letter or message, (true to the message) they fought each other heroically. This is the Balinese version. The differences are, the Javanese were *given* the message and they fought heroically and died! But in the Balinese version, they *went away* (from Java to Bali?) and *brought* (ga-ta ma-nga-ba) the message with them, and they fought heroically! The death of the servants are not mentioned. Does it mean that the Hindu religion and culture which were dead in Java are still alive in Bali?

The history of Bali, like any other ancient history, is based upon inscriptions and the material antiquities, remains of temples, statues etc. The inscriptions of Bali are sometimes carved in stone (on the back of statues), engraved on bronze plates, very few are carved on wood, like the ones kept in the Besakih temple. Almost all of the inscriptions are regarded as holy and are therefore preserved in special shrines in the temples. They are not to be touched by common people and even when they are read by priests a kind of offerings should be made before hand. The languages used in those inscriptions are Sanskrit, Old Balinese and Old Javanese or Kawi language. There are a large number of inscriptions and until recently new ones are being discovered. The edicts are from 804 S'aka (882 A.D.) to 1265 Śaka (1343 A.D.) when Majapahit's Prime Minister Gajah Mada conquered Bali. Even though the edicts are mostly written in Old Balinese language,

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[4] *Ibid.*, Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, p. 27.

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Sanskrit words are found everywhere, because all the kings of Bali used Sanskrit names and titles. e.g. Sri Kesari Warmadeva, Sri Ugrasena, Tabanendra Warmadewa and Subadrika Warmadewi, Jayasingha Warmadewa, Jana Sadhu Warmadewa, Wijaya Mahadewi, Gunapriya Dharmapatni and Dharma Udayana Warmadewa, Sri Ajnadewi, Sri Walaprabhu, Sakalendu Kirana, Sri Suradhipa, Sri Jayaśakti, Sri Astasura Ratna Bhumi Banten (Bali) etc. The inscriptions written completely in Sanskrit language are dated 841 Śaka (919 A.D,) and 875 S'aka (953 A.D.).

In the field of literature, Sanskrit works are usually translated, or given summary or commentaries in Balinese language, besides the Vedas of the Balinese priests and other tattwas, which are kept in their original Sanskrit. Sanskrit Grammar and Sanskrit Chandas are also available. Also a kind of Sanskrit Dictionary, one of which is called *Swara Samhita*. But naturally their Sanskrit is not so perfect; as R. Friederich observed, the Javanese and Balinese languages "could not of course adopt the inflexion of Sanskrit, for, in order to understand it, the people would have had to be made acquainted with the entire Sanskrit grammar, which would have been too troublesome......... "[5].

To illustrate it we shall take the so-called Sanskrit Dictionary, *Swara Samhita* as an example. This manuscript was copied for the Arts Faculty of Udayana University, Denpasar, Bali, in 1885 Śaka (1963 A.D.). It consists of 98 leaves of lontars written on both sides. Each page carries four lines with approximately 32 to 34 Sanskrit words and their meaning. The first 9 pages are about some grammatical forms, and its last three pages contain some bīja-forms with their meaning. They are as follows :

Grammar

yah	sah	asah	ayam	aso	*prathama*
yam	tam	etam	inam	amum	*dwitiya*
yena	tena	etena	anena	amum	*tritiya*
yasme	tasme	etasme	asmai	amusai	*caturthi*
yasmat	tasmat	etasmat	asmat	amuṣmat	
yasyam	tasyam	etasyam	asyam	amuṣyam	
tasmain	tasmin	etasmin	etasmin	amuṣmin	
	wibhaktinya	*ekawacana*	*pulingga*		

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[5] *Ibid.*, R. Friedrich, p. 7.

yabhyam	tabhyam	eto	imo	amu	*pancami*
yayoh	tayoh	tabhyam	abhyam	amubhyam	*sasti*
yayoh	tayoh	etabhyam	abhyam	amubhyam	*saptami*
		etabhyam	abhyam	amubhyam	
		etayoh	anayoh	amuyoh	
		etayoh	anayoh	amuyoh	

wibhaktinya dwiwacana pulingga ika ta kabeh.

Vocabulary: (page 6a)

Ksatra nga sang ratu (the king); *anwayah* nga. wka wkanira (his sons); *Pangtiratha* nga sang Daśaratha (king Daśaratha); *abhidhanah* nga yawakani ngaranira (is called his own self); *bhartta* nga ratunya (his king); *bhuwoh* nga lmahnya (his earth); *bhanu-dinah* nga hyang Aditya (the god Sun); *prabhawah* nga wiryya (diginity); *akanda* nga tanpiyak (indivisible); *wanoh* nga kahangkaranira (his selfishness); *manujeśwaranam* nga sang ratu (the king); *manyoh* nga pinujanira (worshipped by him); *manojnai* nga konangunang (happiness); *gunajneh* nga kacaktyan (power).........etc.........etc.

The Bijas (page 97b)

Pang nga prathiwi; gong nga akaca; rong nga raditya; cong nga soma; slong nga guru; kong nga nandiśwara; ghong nga mahakala; sang, soma, śwetawarna (white); bang, buddha, kadi mas (gold-like); wreng, wrahaspati, kuning (yellow); bhang, bharggawa, kadi pehan (iike milk); ang, anggara, rakta (red); śang, śaniscara. krsnawarna (black); rang, rahu, rajattawarna (silver-like); kang, ketu, klawu (gray); ang kang kasol nga upahradaya-mantra.........etc.........

(Note: *nga* means 'is')

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SANSKRIT STUDIES IN TURKEY

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The department of Indology or Sanskrit studies was established in Turkey for the first time in 1935.

The Ottoman Empire, the immediate predecessor of the Turkish Republic, was defeated with its allies, in the first World War. As a result of the defeat and the disintegration of the Empire, the Turks had to fight a five-year war of Independence, leading to the establishment of a Republic on October 29, 1923. Thus, the Turks had succeeded in laying the foundations of a secular and democratic regime on the pattern of the civilized world.

The emergence of a new type of political system under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk implied some basic changes in the sphere of culture, mainly education. A new system of education based on national interests and aspirations replaced the medieval scholastic system. With the advent of the Turkish Republic the Turks became aware of their national identity and values in an effort to create a modern social system. The memories of the imperial past in which the Ottoman Empire was called, 'The Sick Man of Europe' by Western Powers had become a thing of past. Accordingly, one of the basic objectives of the new regime was to bring out and define the salient features of a history of the Turks as a nation and Turkish as their language. Therefore, it had become necessary to investigate the primary sources related to the history of various national and cultural groups of people who had once been the neighbours of the Turks in different geographical regions and historical times.

The vast geographical regions, which today have a Turkish-speaking population either in majority or minority, had gone through a stage of inter-mixture of various cultures and races. And so a study of the basic elements of these neighbouring cultures. would facilitate an objective study of Turkish history and language Probably, this belief led some historians like Gerhard Dorfer to regard the Turks as real mediators between the cultures of China and

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that of Slavic and Iranian peoples. The area known as Anatolia (Anadolu) or Asia Minor which is nothing but the northern continuation of the Fertile Crescent of old times and which forms the territories of Turkish Republic to-day, has a unique place and importance in the history of world civilization. The rivers, Euphratis and Tigris, on the banks of which the most ancient centres of civilizations flourished, have their sources in the mountainous land lying South of Anatolia. In this context the opinion of Prof. M. E. Mallowan (London) is enlightening. He says: "The gradual process of Anatolian discovery conveys to us a cumulative excitement as, bit by bit, we see taking shape before our eyes the richly coloured picture of the ancient civilizations which arose in this well defined part of Western Asia."

It is significant to note that the old historical documents and evidences related to the Indo-Iranian group of languages passed to us through Anatolia or its neighbouring territories and not through India and Iran, as expected. It is well known that the Mitannis had become a powerful sovereign state between 1500–1300 B.C. in South-East Anatolia. The names of the kings of the Mitannis conformed to the rules of Indo-European languages. These proper names are closer to the Sanskrit names and fame (kīrtti) than to the names of kings or heroes in Avesta. A Sanskritist can easily understand the Indo-European origin of the terms like *aikavartanna*, *teravartanna*. *panzavartanna*, *na*(*va*)*vartanna* used by the Mitannian expert, Kikkuli, in the text dealing with the breeding of horses and their training (vartana=Lat. vertere=the act of turning) for war chariots. Hugo Winckler, in 1907 discovered in Bogazkoy (Turkey) the names of four Aryan Gods: *Indara*, *Mitrasil*, *nasatianna*, and *uruvanassil*.

The history of Anatolia between the 13th and 6th centuries B.C. is not well known in all its details. After the 6th century B.C. old Persians became the rulers of Anatolia followed by the Greeks.

With these considerations and needs in view, the Government of Turkey founded by an especial act the Faculty of Language and History-Geography in Ankara in 1935, and established the Departments of Assyriology, Sinology, Archaeology, Classical

Philology etc. Simultaneously a separate department of Indology, necessary for carrying researches on the rich sources for the study of Turkish history and language, was also founded.

There is no denying the fact that the Western scholars generally used Indology for their own political, commercial or ideological purposes. We all know that the Dutch, French, Russian, Japanese and British scholars worked on Indology with a certain purpose and bias. But the studies on Indology in Turkey are pursued with a pure scholarly goal. There is no political or commercial aim underlying these studies in Turkey.

There are many common features between the history of the Turks and that of the Indian sub-continent. Many groups of Turkish immigrants came to the Indian sub-continent and even founded here sovereign states.

Since pre-historic times, a number of races migrated to the vast Eurasian lands comprising China, Indian sub-continent and Near East. During these immigrations the Aryans, the first creators of the rich Sanskrit literature which we treasure today with pride, also came to India and settled there. In this respect the fact that horse-breeding and the art of horse-riding constitute the common features between the cultures of ancient Turks and Aryans is very significant.

The words or concepts adapted from Indian, Chinese and Iranian languages which we come across in Uyghur texts in abundance, can be explained and understood through the common efforts of Indologists, Sinologists and Iranists. Moreover, there are many story books in Turkish like Kelile ve Dimne, Tutiname, Forty Veziers, Sindbadname etc. which are based on the books originally written in Indian languages. These story books began to be written in the 6th century A.D. and probably in the Sassanid period.

In preparing a detailed grammar of Turkish language, we have been benefitting greatly from the traditions of Sanskrit Grammar. Previously the Turkish grammar books were written on the pattern of Western (Greek) or Eastern (Arabic + Persian) grammars. In

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the West, the books on grammar were mostly based on the pattern of Greek grammar. But we have a tradition of grammar writing in Sanskrit which goes as far back as at least 500 B.C. The famous grammarian Pāṇini of S'ālātura who lived in the 4th century B.C. in his excellent text book *Aṣṭādhyāyī* mentions some famous grammarians and schools of grammar which existed before his time. As far as a detailed and clear picture of the language is concerned the Indian grammarians excel their Greek counterparts. Yāska, in his *Nirukta* (1.12-13), had dealt with the relationship between the words and objects which they represented (semantics) even as early as the 5th century B.C. He had also pointed out that the words were not necessarily created in relation to the acts which they performed; their creation could be conventional *(saṃvijñāta)* as well.

The syntactical similarities between Sanskrit and Turkish, however rare they may be, is yet another interesting phenomenon. This similarity is clearly reflected in the medieval Uyghur transliations of Indian philosophical texts. Undoubtedly it is difficult to explain this phenomenon historically. But the fact is apparent enough to explain itself. For instance we can take up a *Bahuvrīhi*-compound from Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* with 13 constituent elements, like *daśaratha-suta-niśita-śara-nipāta-nihata-rajanīkara-bala-bahula-rudhira-sikta-mūla*, which can be translated into Turkish without any change in the order of the words. On the other hand the English translation of the same compound does not accord with the original order of words. The examples can easily be multiplied.

The present writer wrote in 1939 an article on the grammatical system of Pāṇini discussing his kārakas in particular. This was the first study of Sanskrit texts in Turkey. The founder of the department of Indology in Turkey, Prof. W. Ruben, in collaboration with a Turkish professor, had translated the King Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* in Turkish in 1946. Prof. Ruben published about 25 articles dealing with Indian epics, logic, stories and temples during his stay in Turkey until 1948. Dr. Kemal Cagdas, a Professor in the Department of Indology (Turkey), has published several scholarly articles on Indian culture, epics and on the influence of Indian culture on Uyghuric texts.

Shortness of time forbids us from giving a detailed account of these publications in Turkey.

The present writer published in 1963 a Sanskrit Reader for the Turkish students, in addition to his several articles on Sanskrit literature and Indian traditions. Presently he is translating, with explanatory notes, Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* into Turkish. By now, he has completed the translation up to the 13th Śloka of the 7th Sarga, in which Indumatī, the sister of king Bhoja, is depicted as having chosen her husband Aja in a *svayaṃvara* and looking in perfect harmony with the majesty of Lakṣmī and Lord Viṣṇu:

sthāne vṛtā bhūpatibhiḥ parokṣaih,
 svayaṃvaram sādhumamamsta bhojyā ।
Padmeva nārāyaṇamanyathāsau
 labheta kāntam kathamātmatulyam ॥

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